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OF

LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS,

RELATING TO

THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN,

PRESERVED IN

THE ARCHIVES AT SIMANCAS, VIENNA, BRUSSELS, AND ELSEWHERE.

Vol. VI. Part I.

HENRY VIII.

1538-1542.

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES CENTRAL

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION - - - - - -	i–xxxii
CALENDAR - - - - - - -	1
APPENDIX - - - - - - -	513
ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS - - - -	529
TABLE OF CONTENTS - - - - - -	555
GENERAL INDEX - - - - - - -	563
ERRATA - - - - - - - -	658

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ABBREVIATIONS.

S. .....Archivo General de Simancas.

L. ..... .Legajo or bundle.

Bul. Suel. .....Bulas Sueltas.

Pat. Re.....Patronato Real.

R. .....Roma.

Cap. c. l. cas. d'Austria. Capitulaciones con la casa de Austria.

A. .....Alemania (Germany).

B. .....Brussels.

E. .....Estado or Affairs of State.

F. .....Flandes (Flanders).

Fr.....Francia.

I. .....Inglaterra (England).

W. .....Wien or Vienna.

L. de Ber.....Libros de Berzosa, or copies from the Vatican, made by order of Philip II.

Sec. de Guer. .....Secretaria de Guerra.

Mar y T. .....Mar y Tierra.

P. .....Paris, Archives de l'Empire, now Archives Nationales.

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INTRODUCTION.

In July 1538, when the present volume begins, Eustace Chapuys was still at his post as the Emperor's representative in England, being assisted in his task by Don Diego de Mendoza, who some months before had arrived in London for the express purpose of "promoting king "Henry's marriage with the dowager duchess of Milan, "that of his daughter, Mary the Princess, with the Infante "Dom Luiz of Portugal, and at the same time cementing "a firm and lasting alliance between England and the "Empire."* Mendoza's extraordinary mission failed completely; he left London for Flanders in September of the same year, wrote there a report of the long negociations carried on with Henry's ministers with regard to the above points, and left Chapuys to fight alone his diplomatic battles with Cromwell.

In March 1539, when the political horizon grew darker and darker, and Paul had almost persuaded the Emperor and king Francis to undertake a campaign against the "excommunicated Defender of the Faith," as king Henry is intitled by some Spanish and French writers of that time; when the intercourse of trade with the Low Countries was virtually suspended, and the political relations of

* Two different sets of Instructions seem to have been given to Mendoza for his extraordinary mission to England, one on the 21st of June 1536, from Asti, for treating, conjointly with Chapuys, of the Princess' marriage with the Infante Dom Luiz; another in March 1537, from Valladolid in Spain, for a similar purpose. These last are addressed to him and to a certain Orton, sieur d'Arbois, who, however, never came to England. Mendoza himself did not arrive until January 1538. *See* Vol. IV., part II., pp. 165, 336, and 429.

England with Spain, France, and the Pope had become strained to excess, Chapuys received orders from Flanders to ask for his passports, at the same time that Thomas Wriothesley, Cromwell's secretary and Henry's ambassador in Brussels, was peremptorily commanded to return home. Most likely the sudden departure of that ambassador's colleagues for Ghelders, of which the duke of Clèves [Guillaume de La Mark], Henry's future brother-in-law, had just taken unlawful possession, awakened the suspicions and fears of Mary, the regent of the Low Countries, for she politely requested Wriothesley not to quit Brussels until she herself had heard of Chapuys' departure from England.* Meanwhile "that the Emperor's affairs should not "suffer in England; that the amicable relations between "the two countries should continue without interruption; "and last, not least, in order to remove any scruples or "fears arising from the withdrawal of the Imperial am-"bassador, the Dean of Cambray, Mary's own first almoner, "Philip Maioris by name, was appointed." Not till after Chapuys had landed at Calais (19th March) did the Dean sail for Dover.† His first dispatch from London to the Queen Regent is dated the 28th of April, but previous letters of his must be missing, or else the Dean must have reckoned his time erroneously, for the one alluded to begins thus: "Although since my arrival here, *nearly two months* "*ago*, I have written of whatever has come under my "notice," &c. On the 23rd the Dean was still at Calais waiting for a fair wind to cross, and therefore, in writing from London on the 28th of April, he could not say that he had been *two months* in England. In his second letter to the Queen, dated 4th May, the Dean writes that the French ambassador had shown him letters from the High

* The precautions taken by Mary to prevent Wriothesley from reaching Calais, for fear of Chapuys having been arrested in London according to the rumour then prevalent, are fully detailed in her Instructions to Esquire Whynacourt. *See* No. 50, pp. 135–7.

† On the 23rd of March he wrote to the Queen Regent that "in obedience to her Majesty's commands he would embark for England with the first fair wind." *See* No. 51, p. 137.

Constable of France [Anne de Montmorency], purporting that the affairs between the king of France, his master, and the Emperor were going on prosperously. Now, who was that ambassador? Was it Castillon, or was it Marillac, both of whom figure in 1538 as Francis' ambassadors at the Court of England? This is an important point to elucidate, inasmuch as historians do not agree as to who was French ambassador in England at the time that king Francis and the Emperor agreed to withdraw their respective embassies. The only dispatch among those abstracted in this volume wherein reference is made to the recall of the Imperial and French ambassadors is one from the Marquis de Aguilar to the Emperor, dated Rome, 13 April 1539, in which that ambassador says: "I hear from the "Imperial ambassador in England (Eustace Chapuys) that "the one who resided there for the king of France has "suddenly left, and that he himself will soon quit that "country, owing to the queen of Hungary having sent for "him. His Holiness has received the same information "from other quarters, with this additional news that the "two ambassadors have quitted London conjointly, from "which fact he (the Pope) concludes that by this time "your Imperial Majesty and king Francis have agreed to "suspend trade with England."*

The French ambassador's name must have been Louis Perreau, sieur de Castillon, who succeeded the bailif of Troyes in November 1533. Castillon's correspondence whilst in London has lately been published in Paris by the "Ministère des Affaires Etrangères,"† and that will allow me to correct a most singular, though to a certain extent pardonable, error into which all the editors of Calendars for the reign of Henry VIII., and I myself, have involuntarily fallen. It is well known that chroniclers, and even official writers, of the 16th century very seldom, if ever, mentioned

* *See* No. 54, p. 142.

† *Inventaire analytique des Archives des Affaires Etrangères.* Correspondence politique de MM. de Castillon et de Marillac, par M. Jean Kaulek; Paris, 1585.

historical personages otherwise than by their appellatives or titles—whether princes, dukes, marquises, or simply lords of manors, bishops, ambassadors, and so forth—and that this practice, which seems to have been universal throughout Europe, has frequently led into error compilers of works like the present Calendar, wherein the correspondence of a whole reign must necessarily be abstracted and chronologically arranged. Finding that a sieur de Chastillon or Châtillon had come to England in November 1533 as representative of Francis I., the very careful and conscientious editors of *State Papers for the reign of Henry VIII.* naturally concluded that by sieur or lord of Chastillon* the Admiral of France, Gaspard de Coligny, was intended, whereas Louis Perreau, sieur de Castillon, a very different personage, was really the ambassador who replaced D'Inteville, and was still in London when he and Chapuys, in compliance with the orders of their respective masters, quitted this country.

In the preface to the above-mentioned volume of Mr. de Castillon's correspondence, M. de Kaulek gives a short notice of that ambassador's birth and parentage, as well as of his various employments under Government, to which notice—not so full as might be desired—I beg leave to refer the readers, for fear of outstretching beyond measure the limits of this Introduction; suffice it to state that his first dispatch during his second mission to this country is dated 30 December 1537, and the last 12 August 1538, for although he remained in England until the semi-official rupture, above alluded to, made him quit conjointly with Chapuys,† the last volume of his official correspondence is not to be found in the French Archives.

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* There are in the south of France no less than five small towns or villages of the name of *Castillon*, whereas Châtillon abounds also on French maps. The town, of which Gaspard de Coligny was lord (*seigneur*) was called *Chastillon-sur-Loing*, in the department of Loiret, to distinguish it from *Chastillon-sur-Marne*.

† He was born about the year 1489. In 1527 he was secretary of Francis I. in the department of Finances (*Chambre des Comptes*), and

Of this latter very little is known after he crossed the Channel. Most likely he resided all the time in Flanders, being occasionally consulted and drawing up reports on English affairs. At any rate we know that he was in England in July, for although no letter of his previous to that date seems to have been preserved in the Imperial Archives of Vienna—the almost exclusive repository for his correspondence—there is evidence, as will be shown hereafter, that he arrived in London on the 23rd of that month. At that time the French had already an ambassador, not indeed the same as in 1539, but another more important personage, named Charles de Marillac. It has been said above that the "Ministère des Affaires Etrangères" of France, is now editing the correspondence preserved in the Archives of that Office, such as that of Castillon, Marillac, and Odet de Selve—a most important publication, which it is to be hoped will continue for the benefit of English scholars, as, putting aside the political bias and inclinations of the writers—very often disagreeing as to the manner of judging of events and persons – much good may be derived by comparing the narrative of foreign residents. Marillac's correspondence remained unedited until a few years ago. Mr. Froude was the first, in 1864, to make use of it for his notes to Vol. III., pp. 481, 489, 496, of his valuable history; since then it has been accurately printed with that of Castillon, his predecessor in the French embassy, its editor having illustrated it with judicious and well-selected annotations. Had it appeared before the manuscript of this volume of the Spanish Calendar had been sent to the printers, I should have been glad to have made fuller abstracts from it than those inserted at the end among the "Additional

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gentleman of his chamber. In March 1529 he was sent to Italy on a mission. In November 1533 he succeeded the bailli of Troyes, Jean de Dinteville, sieur de Polici. When the war broke out between the Emperor and Francis he had charge of accompanying the Imperial ambassador to the frontier. In 1537 he again returned to England as ambassador.

Notes and Corrections," and a few more which I have deemed it necessary to add here, as recording events either imperfectly described or entirely omitted by Chapuys. When this latter returned to England, the temporary lull produced by the truce of Nizza, afterwards ratified at Aigues-Mortes in the Roussillon, was still perceptible in the political atmosphere, and the relations between the ambassadors of Francis and Charles, though reserved, were still cordial in appearance. In July 1540 Marillac wrote to Montmorency.

London, 29 *July* 1540.—"The Emperor's new ambassador, of whom I wrote in one of my late despatches, arrived here six days ago.* He has met with a very meagre reception at this Court, where, to say the truth, he has scarcely any friends, for, if I am to believe what the King himself tells me, no one here esteems or likes him. The duke of Norfolk, who nowadays has the chief management of affairs, clearly shows his dislike of him. He told me the other day among other things: 'The Imperial ambassador will no longer find his Cromwell to warrant the follies that entered his head once.' However this may be, the poor man has been for a long time so infirm and broken down, and is at present so weakened by disease, that people here think he has come to England purposely to make his last will, rather than to serve efficiently his master, the Emperor, who has now been pleased to re-invest him with the charge of representing him at this Court, knowing very well that he cannot be of use elsewhere, for he is unable to ride or walk, and can hardly stir out of doors, that being the reason why he has taken lodgings near me on the river side, to have the convenience of going to Court by water whenever his master's affairs require his presence there.

"I must not omit for duty's sake to mention a curious, and to me a most complimentary and gracious, behaviour on the part of the above-mentioned ambassador, which is, that without having previously informed anyone of his arrival in this country, he called on me, and said that he had mandate from the Emperor to communicate daily with me respecting political affairs in general, and more particularly those in which his master was engaged. I replied that I myself had a similar commission from France, and surely would not fail to impart to him the information or news I possessed, as I had already done to his predecessor in office.† He tells me that at his audience from this King, after presenting his credentials, he did nothing else save salute and compliment him in the Emperor's

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* The letter being dated the 29th of July, Chapuys' arrival in London must have taken place on the 23rd, and yet his first despatch to Granvelle is dated the 3rd September. *See* No. 121, pp. 259–60.

† Philippe Maioris. *See* pp. 129, 134, 137, 149–50.

name. He has since called on me frequently, and I on him, to give these people to understand that our respective masters are great friends."—*Marillac to the High Constable.* pp. 207–8.

Again, on the 3rd September Marillac wrote to the High Constable: "Since my despatch of the 14th of August the "King's letter and your own, dated respectively Vatte- "ville, 6th and 11th inst., have come to hand, to which for "the present I have no answer to make, save perhaps on "the point relating to the Emperor's ambassador now here "for the second time, of whose condition and qualities, "besides what I myself have written, you must already "have formed some idea. As far as I can judge he has "more malice than cunning; there is no reason what- "ever to regret his having returned as the Emperor's "ambassador to this country, where, I can assure you, he "will make no way at all with this king or his ministers, "for he is very much disliked by them, and more par- "ticularly by the duke of Norfolk, who has often spoken "to me of his tricks and intrigues in past times, as well "as of the cold and ungracious answers he got when- "ever he made overtures in the Privy Council. This "statement of the Duke's I have been able to verify, owing "to my having found in the very house which I now "inhabit, and wherein the Imperial ambassador himself "formerly resided no less than nine years, a bundle of "papers and minutes of his own despatches which he "inconsiderately left behind him, when he ought to have "kept it as carefully as the greatest treasure he possessed "in this World. Should he come to know now that those "documents and papers are in my hands, he would regret "the more his having returned to this country; but I will "carefully keep my own secret, and no one shall know a "word about it unless you, Monseigneur, order me to reveal "it. I must, however, not omit to state that the reading "of the above-mentioned papers and drafts of his corre- "spondence with the Emperor's ministers has fully con- "vinced me of the malignity of the Imperial ambassador "and of his intrigues—grossly conceived and worse exe- "cuted as they were, although inspired by a desire of doing

" all the harm he could to the King, our master. This has
" been lately confirmed by this king, who tells me that since
" his return to England the said Imperial ambassador has
" been playing the same game, though, whatever mien
" he may put on it, he has no reason to be satisfied with
" the answer he has received to his overtures, which was
" indeed so meagre and unsatisfactory that since the first
" audience he had from the King to present his creden-
" tials he has not called again, and has remained at home
" without going out of the house, except twice or three
" times that he has come to mine to hear what news I
" have from France. But he has lost his time, because I
" always, when he came, happened to be out at Court
" negociating for the affair of the French merchants, and
" especially that of Mons. de Rochepot*. Since my return
" from Court he has tried through third persons to ascer-
" tain the particulars of the marriage of the duke of Clèves
" with the princess of Navarre [Jeanne], and of that of
" M. d'Omalle with the Pope's niece,† but of these
" matters and others I have always affected complete
" ignorance, answering that such affairs had nothing to do
" with my charge. This I have done to retaliate and pay
" him back in the same coin, for I never can get from him
" other news than the whereabouts of the Emperor, whither
" he is likely to go next, and whether he is in good health or
" not. True is it that immediately on his being appointed
" he wrote to me announcing his departure [from Brussels]
" and second embassy to this country, and no sooner had
" he landed than he sent me word that he would soon call
" and visit me. This message he sent me without letting
" any one know of his arrival in England, not even his
" own colleague in office,‡ at which all here wonder

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* That is François de Montmorency, seigneur de la Rochepôt, whose ship had been seized in England owing to some irregularity in trade matters.

† Claude de Lorraine, count d'Aumale, with Vittoria Farnese.

‡ Philip Maioris, as above, p. vi. *n.*, but it is doubtful whether he was still in England on Chapuys' arrival, though Marillac writes on Sept. 5 that he was in London suffering from a *grosse fièvre*. p. 126.

" greatly. When he actually came to visit me he began " to make all manner of courteous excuses; he had been " obliged (he said) to go first to the King, in order to " comply with the ceremonious etiquette of this Court. " The audience over, he came straight from Greenwich to " see me in my house without going to his own, thus fore- " stalling me in the official visit which I intended to have " paid him."

The above abstracts from Marillac's official correspondence will sufficiently show that his relations with Chapuys, if polite and courteous at first, were never cordial. When after the truce made at Nizza, and ratified by Francis and Charles at Aigues-Mortes in the Roussillon, the former conceived hopes that the much-coveted and disputed investiture of Milan would at last be conferred on one of his sons, his ambassadors in England—Castelnau, D'Inteville, and Castillon first, Marillac afterwards—kept up some appearance of familiar intimacy with the Imperial ambassador, were it for no other purpose than to make king Henry and his ministers believe that there was between their respective masters a community of views and ideas on political matters. But when after Charles' chivalrous and highly-confident journey through France to put down the rebellion of the people of Ghent, Francis began to despair of ever obtaining that for which he had fought so long, the latter ambassador could no longer dissemble, and his correspondence with king Francis' ministers is full of sarcastic and invidious remarks concerning his person and acts. He greatly rejoices at the discovery in a closet of the house once inhabited by Chapuys of a bundle of papers and drafts of this ambassador's official correspondence in Cromwell's time, and does not know that his own secretary is selling for money copies of his own ciphered despatches!

However this may be, Marillac's correspondence with Francis' ministers will always prove to be a valuable addition to English history during three years and a half of Henry's long reign, from the marriage of Anne de

Clèves, her subsequent repudiation by the King, and the fall of Cromwell—both of which events he graphically describes—down to his own arrest in London, when Henry's ambassador, Paget, was detained at Rouen. As during part of this time Chapuys was out of England, and as on certain important events which he must have witnessed, such as Katharine Howard's condemnation and execution, he is by no means so explicit and gossiping as his French colleague was, I have ventured, whilst there is an opportunity, to gratify the reader with a few more abstracts from his original correspondence, until some one undertakes to give us a full English translation of it.

London, 9 *Nov.* 1538.—"This king's new ambassador to the Emperor has taken his departure. . . . . The courier sent to Clèves to ascertain on which day the new Queen is to be expected [at Calais] returned two days ago with letters announcing that she will be in that port on the 8th of next month (December). The duke of Suffolk, the Admiral, and several other noble lords of this court, have already left in order to receive her. The duke of Norfolk and lord Cromwell are to wait for her at Canterbury, and will start for that town in a few days. The King himself will not go so far, but the two above-mentioned personages, that is to say, the Duke and the Lord Privy Seal, will accompany the lady to a place in the neighbourhood—three miles distant from Grenys (Greenwich)—where the King will be waiting for her. After the Christmas festivities, the King, on New Year's Day, will conduct his Queen through the middle of this city and in great solemnity to another palace of his at Vaisemaistre (Westminster), where she will be crowned in February in all pomp and majesty.

"Quite recently two abbots accused of crimes of lese majesty have been executed. One of them, an abbot,* was hanged at Glastonbury, fifty miles from this city, at the very door of his abbey; the other† at Redding (Reading), one hundred and fifty. I have been unable to ascertain what particular charge was brought against them; all I know is that people say they were the relics of the late Marquis [of Exeter], and their bodies are still hanging in chains in memory of their misdeeds."—*Marillac to king Francis.* pp. 144–5.

London, 23 *Dec.* 1539.—"Had it not been that the new queen of England has been for the last ten days at Calais, waiting for fair weather to come over, and that she is likely to remain there six more days owing to the contrary winds and heavy sea, I would not have written. There is a rumour current here that the King is trying to marry his eldest daughter [Mary] to the young duke of Bavaria,‡ whose arrival in this country I mentioned in one of my

* Richard Whiting.

† Hughes Cook, better known as Farrington.

‡ Philpot (Clement).

despatches. I must say, however, that I see no appearance of that except on the ground that this king is not likely to bestow his daughter's hand on any powerful prince, lest he should hereafter dispute the succession to the crown of this country as belonging to the Princess as the true heiress.—*Marillac to the Grand Master.* pp. 147–8.

"The King is at Grenys expecting his future queen. He intends going two miles out of that town to receive her. The Emperor's ambassador and I myself have been invited to attend the reception."

London, 27 *Dec.* 1539.—"Respecting the marriage of Madame Mary with a prince of the house of Bavaria, mentioned in my despatch of the 23rd, all I can say is that for the last three or four days the young Duke* has openly gone to visit her and present his compliments at a house of the abbot of Vaisemaistre (Westminster), within the gardens of the abbey, one mile from this city, where the said dame was secretly conducted beforehand. After giving her a kiss, which is interpreted in this country as a token either of a future marriage or of near relationship—considering also that since the execution of the Marquis [of Exeter], no lord, however noble and rich, in this country has dared to make proposals on the subject—the Duke [took courage and] had a long conversation with her, partly in German, through an interpreter (*truchement*), and partly in Latin, of which language Madame Mary is by no means ignorant, the end of it being that both the young Duke and Madame agreed to declare to the King their resolution —the Duke to ask for Madame's hand if his person were agreeable, and she on her side to accept him as her husband, provided the King, her father, gave his consent to the marriage."—*Marillac to the High Constable.* pp. 148–9.

London, 5 *Jan.* 1540.—"Last Friday, the 2nd, it was published, both here in London and at Greenwich, where the Court is now, that whoever loved the King should go to the latter place to receive Madame Anne de Clèves, who would soon become queen of England. The Emperor's ambassador and myself were also particularly invited in the King's name. The reception has been the most imposing and honorable that could be thought of, and the whole of the assembly, consisting of upwards of 6,000 gentlemen on horseback, was so admirably orderly, and well conducted that no confusion at all ensued. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were with Madame Anne five miles from Greenwich, whilst the King, with the rest of his household, came out to meet her. She was dressed in the fashion of the country whence she came. After a most gracious reception, the King conducted her to his own palace at Greenwich, and to her apartments, which had been richly furnished and decorated beforehand.

"As far as one can judge, the new Queen is about thirty; she is tall and thin, of middling beauty, with determined and resolute countenance. She brings in her suite twelve or fifteen damsels as maids of honor, all dressed in the same fashion and with the

* Philip, son of Rupert.

same vestments (as to color and cloth) which she herself wears —a thing which has seemed rather strange in this place. An ambassador from the duke of Saxony has also come in her company, for the purpose, as it is rumoured, of obtaining from this King a final resolution on certain affairs of his master, the Duke, so that it is to be expected that in future the league of Clèves and Saxony with this King will be strengthened by this marriage, and will in future constitute a highly advantageous and strong alliance." —*Marillac to the King.* pp. 150–1.

London, 5 *Jan.* 1540.—"The queen of England has arrived. In the opinion of those who have seen her close she is not so young as was at first thought, nor so handsome as people affirmed that she was. She is tall; her face and countenance reveal a certain steadiness of purpose and strong determination, which indicate a turn of mind and vivacity of wit more than sufficient to counterbalance her want of beauty. She brings in her suite from her brother's country from 12 to 15 damsels, not only inferior to her in beauty, but dressed in such coarse and unsightly garb that they would be considered ugly through it even had they any personal attractions.

"The King received her at the foot of the hill (*montaigne*) near Greenwich, two miles from his own palace, he himself being followed by five or six thousand horsemen, partly gentlemen of his own Royal household and of the provinces of England, and partly inhabitants, burghers, or freemen of this city, or foreign merchants residing here, all of whom had been previously invited to attend, &c."—*Marillac to the High Constable Montmorency.* pp. 151–2.

17 *Jan.* 1540.—"Since my last of the 5th, a certain personage, who calls himself ambassador of the Landgraf of Ez (Hesse), has arrived in this city, who, conjointly with the duke of the house of Bavaria, of whom I wrote in my despatch of the 27 December, the Chancellor of the duke of Saxony, and several lords from Clèves who came in the Queen's suite, has been summoned to the house of lord Cromwell, there to discuss together with this king's privy councillors several secret affairs in which all of them are concerned. The rumour that the Emperor had ordered a certain number of Italians and Spaniards to go from Italy to France, and especially the news lately brought by the Landgraf's ambassador of the German Lutherans and the bishops who hold for the Church being on the point of coming to blows, is the cause of the assembly—at which it was resolved, as I hear, that since the period of time of their respective safe-conducts from the Empire was to expire soon, they must all return home soon for fear war should break out in the meantime."—*Marillac to the King,* pp. 152–3.

London, 7 *Feb.* 1540.—"This King, with the Queen, his wife, came here the day before yesterday from Greenwich, and went to Westminster by water, accompanied by his courtiers and by the masters of the guilds of London. Nothing could surpass the effect of the triumphant procession, which has certainly been still more stately and honorable than that of the Queen's reception when she came here. Affaire La Rochepot, &c."—*Marillac to the High Constable.* pp. 159–60.

London, 21 *May* 1540.—"Two days ago [the 19th], at 10 o'clock of the night, milord de Lisle,* deputy† of Calais, and uncle of this king, was sent a prisoner to the Tower, where three of his own servants had been previously lodged. In the same manner, to-day [the 20th], a chaplain of his, who had just arrived from Flanders on board a vessel (*sur une nef*), was arrested and conveyed to prison. The cause of the Deputy's imprisonment I have not yet been able to ascertain so as to write confidently about it. It is, however, generally reported that he is accused of having been in secret intelligence with Cardinal Pole, whose very near kinsman he happens to be, and that he was besides in treaty with him to deliver the town of Calais into his hands. However this may be, certain it is that the said lord de Lisle is now confined in a narrow dungeon within the Tower, from which no one ever escapes alive unless it be by a sort of miracle. Some time before his imprisonment ten or twelve *pensionaries*‡ from Calais were also lodged in the Tower, all of whom gave evidence of having heard the Deputy utter words in disparagement of the homage and fealty he owed to the King his lord and master."—*Marillac to the King.* pp. 183–5.

London, 1 *June* 1540.—"Since the imprisonment, about a fortnight ago, of milord de L'Isle, the deputy of Calais, who is still confined in the Tower of this city, two more personages of certain rank and authority in that town have been brought over to keep him company, apparently for the same causes and reasons as himself. It is moreover generally rumoured that the Deputy's wife [Elisabeth Grey ?] and some of the principal inhabitants of Calais have also been sent for to appear as witnesses in his trial, though of this last report I can afford no confirmation, save to say that it is very generally spread."—*Marillac to the King.* pp. 186–7.

London, 1 *July* 1540.—"I cannot positively say whether it be in consequence of this King's designs, as I informed you by my ciphered despatch of the 1st inst., or owing to some diminution of the love he once had for his Queen, or, again, because he has placed his affections somewhere else, with some other lady of this court, but the fact is that the King has sent his Queen to Richmond. I know it from the King himself, and that, having promised to follow her thither two days after, he has not moved from Greenwich. Indeed, it is reported that if he goes out at all it will not be for the

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* That is Arthur Plantagenet, natural son of king Edward, and uncle of king Henry VIII.

† The word always used by Marillac is *Debitis*, which I suppose to be a corruption of Deputy or lieutenant-governor of Calais.

‡ The words used are *mortes paies*, in Spanish *pagas muertas*, which I take to be equivalent to officials who after a number of years of service became "pensionnaires en retraite," or enjoyed a pension. Such were viscount Lisle's chaplain, and Sir Gregory Botolph or Buttolph, who in State Papers, Vol. VIII., pp. 316, 337–8, 343, is described as holding office in Calais, and two or three more *cierks* of the same town, such as Adam Dampley or Damplit, Edward Brindeholm.

purpose of visiting his Queen, inasmuch as the journey he himself is about to undertake is not at all in that direction. 'Tis true that the rumour current in this city is that the Queen has gone to Richmond for fear of the plague raging, as they say, here, but the rumour is entirely false, for at this present time there is no plague at all, besides which if there was any, on the least suspicion of it the King, himself, would not remain one single day in London, however much his presence were required here, being, as he is, the most timid creature in the world in that respect."—*Marillac to the High Constable.* p. 199.

8 *July* 1540.—"The King has confessed to me having despatched to you a Doctor from this city respecting the marriage alliance, which the duke of Clèves is trying to procure at your Court. The Doctor was to have gone to Germany—at least so it was rumoured at first—but, as the King informs me, he must already be in France, though in reality no one here knows anything about it, except those to whom the King has been pleased to reveal the place of the Doctor's destination and the object of his mission."—*Marillac to the High Constable.* p. 200.

London, 8 *July* 1540.—"Yesterday morning, the 7th inst., though I had been to Court, I was summoned to go thither again and appear before the King and the Privy Council [at Greenwich] at a certain hour of the day, the Emperor's ambassador having received a similar summons. Not knowing anything about it, and being altogether ignorant of what the King wanted of us two, I had no time to communicate with the Emperor's ambassador and inquire from him the cause of the summons, if he knew it. He was first in Greenwich at the appointed hour, I myself arriving soon after him, and we were both introduced to the Council Chamber, where, in the presence of the privy councillors, the bishop of Durham, called 'Tonstallus,'* an ecclesiastic generally reputed as a man of learning, made to each of us a speech (*harangue*) in Latin, the substance of which was that the States of England convoked for the assembly—here called Parliament, that is, the meeting together of the Nobility, Clergy, and the Commons—had after long deliberation presented a petition to the King, stating that there were several causes and reasons for the dissolution of the marriage contracted six months ago between him and Madame Anne, sister of the duke of Clèves, at the same time begging and entreating him for the sake of Truth, as well as for the repose and satisfaction of those who might hereafter inherit or succeed to the crown of England, or pretend a right to it after him, and in order to remove all occasion or pretext of their making war upon each other, he should be pleased to have the said causes of impediment looked into by his Parliament, and, if found sufficiently legitimate and strong, have the said marriage annulled. That to this very reasonable request on the part of his Parliament, the King had acceded willingly, stimulated by his sense of duty and for the relief of his Royal conscience, as well by his desire to promote the tranquillity and welfare of his own subjects, having expressed a wish that we,

* Cuthbert Tunstall, formerly bishop of London.

the ambassadors, should be informed of the facts, that we may write to our respective courts, lest the common people should assign other causes than the true ones for the separation.

"To the Bishop's speech I answered in French that, as far as I was concerned, I was not rash enough to speak or write about the personal and private affairs of kings, except with the utmost discretion, much less report upon their actions, unless there was a clear appearance of truth, especially in matters which touched their honor and reputation, and which ought for that very reason to be treated with religious reverence and awe. I, nevertheless, thanked the King immensely for having afforded me the occasion and opportunity of sending a true report to my master, the king of France, relying entirely on such authority as that of the Bishop who had just addressed us. And I assured him (the King) that in writing home about his determination [to separate from his Queen] I would do my best to describe the matter as faithfully and completely as the case itself and his own service required; and after offering to give him a duplicate of my despatch, if he wished for it —which offer he graciously declined—I returned to my lodgings in town to write this letter."—*Marillac to the King.* p. 200.

London, 21 *July* 1540.—"The affair of which I treated in my last despatch has been conducted and determined in such a manner that by the opinion and assent of all the bishops of this realm, duly approved, confirmed, and authorised by Parliament, the King's marriage with his last Queen has been declared null and void, and consequently the separation has ensued, the King having previously taken his oath, in the presence of his privy councillors, that he never had any connexion with Madame Anne. From this it may be presumed that the marriage was not consummated, and the King not at all obliged to live with his wife, especially as she had not made him acquainted with the fact of her having been previously engaged to the son of the duke of Lorraine.* It has therefore been determined that there is no obligation whatever on the part of the King to stand by the marriage contract, owing to his not having been informed of the preceding engagement, and consequently that the separation is necessary and indispensable.

"I hear that upon Madame Anne being requested to let the bishops take cognizance of her case and decide, she declined, and has since freely and of her own will consented to the divorce, notwithstanding that she has been strongly and many a time recommended by the Duke's agent residing at this court not to submit to the decision of the bishops, or in any manner relinquish her own rights and those of her brother, the Duke. The agent, however, could get no other answer from her save that she was ready and prepared to do anything the King, her lord, wished in the matter, all the time praising beyond measure the great kindness with which he had treated her, and declaring her intention to submit entirely to any measure the King should like to dictate respecting herself, begging moreover to be allowed to live always

* François, marquis de Pont a Mousson, and duc de Bar-le-Duc.

in England without having to return to the country where she was born. And the King, hearing with pleasure of Madame Anne's sentiments and language, as well as of her full determination to comply with his wishes, has allotted to her an honorable estate, for the maintenance of which the manors of Richmond, Austel,* and More, with their yearly revenues, have been selected."—*Marillac to the High Constable.* p. 201.

London, 18 *Jan.* 1541.—" The High Constable of France will hear through my despatch to the King how Maistre Hoyet (Mr. Wyatt) was the other day taken to the Tower so tied and hand-cuffed (*garroté*) that all those who saw him pass could not help auguring the worst end to his imprisonment, inasmuch as the general custom in this country is to conduct criminals to prison quite free, as if their escort were sure that they would not run away or be rescued. This is the third time that Hoyet (Wyatt) has been locked up in the Tower, and it will be probably the last, inasmuch as it may be presumed from the above-mentioned circumstance that the accusation brought against him is of a very serious and grave sort, besides which he is known to have many enemies here among those who once made a league against Cromwell, whose favorite (*mignon*) he was. In addition to this, it would appear that the count of Rotellan,† belonging to the house of Clarence, who is Hoyet's father-in-law, is about to do the worst he can against him out of revenge of this Hoyet having ill-treated and defamed his own wife, the Count's daughter, in consequence of his having found her in adultery with another man. And although the said Hoyet has many friends among the nobility of this kingdom, and will be certainly more pitied by Englishmen, as well as by foreigners, than any other individual condemned for treason, yet no one will dare speak a word in his favor, and he will be judged by the fine laws of this country without listening to what he has to say in his own defence—nay, condemned and sentenced to death without his knowing what for. I beg you to consider what greater calamity could befall the English than the intestine war they are making upon each other just now, and which is sure in the end to bring on their ruin and destruction, for since Cromwell virtually subdued and tamed the great lords of England, such as the marquis of Exeter and his followers, including the Grand Esquire Garaud (Carew), others have sprung up who will not rest until they have done the same with Cromwell's adherents. God knows if, after that, there will not be others in this country to play the same game over and over again, for those who are now in power will hardly pass on without introducing some dangerous novelty or other in this kingdom. So much so, Monseigneur, that I do not recollect having ever seen these people so crestfallen (*abbatus*) as they are at present, for they do not know whom to trust, and the King himself, having offended so many people, mistrusts everyone. There is still another unfortunate circumstance mixed up with the King's irresolution and despondency, which is that whenever he conceives the least

* Austell in Cornwall ?

† Thomas Manners, earl of Rutland.

suspicion he will go on dipping his hands in blood, from which no good can come in the end."—*Marillac to the King.* p. 261.

London, 25 *Jan.* 1541.—"A very strange and unexpected piece of news, which may one of these days have influence on our political relations with this country, is that last night, by the King's commands, two gentlemen, much esteemed and enjoying great favor at Court, were brought from Hantempcourt (Hampton Court) to this city. They were seen this very morning, early, being conducted to the big Tower (*grosse tour de Londres*) with their wrists bound together, under the escort of 24 archers of the King's body-guard. One of them is Master Hoyet (Whyat), who was last year this king's ambassador to the Emperor at his passage through your kingdom to go to the Low Countries. Without being either a baron or an earl, this Hoyet is considered one of the wealthiest proprietors in England, and as possessing an annual income of from six to seven thousand ducats. He seemed besides to have enjoyed as much favor with the King, his master, as any other lord or nobleman of this kingdom, for there is certainly no one in the whole of England for whom greater esteem and regard has been shown in public, nor one either who has received in private greater proofs of his master's affection and love; indeed, scarcely a month ago the King added to Master Hoyet's revenue by a gift of 300 crs. a year.

"The other prisoner is a gentleman of the North, not much known, whose name I have not yet been able to ascertain, for they tell me that he has very rarely come to Court, though he was once this king's ambassador to the king of Scotland. I have not yet heard what is the cause assigned for the imprisonment of these two personages, and in my opinion it will be extremely difficult to find out the real truth, inasmuch as by a bill of the last Parliament suspected criminals are here condemned and sentenced without hearing; besides which if a man or a woman becomes a prisoner in the said big Tower of this city, there is no living creature, however powerful, noble, or distinguished, who dares interfere and mix himself up with the prisoner's affairs, and if he does at all open his mouth, it is for the sake of speaking against the alleged criminal, for fear he himself should be suspected of having shared in his crime; so much so, that I consider these two arrests and imprisonments to be still the result of Cromwell's disgrace and fall, for Master Wriothesley, this King's first secretary, who owes the high post he now occupies to Cromwell's patronage and favor, is, I hear, in great danger just now of descending more rapidly than he rose, for he has already been interrogated and examined concerning certain articles ticklish enough (*certain articles assez chatouilleux*), and it is publicly rumoured that there are many more on which, if closely questioned, there is danger of criminality of some sort being attached to him, for, as I wrote on the 7th inst., people here are anything but edified at this king's doings, and very much inclined, as I hear, to rebellion, if they only had a chief to head them. Those who have the management of affairs here are well aware of the people's discontent. Every day, from morning till night, they are assembled and hold meetings to provide for the security of the

country, for which purpose they have lately sent to Calais in great haste one Master Long,* a personage of a certain authority and experience in military affairs, with the charge of inspecting the fortifications of that town and others, and reporting thereupon, whilst the duke of Norfolk himself is preparing to go to the Borders for the purpose of having certain fortresses, besides that of Warwick (Berwick), erected on that frontier, so as to prevent any sudden raid of the Scotch."—*Marillac to the King.* pp. 261–2.

London, 3 *March* 1541.—"In confirmation of what I wrote in my last of the 23rd ult., you will be pleased to hear that this king is at present very indignant against some of his ministers. I cannot omit an event which happened four or five hours ago, no less strange than pitiful, of which I am so credibly informed that I vouch for the truth of the report. That poor Maistre Wallop, on his return from your court last evening, was arrested and taken to the big Tower this very morning early on the charge of treason. Along with him the master porter of Calais† was also imprisoned and the presumption is that both have been arrested for the same cause as the Deputy, viscount of Lisle. A person of authority tells me that the cause of Maistre Wallop's arrest is a mere fault that he once committed, and the truth of which has now come out. During Cromwell's time there was a rumour afloat that he had fled to Rome, and I do really believe that had Wallop been in England then he would have been arrested. After the execution of Cromwell, the reputed author of so many tragedies that have taken place in this country, the rumour somewhat subsided; but from what we see there is every appearance that Cromwell was not the sole actor in so many pitiable dramas, but that he only played the part that was destined for him."—pp. 276.

London, 10 *March* 1541.—"The more I think of it the less probability I see of the Emperor marrying, as has been reported, Madame Mary of England. True is it that shortly after the death of the Empress (Isabella),‡ there was here some talk of such a marriage, but since then, now nearly a year ago, no one that I know has seriously spoken about it. Nor does it appear that his ambassador at this court has at any time negociated for such an alliance. Indeed, to judge from the state of his health, I think that he will not continue long to represent the Emperor here, for in order to recover, if possible, from his chronic infirmities, he is now looking out for lodgings far away from Court. On the whole, as the King once told me, the Imperial ambassador is much disliked by him and by his ministers, and certainly the differences that have lately sprung up between the Flemings and the people of this country on the subject of mutual navigation and intercourse of trade are not a sign of such a marriage being in contemplation. The duke of Norfolk is of the same opinion. Besides which, it is hard to believe that the English would ever consent to the above-mentioned Madame Mary being placed so high up in position

* Sir Richard, of the King's chamber and Master of the buck-hounds.

† Sir Thomas Palmer, under warder of Calais.

‡ She died at Toledo on the 1st of May 1539.

as to enable foreign princes to support hereafter her right to the Crown of England on the plea that she is the true and legitimate heiress to it, the young Prince [of Wales] having been born after her, at a time too when the English were interdicted, and outside, as it were, the pale of the Church, and the Prince's mother (Jane Seymour had not been crowned, which is another scruple by which the people of this country are affected."—*Marillac to the King.* p. 275.

London, 13 *March* 1541.—"I recollect very well that after the Empress' death [in May 1539], speaking to this king about the rumour that the Emperor was about to marry his cousin [Madame Mary], the King observed to me that whoever proposed such a marriage would be out of his senses. He himself could never trust the Emperor, who had once broken his promise to him, and is always looking out for the means of setting the Christian princes one against the other so as to serve his own ambition, which is so great that were he to be the sole monarch in Christendom he would not be satisfied.

"As to the Emperor himself, he could never marry his cousin as the illegitimate daughter of this king. 'Tis true that he might have her legitimised; but, again, that could not be done except by convoking all the States, or Parliament of this kingdom, who have once declared her to be illegitimate, and if so obedience to the Apostolic See—to which these people show themselves more disinclined than ever—would naturally ensue; for, in order to declare Madame Mary to be the legitimate daughter of this King and of queen Katharine, it would be necessary to confess that the marriage of the latter through Papal dispensation was perfectly valid.

"For these and other reasons, I really think that the rumour of such a marriage is a pure invention of the Imperialists, who are in the habit of making their profit out of similar false news and suggestions when they have no true ones to spread."—*Marillac to the King.* pp. 275–6.

Blois, 19 *March* 1541.—"The ambassador of the king of England has exhibited before the King in Council a sort of memorandum of what the English deputies* have said and done respecting the differences relating to the bridge of La Cauchoire,† in the territory of Ardres, by which memorandum the ambassadors claim that they have full cause and right to have the said bridge demolished, and to insist upon its not being rebuilt again. One of the deputies, Mons. Imbert de Saveuze,‡ the King's Privy Councillor and Master of Requests in ordinary, of the Palace, read a report of his in Council proving that English pretensions on that point rest on no solid foundations. A copy of the '*procès verbal*' drawn by the said councillor, Imbert de Sauveuze (*sic*), of the treaties of Bretigny and Etaples, confirmed and ratified by the late king of England [Henry VII.] and his Parliament, together with abstracts from the accounts of the county of Guisnes, sent for revision

* These were Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, and Lord William Howard.

† Cowbridge in English.

‡ The French deputy together with Oudart de Biez, marshall of France.

and approval to the Chamber of Accounts (*Chambre des comptes*) of Paris, is now sent to you for information on that matter, and that you yourself may defeat the arguments of the English."—*The King to Marillac.* pp. 277–8.

Of the able diplomatist whose official correspondence I have just abstracted in part, nothing certain would be known had not the editor of his letters prefixed a notice of him, taken chiefly from Moreri's *Grand Dictionnaire Historique*, Vol. V., p. 138, and the *Biographie Universelle*, though considerably enlarged and rectified.* Charles de Marillac, son of Guillaume de Marillac and Marguerite Genest, was born in Auvergne about 1510.† His father, Guillaume, sieur de St. Genest, La Motte-Hermant, and Bricon, had been controller (*controleur general des Finances*) to the duke of Bourbon (Charles). At the age of twenty-two he was already a barrister (*avocat*) at the Parliament of Paris, where it is said his eloquence and learning attracted the notice of king Francis, though, being suspected of adhering to the Reformation, he was obliged to quit Paris suddenly and accompany to the Levant his cousin, Jean de Laforest, knight of Malta, whom Francis I. was sending to Constantinople, in 1533, as ambassador to the Grand Turk, Solyman "the Magnificent." On the death of Laforest, whom he succeeded, Marillac remained for some time in Constantinople, carrying on his master's rather suspicious negociations in that capital till the summer of 1538, when he was recalled, and went back to France with the fleet of galleys commanded by St. Brancard.‡ His services in the Levant must have

* Kaulek, "Correspondence Politique de Castillon et Marillac," Paris, 1885.

† Such is at least the date given by Moreri, and adopted by Mons. Kaulek (*Preface*, p. xvi.), but is it probable that at the age of 28 Marillac should have been appointed ambassador to this country? Could not 1510 be a mistake or a misprint for 1501? True is it that by this time one of king Francis' secretaries, Bochetel, had the year before married the sister of Morvilliers, who was Marillac's successor, and that he himself lived till 1560 (p. xvii.); but still an embassy to England, where so many important negociations were soon to be undertaken, required, it would seem, an older and more experienced diplomatist.

‡ On this French naval commander *see* Vol. V., Part II., p. 537. His name is sometimes written Blancard instead of Brancard.

been considered very acceptable, for shortly after his return he was appointed *conseiller au Parlement* and ambassador to England, in the room of Castillon. His first letter from London is of the 2nd August 1539, which date does not exactly agree with Scepper's report to the Emperor on the 14th of the same month,* wherein the Imperial agent in France says, on the authority of king Francis himself, that "Marillac left Constantinople on "the 16th of June 1538, and that he had written a long "despatch, giving an account of his negociations with the "Grand Turk." However this may be, Marillac remained in England till September or October 1542, when he was virtually exchanged for Sir William Paget, Henry's ambassador in France. On his return to his native country, Marillac was employed on various missions to Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries; he was made bishop of Vannes in 1550, and archbishop of Vienne in 1557. The year before (1556) he was Odet de Selve's colleague in Rome.

Of his relations with Chapuys at Henry's court some idea will be formed from the above abstracts of his correspondence taken at random; but this must be said, that the mere perusal of his despatches to king Francis, or to his ministers, will persuade the reader of king Henry's superior talent for diplomacy, as it was understood at that time, for, if his conversations with the French and Imperial ambassadors are faithfully reported, there can be no doubt that he was deceiving them both as to his real sentiments and views.

In France, Cornelius Duplicius Scepperus, or Cornelis Scepper as he is otherwise named, had represented the Emperor since July 1536. His instructions, dated the 17th of March, will be found at pp. 450–4 of Vol. V., Part II.†

* No. 4, pp. 6-13.

† Scepperus' original correspondence is in the Paris Archives, having been transferred thither from Simancas. I have there found a paper, which was also examined and transcribed by Bergenroth (*see* his Collection in the British Museum, Vol. XXII., p. 269), wherein some account is given

Though the Emperor was then at war with Francis, a truce had, nevertheless, been proposed by Pope Paul. Mons. de Velly had gone on a mission to the Emperor, and Scepper was sent to France to arrange, if possible, the preliminaries of peace. At any rate there can be no doubt that paper No. 4 of this present volume, containing, under the date of 14th to 22nd of August 1538, an abstract of several despatches from the Imperial ambassador in Paris, must be his. Shortly after, however, Mons. de St. Vincent, Granvelle's brother-in-law, was appointed to succeed him. He was replaced in September 1541 by Mons. de Marvol (Philippe?), who remained in Paris until the 14th of November, when Don Francisco Manrique, most likely a kinsman of Don Juan marquis de Aguilar, arrived as envoy extraordinary from the Emperor to Francis. Mons. Jean de St. Mauris, another brother-in-law of Mons. de Granvelle, was the next Imperial ambassador in France.* Only one despatch of his, dated the 10th of August 1540, has come to hand, in which he alludes to a previous one of the 5th, which must be missing.† The loss is the more to be regretted that there is an announcement in it of the marriage—at that time being negociated and ultimately effected—of Jeanne, the daughter of Henri

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of the various charges Scepperus held under the Emperor. It is an abstract from the accounts of Guillaume le Blanc, sieur de Honchin, to show what sums that official had received from the Treasury at Brussels during the time he had been in the Emperor's service. He was lord (*seigneur*) of Ecke in the Low Countries, and both Margaret of Austria and Mary of Hungary had intrusted to him various missions to Poland, Transylvania, and Denmark. In 1542 he became treasurer or keeper of the Emperor's privy purse (*Tresorier de l'Epargne*) and councillor in Flanders.

* Mons. de Granvelle (Nicholas) had been married since 1513 to Nicole Bonvalot, sister of François Bonvalot, abbé of St. Vincent at Besançon in Burgundy. On the other hand, Jean de St. Mauris or Maurice had married Etiennette Bonvalot, sister of Mme. de Granvelle (Nicole). In later years several members of the families of Bonvalot and Granvelle filled high and responsible posts under Charles and Philip, his son—such as cardinal Antoine, son of Nicholas; Mons. de Champagney, whose christian name was Jerome; Thomas de Chantonnay or Chantonney, count of Cantecroix, and others.

† Unless it be in Paris with the rest of his letters, having been intercepted at the time, or subsequently brought from Simancas.

d'Albret and Margaret of France (pretenders to the kingdom of Navarre), with the duke of Clèves, Guillaume de La Mark.

At Rome, Don Juan Fernandez Manrique,* fourth count of Castañeda and second marquis de Aguilar, who replaced count Cifuentes in November 1536,† continued to represent the Emperor near the Pope. Assisted in matters purely ecclesiastical by cardinals Santa Croce‡ and Sarmiento, as well as by Fr. Vincenzio Lunel, who succeeded the former in the generalship of the Franciscan friars, he managed to steer as well as any other of the Imperial ministers at Rome among the shoals of Italian diplomacy. Though helped occasionally by such experienced pilots as Praët and Granvelle, he was not always successful, and the marriage of Margaret, the Emperor's natural daughter, with Ottavio Farnese, son of Pier Luigi, duke of Castro, was for him a source of considerable annoyance and trouble. That lady, better known in history as Margaret of Parma, from the title of her second husband, had been first, in February 1536, married to Alessandro de' Medici, duke of Florence, when scarcely fifteen years old. In January 1537 she was a widow, her husband, Alessandro, having been assassinated on the 7th of that month. Florence not being considered a safe place for her to

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* His christian name was evidently *Juan*, not Luis, as Alonso Lopez de Haro erroneously states in his *Nobiliario Genealogico*, Vol. I., pp. 178–9. The circumstance of his father's name being *Luis* son of *Juan*, and his having a son, also christened Juan like his grandfather, according to the almost general use among noble families in Spain, gave rise to the mistake. In Vol. V., Part I., are papers and deeds in Latin concerning the Florentines, signed *Joannes Manrichus*, which leave no doubt whatever as to *Juan* (John) being that ambassador's christian name.

† *See* Vol. V., Part II., p. 288.

‡ Fray Francisco de Quiñones, brother of the count of Luna, general of the Franciscans, and Cardinal. He died at Veroli about the end of Oct. 1540. Another cardinal of the same title, Santa Croce di Gerusalemme (Marcello Cervini?), is mentioned at pp. 396, 406, as having been deputed by Pope Paul, conjointly with cardinal Farnese, to discuss certain political matters with Aguilar and Granvelle.

reside in, she was removed to Pisa, and thence to Nizza, to go afterwards to Gaeta, in the kingdom of Naples. During her short stay at Nizza, under the care of Lope Hurtado de Mendoza, her High Lord Chamberlain, and of his wife, Doña Margarita de Rojas, the young widow seems to have led rather a wild life, for on the 6th of January 1538 the Emperor wrote to Don Lope:—"We "have received intelligence that at times the Duchess, our "daughter, goes out hunting, and remains in the fields "two, three, or even four days without returning to Nizza, "and although We are sure that during such absences "nothing is done contrary to the respect due to her birth "and rank, yet as her age and condition, besides her being "Our daughter, might make people judge differently of "her repeated absences, you will take care that in future "she does not indulge in such amusements and sports; "and that if she still wishes to go out hunting, it may "be arranged for her to return to Nizza and there pass the "night at her own house, and not, as they tell Us, remain, "as she has done hitherto, three or four days in the "forest."*

In October 1537, within the eight months of Margaret's widowhood, the duke Cosmo, who succeeded Alessandro de' Medici in Florence, applied for her hand, but the Emperor wrote that, "shortly after her husband's "assassination, Pope Paul had applied for it for his grand-"son, Ottavio Farnese."† Whether king Henry was also, or would have been, in the lists as a suitor for her hand is a report subject to doubt, though mentioned in a joint despatch of Chapuys' and Mendoza's of the 9th February 1538, on the authority of Cromwell. In the ensuing March her marriage to Ottavio Farnese was arranged, the duke of Castro, his father, expressing his gratitude "at the "immense honor bestowed on him and his family," the Pope, at the same time, agreeing with the Emperor that

* *See* Vol. V., Part II., p. 417.
† *Ibid.* pp. 330–1.

" the whole matter should be kept secret until the mar-
" riage deed and settlements should be quite ready."*

Then came the revocation by Margaret of the powers she had granted to the Imperial ambassador, Aguilar; the sharp letter written by the latter to the dowager Duchess, and finally her arrival at Rome in November 1538; her marriage in the Sixtine Chapel; the matrimonial squabbles of the youthful pair—Margaret herself, though a widow of duke Alessandro, being under sixteen, whilst her husband was not fourteen years old.† Lope Hurtado's letters on one side, and Aguilar's official despatches on the other, are sufficiently significant of the dissension existing between the parties, which rose so high that it was at one time a question at Rome of the marriage being dissolved. Meanwhile cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Pier Luigi's eldest son, had gone to Spain as Papal legate, for the double purpose, as it was said, of inducing Charles to observe the truce made at Aigues-Mortes in the Roussillon, and promoting the marriage alliances of the Papal family. Several advantageous marriages for Vittoria, the daughter of Pier Luigi, had been proposed at various times—namely, with the duke of Vendôme (Antoine de Bourbon), with the prince of Piedmont (Emanuel Philibert, son of the duke Carlo of Savoy), with Cosmo de' Medici, the new duke of Florence, and, lastly, with the prince of Orange, or with Ascanio Colonna. All these marriages having failed, for some reason or other, the Pope's choice fell on Claude de Lorraine, count of Aumale, son of the duke of Guise, and brother of Marie de Guise, queen of Scotland. To obtain, as it were, the Emperor's consent to a marriage which, under the circumstances, could not be very agreeable to him, cardinal Farnese went to Spain in June 1538, and in Nov.

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* *See* Vol. V., Part II., p. 430.

† Margaret, the Emperor's natural daughter, was born at Audenarde in December 1522. Her mother's name was Margaret Vangest, daughter of John Vangest and Marie Vander (*sic*). *See* Florez' *Reinas Catolicas de Españo*, Vol. II., p. 864.

1540, whilst at Courtray, crossing France on his way to Ghent, the Emperor wrote to Aguilar:—"Hearing such "a proposal from the Nuncio's lips (that of Vittoria "Farnese's marriage), We could not refrain from telling "him that His Holiness had begun to negociate the "said marriage at a time when Our daughter, the "Duchess, showed some discontent, and that it might "be suspected that by refusing the consummation of the "marriage to his grandson, Ottavio, she might be acting "by Our orders. It was then that in order to annoy and "put a pressure upon Us, the Pope began to negociate "that other marriage in France. But let it be understood "(said We to the Nuncio), that were my daughter's con-"science and honor to be safeguarded, and were it possible "to undo what has been done, We should have no objec-"tion to the marriage [being dissolved], and should feel no "difficulty whatever in acceding to His Holiness' wishes "in respect to the other marriage, were it not that We "wish him to understand that such is not the way of deal-"ing with Us, and that, as long as he is disposed to act "towards Us as a good father, We will be his good son. "Otherwise We shall, whilst We remain a good Christian, "attend to what is more convenient for Our interest. "In short, We told the Nuncio that such ways and tricks "would not do; that was not the way to treat political "matters with Us. . . . We consider Ourselves fully "entitled to more respect and consideration."*

The above letter, apart from others which might be adduced, will show how alive the Emperor was to the shifting excuses and hesitating policy of Paul III., whose constant aim seems to have been the aggrandizement of his own family and the humiliation of a king like Henry, so deaf to his admonitions.

After the death of his brother the Cardinal, the Marquis resigned his post at Rome, or asked leave to go home to attend, as he said, to his family affairs. His

* *See* No. 137, pp. 286–8.

resignation was accepted on condition of his remaining in Italy until the Emperor had returned from his unfortunate expedition to Algiers.* His last despatch, as will be seen, bears the date of December 1541.

In other parts of Italy the Emperor's agents appear to have been the same as in former years—in Genoa Gomez Suarez de Figueroa; in Venice Lope de Soria till April 1549, when he was succeeded by Don Diego [Hurtado] de Mendoza, Chapuys' colleague in the embassy to this country from February to the end of August 1538.

Of other minor agents, at times mere messengers, but bearing occasionally a diplomatic character—having instructions and writing despatches—such as Andalot, Valençuela, Luis de Avila y Zuñiga,† Martin Alonso del Rio, and others, short notices occur either in their proper places or in the "Additional Notes and Corrections" at the end of this volume, whenever it has been considered necessary. As to the viceroy of Naples, Don Pedro de Toledo, marquis de Villafranca, and Don Alonso Davalos de Aquino, governor of Milan, enough has been said in the Introductions to preceding volumes. Respecting this latter, generally designated by his title of *marquis del Gasto*, I cannot but repeat here the observation I once made that his real title was *marquis del Vasto*‡ *and Pescara*, having inherited the former from his father Don Iñigo, and the latter from his cousin, Ferrante Davalos d'Aquino. However this may be, the constant practice is to write Guast or Gasto instead of Vasto, and I have repugnantly followed it for fear of adding to the confusion, very perplexing at times, arising

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* No. 137, p. 286.

† This Don Luis de Avila y Zuñiga was employed in various extraordinary missions. His instructions, bearing the date of Oct. 1539, will be found under No. 88, pp. 191–3.

‡ From Vasto d'Ammone, a small town in the Abruzzo Citeriore (Naples), the Germans most likely made *Wast*, which was naturally enough turned into Güast, Guast, Gast, and Gasto. Spanish historians and genealogists write indifferently *Vasto* and *Basto*. *See* Lopez de Haro, *Nobiliario Genealogico de los Reyes y titulos de Españo*; Madrid, 1622; Vol. I., p. 120–2.

from an historical name being written in three or four different ways.

Of the marquis del Vasto there are two or three letters in this volume, mostly relating to the case of Cesare Fragoso and Antonio del Rincon, French agents in the East, who, on their return from Constantinople and journeying towards Venice, were tracked and murdered by soldiers from the garrison of Pavia, by order, as it was said at the time, of the Marquis himself. This accusation he denied, pretending that he had no knowledge whatever of it; the Emperor's ministers maintained that the order did not proceed from him nor from them,* and although a judicial investigation was instituted, and Pope Paul was made the arbitrator in the contest to decide whether the truce had, or had not, been broken by the Emperor, no satisfactory evidence seems to have been produced one way or other. In my opinion, the two agents above alluded to (Fragoso and Rincon) were murdered, if not exactly by the Marquis' direct orders, at least by some subordinate agent of his. His instructions were, as he himself owned, only to stop the two French agents on their journey, and, if possible, seize their papers. The commission was entrusted, as Jean Bodin† relates, to Pedro de Ibarra, inspector-general of the Imperial army in the duchy of Milan, who knowing that Antonio Rincon was a deserter from Spain, had him then and there garrotted as though he had been condemned and sentenced beforehand. In support of my conjecture I will here subjoin a few words from Idiaquez' report on the case: "The Marquis "should be told that your Imperial Majesty cannot possibly

* In a letter addressed to Don Diego de Mendoza in Venice, that ambassador was instructed "not to interfere in any way with Rincon, who, as long as the present truce lasts, is not to be hurt or offended." p. 338.

† Sandoval, *Historia del Emperador Carlos V.*, abridged by Joseph Martinez de la Puente, (Madrid, 1675, fol.) pp. 339–40. The historian whom the bishop of Pamplona quotes in order to contradict his statement is Jean Bodin, a French writer of the xvi. century, whose work was printed at Paris in 1576, but to judge from authentic documents, which I have perused, and which may perhaps one of these days see the public light, the Frenchman's account seems to me more authentic than that of the bishop.

" approve what has been done, but at the same time it must
" be acknowledged that the whole plan was cleverly con-
" ceived and well executed, and may be perhaps a remedy
" for worse evils in future. That your Majesty cannot but
" praise the dexterity used, and acknowledge at the same
" time that if the fruit of so meritorious a deed is to be
" reaped, the whole matter must be kept a profound secret as
" far as your Majesty and the Marquis are concerned. Not
" only is absolute secrecy required respecting the deed; it
" must be equally observed with respect to the person who
" furnished the information. All possible care should be
" taken of this, as well as of the papers found on the persons
" of the prisoners."

Such are the words of the Emperor's under-secretary for Foreign Affairs in his report on the Fragoso and Rincon case, or rather in the draft of a letter to be addressed to the Marquis on the subject. The report itself is undated, and the letter, if ever written, is not at Simancas, yet in my opinion it is decisive that the arrest and murder of the two French agents was planned by the governor of Milan with the full knowledge of the Emperor.

Thus much as concerns the writers of the correspondence of the Emperor's ministers abroad and at home. With regard to the letters and documents, I have nothing more to add to what has been stated in the Introduction to previous volumes. But I have frequently alluded to the occasional dislocation of papers at Simancas, Vienna, Brussels, and other Archives, which I have had to visit as editor of this present Calendar. Minutes or drafts, bearing generally no date—and at times a wrong one—are so misplaced with regard to chronology, that unless the compilers of such documents happen to be at the same time keepers of Archives, they have no chance of avoiding errors. I have in the Appendix to this volume abstracted half a dozen letters or documents, most of them undated, though relating to acts and particulars connected with the history of the period between 1538 and 1542; but let the reader

imagine what my astonishment was on receiving only a few months ago, when the printing of this volume was almost completed, a letter from Chapuys to Mary, the dowager queen of Hungary, dated the 20th August 1541, wherein that ambassador says he has received her letter of the 10th, and placed it in the hands of Katharine of Aragon, Henry's divorced wife—dead five years and five months before!

As Chapuys' correspondence is invaluable for the English reader, and his letter referring entirely to the case of "the good and unfortunate queen Katharine" has come to hand too late for insertion in its proper place (Vol. V., Part I., after No. 411), I here subjoin it:—

"*Chapuys to the queen of Hungary.*

"Madame,—On the receipt of the letter of the 10th inst., which Your Majesty was pleased to forward, I immediately called on the Queen, who was greatly rejoiced at it, not only on account of the good news from Germany which that letter contains, but likewise for the good remembrance, great care, and anxious solicitude which Your Majesty has always shown, and is now showing, for her personal affairs. Indeed, Your Majesty's letter (the Queen says) has come like a balm to heal and mitigate, in a certain measure, the displeasure and annoyance she feels at seeing all the proceedings at Rome being, as it were, suspended, or rather retracted or annulled, in obedience to the commands of the Pope, whom the English ambassadors in that capital have persuaded that the King, their master, is more easily to be reduced and recalled to his duty by mild and conciliatory terms than by rigorous justice, and that the best expedient for him to adopt under the circumstances is to send a Nuncio of his own here to remonstrate mildly with him, and so forth. His Holiness the Pope,* as it appears, yielding to the suggestions of the English ambassadors, is about to send here a Nuncio, which measure, in my opinion, is equivalent to delaying still more the proceedings in the case, losing time and trouble. Even if the Pope himself should come [to England] personally, nothing could be obtained, for the King's obstinacy knows no bounds. True is it that if His Holiness' Nuncio is to be trusted, and desires to do good offices in the affair, as Your Majesty informs me, he may help to prevent the States, or Parliament, of this kingdom—and, above all, the English prelates constituting one of its branches—from consenting to the King's contracting a fresh marriage. The Nuncio might also bring a mandate from the Pope to look into the case of the Queen's virginity at the time that the present King married her—the proof of which can easily be obtained, provided the Papal Nuncio be, as Your Majesty points

* Clement VII.

out, a faithful and trusty ecclesiastic, for, besides the many witnesses who can declare in favor of it, the King himself has many a time acknowledged the fact. Even now, though he pretends to have forgotten the circumstances of his marriage, he does not entirely deny what he has frequently owned, so that if the Queen's virginity at the time of her marriage be proved, the King cannot help owning that his marriage was a legitimate one.

"A long time ago I wrote to Miçer Mai,* the Emperor's ambassador at Rome, to try and obtain from His Holiness some such commission of inquiry, and I have no doubt that if applied to again the ambassador will do his best to persuade His Holiness to grant it to whomsoever comes here as his Nuncio. This will serve admirably for the good issue of the Queen's suit at Rome, and help the Papal Nuncio in the fulfilment of his commission. Even if the latter could achieve nothing else, he might be able to bear testimony of this King's obstinacy; of his ill-treatment of the Queen, his wife; the almost general desire and will of the English people [for the continuance of the marriage]; and last, not least, of the train and behaviour of the King's mistress.

"The King, in the meantime, is not inactive. One week after the return to England of the lady's father (Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire)† he despatched two couriers to Rome, one of whom was the bearer of the seals (*seelz*) of the Universities obtained in favor of the illegitimacy of his marriage, and together with that a considerable sum of money, which after all will be the best sauce to render those seals palatable to the Romans.

I hear that for the last five days consecutive meetings have been held at Toncourt (Hampton Court), where the King is now residing, Jacques Jocquin and some other notable personages attending. I have been unable yet to ascertain what the meetings are about, unless it be, as I presume, to deliberate respecting the expected arrival of M. de Bayonne,‡ and his business here; he arrived here post haste the day before yesterday, when the assembly broke up, and to-day went to see the King. Immediately after his arrival he sent me word that had it not been for the etiquette of this country, prescribing that ambassadors newly appointed are not to visit those of friendly powers before having had audience from the King, he would willingly have called on me; but that on his return from Court, he would not fail to come and relate to me some most pleasing news, which he had no doubt would give me contentment, such as the expression of the sentiments of respect and sympathy which all his countrymen do entertain for the Queen, and their good desire of keeping up peace and friendship with His Imperial Majesty.—London, 20 August 1530."§

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* *See* Vol. IV., Part I., p. 648.

† The earl returned from his mission to the Emperor, then in Italy, in August 1530. *See* Vol. IV., Part I., p. 690.

‡ Jean du Bellay, bishop of Bayonne from 1526 to 1532.

§ The date is evidently 1530, though the two last numerical figures are either entirely erased or very much obliterated. The Papal Nuncio landed at Dover on the 3rd September of that year, (Vol. IV., Part I., p. 710), and

Such is Chapuys' letter to the regent of the Low Countries, written in August 1530, at the time that Pope Clement, wishing to delay as long as possible his sentence in the divorce suit, proposed sending to England a Nuncio to persuade king Henry either to desist entirely from his purpose of marrying Anne Boleyn, or else to submit to his judgment and sentence in the divorce case. The Papal Nuncio was a Sicilian of the name of Antonio da Pulleo, baron dal Borgho, whose appointment Miguel Mai, the Emperor's ambassador at Rome, announced on the 3rd of July, but adding that as the Baron, though the Emperor's subject, had been long in the Pope's service, he was somehow open to suspicion, for which reason he (Mai) had done everything in his power to prevent his nomination.

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in July Miçer Mai wrote to the Emperor announcing his appointment, having previously acquainted queen Katharine and the Imperial ambassador in England with the fact (*ibid* p. 621): all which are proofs that Chapuys' letter to queen Mary must have been written in August 1530.

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CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS.

SPANISH, HENRY VIII.

1538.

S. E., L. 1,439, f. 187.
B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 204.

1. The Emperor to Lope Hurtado de Mendoça,* Lord High Chamberlain to the duchess Margaret.

Is in receipt of his (Hurtado's) letters of the 16th and 17th ult., which came by the courier, despatched by the ambassador at Genoa (Suarez de Figueroa); which letters, as well as the one addressed to the High Commander of Leon (Covos), have sufficiently acquainted him [the Emperor] with all events since his own embarcation at Genoa, as well as with the good health of the Duchess, his daughter, the final delivery of the castle of Livorno (Leghorn), and other particulars. Glad to hear that the archbishop of Santiago (Sarmiento)† has arrived, and will be welcome to the Duchess. Should have answered his letters more at length, were it not that they came whilst he was en route for Valladolid. On his arrival in that town he (the Emperor) will give more positive orders respecting the Duchess' affairs, as well as concerning the memorandum brought by Cherubino,‡ though there is every reason to suppose that as Aguilar at Rome had previously been written to on the subject, everything has already been settled to the Duchess' complete satisfaction.

Nothing more to say, save recommending him (Hurtado de Mendoza) to take care that Cosmo [de Medici] attends to the

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* Of this Lope Hurtado de Mendoza, whose appointment to the charge of High Lord Chamberlain has already been recorded (Vol. V., Part II., p. 167, 375), some account has been given in the Introduction to that volume. His name, *Hurtado de Mendoza*, shows him to have belonged to one of the two noble families of Spain so called, the counts of *Tendilla* or the dukes of *Infantado*, both of which acknowledge as their common ancestor Iñigo Lopez de Mendoça, count of Real de Manzanares, and first marquis of Santillana. *See* Lopez de Haro, *Nobiliario Genealogico de los Reys y Titulos de España*, Vol. I., *Lib.* IV., *Chap.* XIII., and *Lib.* V., *Chap.* V. In neither of the places quoted, however, does the name of *Lope* appear among the members of the Mendoza family.

† Don Pedro Sarmiento de Mendoza, bishop of Tuy. (*Tudensis*) in 1523; of Badajoz, 1524; of Palencia, Nov. 1525, and afterwards of Santiago de Compostela, in Galicia (1534–51), whose arrival at Niz Za in May 1538 has already been recorded in Vol. V., Part II., p. 535. He was most likely the brother of Luis, then ambassador in Portugal, whose depatches to the Emperor have already been abstracted, *ibid*, pp. 316, 333, 335.

‡ Cherubino (Miçer), former agent of the duke of Florence, Alessandro de Medici. *See ibid*, Part II., pp. 329, 331–3.

1538.

repairs and provisioning of the castle of Livorno, so as to place it in a state of defence.*

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

Addressed: "To Lope Hurtado, Lord High Chamberlain to the Duchess, our daughter."

July. 2. Mr. DE GRANVELLE to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.* C. 231, ff. 58-9.

The English ambassador called this morning, and told me that a courier had arrived from his master with rather stale news and letters written more than 12 days ago, the contents of which were so pressing and important, that he could not help informing Your Imperial Majesty thereof. His master, the King (said the English ambassador to me), complained bitterly of his not having been expressly named and included in the last treaty of truce with France, and likewise of his name being therein mentioned after that of the king of Portugal, which omission, if intentional, made his master suspect that something was intended in contravention to the treaties between Your Imperial Majesty and himself, in case of his (the King's) being attacked.†

My answer to the English ambassador has been that there was no need to include his master expressly in the treaty of truce, and yet that he had been included and named in it, as other kings, though in general terms. As to the other point, namely, that of the precedence, I told him that Your Imperial Majesty could not possibly affirm that the king of Portugal (Dom Joaô) ought to precede him; but that, at the same time, honesty and close relationship prevented Your Majesty from making a contrary assertion; and lastly, that the treaty of truce did in nowise prejudice or impair those made with the King, his master.

The ambassador has also told me incidentally that Your Imperial Majesty had negociated a marriage between your daughter (Margaret) and the grandson‡ of the Holy father. My answer was that there was nothing done or settled as yet, though the marriage might possibly take place. Should, however, the marriage take effect, nothing would be done to his master's prejudice, nor any clause to his detriment inserted in the treaty of peace with France.

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* There is, as usual, no date to this draft or minute, but as the Emperor left Barcelona on the 18th of July, and was at Valladolid on the 26th, Hurtado's letters of the 16th and 17th of June must have reached him about the end of that month.

† The sentence is not very clear: "Et encoires que ce fust pour difficulte de la precedence dentre luy et le roy de Portugal, et quil ne sçavoit si par ça vostre maieste auroit par advanture prejudicye aux traictez dentre vouz deux en cas quil fut offendu."

‡ That is Ottavio Farnese, son of Pier Luigi, and grandson of Alessandro (Paul III.). A whole line must, however, have been omitted in the copy, which reads thus: "Il ma aussi dit inciddament (*sic*) que vostre maieste avoit traicte alliance de marriage de vostre fille *avec nostre sainct pere.*" I need scarcely say that the words underlined ought to be preceded by *le grand fils de*, meaning Ottavio, son of Pier Luigi, as above.

1538.

Upon which the ambassador replied that the assurance I had just given was enough for him; yet as he had been particularly instructed to interrogate me on that point, he wished Your Imperial Majesty to write a letter to his master promising that nothing should be undertaken against him in case of the General Council meeting, which (he said) his master would in nowise attend. I answered him that the request was unreasonable, and that Your Imperial Majesty could not possibly grant it, as you had already declared on a previous occasion, and as had been legally demonstrated.

Again, on a second visit, the ambassador told me that his master had understood, or, at least, gathered, from Your Imperial Majesty's letters, that you were about to send full powers to treat concerning the General Council, to which I immediately replied that I did not see what purpose those powers could serve, Your Majesty having never mentioned the thing to me, nor could I guess what your powers had to do with the affair.

Immediately after this he went on to say that he thought that not only friendship and alliance had already been established between Your Imperial Majesty and the king of France, but that they would soon become (as people said) still closer. My answer was that the closer the alliance, the better it would be for the King, his master, as both of you (the king of France and yourself) desired to cultivate the same conjointly with him. Yet I must say, that such was the ambassador's general manner and countenance, when the above remark came from my lips, that I am fully convinced that the truce is a morsel not easily digested by the English stomach at the present moment.

After that I told him that before Your Imperial Majesty's departure from this place [Barcelona], full powers for the queen regent of the Low Countries* had been drawn out, and, therefore, that as Don Diego de Mendoça's presence would no longer be necessary in England, Your Majesty was thinking of recalling him, and sending him over to the Queen Regent to inform her of the terms in which he might at his departure have left the negociations about the marriages.

Hearing this, the ambassador insisted again on the necessity of our sending particular instructions respecting the dower and patrimonial rights of the dowager duchess of Milan, as well as concerning the cession by the Palatine Duchess (Dorothea) of her rights to the kingdom of Denmark. I told him that this would be done at his master's pleasure, and, moreover, that the archbishop of Lunden,† by commission of the king of the Romans (Ferdinand), had gone to visit the Duchess and her husband,‡ and was soon expected back here with their final resolution.

* That is Mary of Hungary, the Emperor's sister.

† Torbern-Bilde.

‡ The Count Palatine of the Rhine, Frederic, who had lately been raised to the rank of duke.

1538.

After that the ambassador questioned me as to how and on what terms we intended treating with his master in case of the French refusing to pay the arrears of pension owed to him. My answer was that it was no concern of ours, and we had nothing to do with the proposed marriages. The king of France, I thought, would not refuse to pay his obligations and so forth. This, of course, I said in general terms, as coming from me and my colleagues in the Council.

Nor did the ambassador omit to speak to me about the assistance for the defence of Milan in case of a French invasion, which, as your Majesty must recollect, was one of the stipulated conditions on our part. I answered him in general terms, telling him that the help and assistance asked from his master at other times was naturally subjected now to different considerations, since Your Imperial Majesty and the king of France were actually friends. The ambassador replied that if the affair of the defence was left to his arbitration, king Henry would of himself make propositions more advantageous than those of the French.

I am sure that the above account of my conversation with the ambassador will appear to Your Imperial Majesty too prolix by far; but we* have considered it a duty on our part to forewarn Your Majesty with respect to the intentions of the English, who, in our opinion, are only aiming at getting as much profit as possible out of Your Majesty's reconciliation† with the king of France, and also ascertaining whether you are in the same mood as before respecting the marriages—that they may have the affair settled and concluded as soon as possible; and last, not least, try to have the conditions about Milan altered to their advantage.

If your Imperial Majesty be pleased to give your opinion on the above, and transmit me your orders, all your servants here, and I myself in particular, will be glad to hear them.—Barcelona, ‡July, 1538.

French. draft. pp. 3.

30 July.

S. E., Port., L. 371, f. 28.
B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 201.

3. LUIS SARMIENTO [DE MENDOZA] to the EMPEROR.

Is in receipt of three letters from the Emperor—one from Villafranca di Niza of the 20th of June, a second from Las Pomegas (Pomegues) on the 12th of July, and a third from Aguas Muertas (Aigues-Mortes), on the 17th of the same month.§

* Here and elsewhere the text has *nous* instead of *je*, as if Granvelle meant that it was also the opinion of his colleagues in the Council.

† Mais il nous a semble bien que vostre maieste fust preadvertie quel' intention du dit ambassadeur est de touscher (gaigner?) tout ce quil pourra de lamytie dentre vostre majeste et le dit roy de France.

‡ The letter is undated, but as the Emperor left Barcelona on the 18th of July, and the English ambassador's communication took place after his departure, Granvelle's report upon it must have been written about the end of the month. *See* above, p. 3, note.

§ The letters here alluded to have already been abstracted. *See* Vol. V., Part II., Nos. 160, 170.

1538.

By the first he (Sarmiento) was ordered to inform the king of Portugal (Dom Joaõ), as well as the Queen (Da. Catalina),* and the Infante Dom Luys, of the ten years' truce concluded with France. He did so, telling them that an article was to be inserted in the future treaty respecting the navigation to the Indies, both of Portuguese and Spaniards, and informing them also of what king Francis had answered when requested to do so.

By that of the 13th July he was ordered to notify to the King and Queen the Emperor's voyage to Genoa, together with the Pope, and the resolution they both had come to concerning the Council, the military preparations against the Turk, the strengthening of the castles of Florence and Liorna (Leghorn), and other matters, and that as it had been decided that negociations for peace should be continued at Rome, the Emperor had appointed to that effect the marquis de Aguilar, his ambassador. That the Emperor had asked a cardinal's hat for the Infante D. Enrique, which His Holiness at first had made great difficulty about granting on the plea that there had never been a case of two brothers being created cardinals†; but that the Marquis had charge of again soliciting the Pope about it, so that there was reason to believe it would be soon obtained. The Emperor's orders on these points were likewise punctually executed. By the third he [Sarmiento] was informed of what queen Leonor [of France] had told the Emperor, her brother, on her departure from Villafranca, and how both princes, having afterwards met at Aigues-Mortes, a truce was agreed to, with a very good prospect of its being consolidated into a firm and lasting peace. The ambassador did not fail to acquaint the King, Queen, and the Infante with so happy and unexpected an event, which they at once declared to be most miraculous.

After this came that of the 22nd of July, from Barcelona, which was immediately read to the King in the presence of the Queen and Infante, both of whom thanked God for the Emperor's safe return to his Spanish kingdoms.— Lisbon, 30th of July, 1538.

Signed: "Luis Sarmiento de Mendoza."

P.S.—After closing this letter I received information that this King is about to send to Your Majesty one Geronimo de Meneses,‡ a cousin of the marquis de Villareal, and also of Don Alexo, his resident ambassador at Your Majesty's Court. He is to depart soon, and, I am told, will meet you before reaching Valladolid.§

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

* The Emperor's sister. She was married to Joaõ III., king of Portugal, in 1524. After the death of her husband (June 11, 1557) she became regent of the kingdom for her grandson Dom Sebastiaõ, then only two years old. Five years later, in 1562, she abdicated and retired to a convent, where she died.

† *See* Vol. V., Part II., pp. 274, 556 *n.* The cardinal was D. Alonso, son of Dom Manoel, king of Portugal, by his second wife, Maria, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Castille. He was born in 1508, became bp. of Braga in 1533-40, of Evora, 1540-49, abp. of Lisbon, and cardinal 1560. He died in 1580.

‡ Marquis de Villa Real.

§ The above, by way of a poscriptum, is on a slip of paper.

1538.

14–22 Aug. P. Ar. de l'Empire. S. 1,484, No. 32.

4. ABSTRACT of LETTERS from the IMPERIAL AMBASSADOR in France of the 14th and 22nd of August, 1538.

Having communicated to king Francis the contents of Your Majesty's letter of the 28th July, describing the conferences with the English ambassador, both he and the High Constable (Montmorency) listened to him attentively, and seemed very much pleased.

The King first, and the High Constable afterwards, told him (the ambassador) that Brian (Sir Francis Briant) had come, and in his master's name expressed wonder at his having made a treaty with Your Imperial Majesty, inasmuch (said Brian) "as the King, my master, would have secured for him (Francis) the friendship of Flanders, and arranged that the fair of Antwerp should have been at once transferred to Roana (Rouen)." Hearing this, the King asked Brian: "If so, how is it that your master did not say as much while the war lasted? Now it is too late; I am the Emperor's sincere friend; and, although you are reported to have said to someone at Aigues-Mortes that the agreement would not hold good for six months to come, I must tell you that on that occasion you were not a true prophet."—"What does Your Highness mean?" exclaimed Brian, "are you no longer my master's friend?" To which the King replied: "I am still the king of England's friend, but the Emperor's also."

After this Brian went on to say that his master, the King, wished for a fresh and still closer alliance with France, which he then and there proposed, offering to cross the Channel and come to Calais, whither the Most Christian King might send the queen of Navarre,* accompanied by 7 or 8 damsels of Royal blood, especially of the houses of Lorraine, Vendôme, and Nevers, to visit him, when he would choose one of them [for his wife]. The King's answer was, "It is not the custom in France to send damsels of that rank and of such noble and princely families to be passed in review as if they were hackneys for sale; besides which, were one of them to be selected, the rest would lose in estimation. If, however, the King wishes to marry one of the number, he may at once, and in the proper manner, apply for her hand, with the certainty that he will get a speedy and favourable answer to his request."

Hearing this, Brian suggested an interview of the two Kings at Calais, to which proposal king Francis said that nothing, in his opinion, had occurred to necessitate a conference, and entail such trouble on the parties concerned. Upon which, Brian, greatly astonished, replied: "And should the King, my master, resolve to come over and ride post to see you, would you shut the gates of your kingdom in his face?" "It is not my habit" (retorted the King) "to shut the door in my friends' faces, and yet I see no reason for the king of

* Margaret of France, the King's sister, married to Henri d'Albret.

1538.

England taking so much trouble on this occasion. If, however, your master comes to me, he will be well received; but he must avoid speaking on politics, for I shall not listen to him." This last sentence king Francis uttered very dryly, as if he wished the subject to be dropped altogether.

After this Brian said: "At any rate, sire, you will not henceforward refuse to pay my master the pensions you owe him?"—"There can be no question about that" (replied the King); "I am pretty sure that should I refuse to pay my debt, it is not your master who will compel me to it; but you may still be sure that I am his friend and brother, as also the Emperor's."

Then Brian, lest Your Majesty and the king of France had, as he feared, come to some agreement to his master's prejudice, asked: "Sire, I know that you do not intend making war upon my master."—"Surely not" (answered king Francis); "I give you my word of honour that nothing has been said against him at our meeting at Aigues-Mortes. On the contrary, the Emperor has always spoken of your master in the highest and most honourable terms;" hearing which, Brian withdrew, saying that he would write to his master and let him know the whole.

The Imperial ambassador goes on to say that king Francis told him: "I believe this interview proposed by the king of England is for no other purpose than to cause jealousy between the Emperor and myself. That seems to be his only object, and my reason also for speaking as sharply as I did to Brian, whose intemperate and high-flown language at first required correction.

The constable (Montmorency) had likewise told the Imperial ambassador that Brian had complained to him of his master, the King, not having been included in the truce; and that his answer had been, though expressing Your Majesty's sentiments at the same time as his own, "I refer you to the contents of the fourth paragraph of the Emperor's letter, where mention is made of the king of Portugal."*

The King, moreover, said to the Imperial ambassador: "On the xiith inst. I received the ambassadors of the new king of Denmark,† of the duke elector of Saxony, and of the Landgrave of Hesse, who proposed to me two things—'The first, that I should not consent to the Council being held, and the second, that I should send money to Germany for the defensive war.' My answer to the former was that it would go against my oath and profession, as Most Christian King, to impede in any

* "A lo qual él havia hecho respuesta como en nombre de Vuestra Magestad, no dissimulando quato podia dezir como de suyo, lo que se contiesne en el quarto capitulo de la letra de Vuestra Magestad sobre lo de Portugal, y que no sabria perjudicarle."

† This new king of Denmark could be no other than Frederic II., son of Kristiern III.; who, however, must be distinguished from the Palatine Frederic, married to Dorothea of Denmark.

1538.

manner the celebration of the General Council. That I consider myself obliged, on the contrary, to forward the same with all my power, being under the impression that they themselves ought to have promoted it, or, at least, made as if they had. As to the second, namely, that I should remit money to Germany for the defensive war, the answer was: 'I (the King) am now at peace with the Emperor. The Germans have been in general terms included in the truce, and, therefore, there is no occasion for me to send them money for the defensive war; besides which I have spent too much at other times, my treasury being now so exhausted that I could not, if I chose, dispose of any for that object.'"

And inasmuch as the English seem to fear that Your Majesty may all of a sudden fall upon them, king Francis assured Brian that there was no danger at all of that, since Your Majesty, to his certain knowledge, was glad that they should remain the friends and allies of the Empire just as he himself was. That Your Majesty's intentions towards them were good, holy, and righteous; you only aimed at the reconciliation and union of Christendom, without asking them or other people if they were willing or not to conform to reason, in which case they (the English) knew well what their interest and convenience was.*

It was Your Majesty's purpose and his own (added the King) to mediate between His Holiness and the Lutherans, with which they (the English) ought to be satisfied, especially as there had been faults on both sides. As to matters of Faith, the same ideas were substantially prevalent in France as in England.† Saying which, the King expatiated greatly in praise of Your Majesty, and ended by assuring Brian that the English had nothing to fear on that head: at which assurance from the King's lips Brian was much pleased.

King Francis also told Brian that he himself had lately received intelligence from a groom of his chamber, named Marillach, who left Constantinople on the 16th of June last, that the Grand Turk (Solyman) was very glad to hear of the peace between Your Majesty and himself, and wished to remain the friend of France, having given orders that French merchant vessels should be freely admitted into Alexandria and other ports of his dominions. Solyman, moreover, had hinted to Marillach that he was glad to make peace with Your Majesty to the exclusion of the Venetians, whom he intended to punish, and that he (the King) was to be the mediator of that peace.‡

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* "Y que la intencion de V. M. no era sino buena y sancta y inclinada á unir la Christiandad syn demandarles á ellos ny á nadi syno si querian ó no conformarse con la razon, en el qual caso ellos mesmos sabian lo que [les] convenia."

† "Y que Vuestra Majestad y el rey de Francia querian ser medianeros entre su santidad y los lutheranos, de lo qual ellos se devrian contentar y señaladamente haviendo faltas de la una y de la otra parte, y que quanto á lo substancial de la fé se entendera tambien acá como allá."

‡ "Y desseaua que el dicho rey fuesse medianero en ello."

1538.

Barbarossa had lately been engaged in various enterprises against the Venetians. He had lost at Candia 4,000 janizaries, and as many, or perhaps more, of other soldiery. The Candiotes, believing that his intention was to storm the castle, had suddenly attacked and defeated him; and it was with great difficulty that the corsair could escape to his galleys. The plague had since broken out among them, and he himself had enough to do with the provisioning his fleet, and replacing the men who had been slain by the Candiotes.

The Sophi [of Persia]* had made a covenant with the Tartars of the green-caps, and bestowed upon their lord or khan his own sister in marriage. Both the Sophi and the Tartar khan, with both of whom the Georgians had made a league, had collected a large army and taken the field. They had already seized on Tauris, and were marching on Bagdad. The Grand Turk, however, had sent two armies against them; he himself was to leave Constantinople and invade Hungary at the head of upwards of 200,000 men. His plan was to march on Buda with a train of light artillery, which was to be ready for him at the frontier, and lay siege to the city, and, if possible, take it. After that he was to return to Constantinople. Should he be unable to reduce that fortress (Buda), he would overrun Moldavia and lay it waste. The bashaws were trying to dissuade him from that undertaking; but Solyman was still bent upon it, and had resolved to invade Hungary.

The above, as the King told him (Scepper), is in substance the news brought by Marillach, who, he says, is much attached to Your Imperial Majesty, and always speaks of you in the highest possible terms, especially to the ambassador of the Waywode (Zapolski) residing at his court. The latter has heard with pleasure the affectionate and friendly terms used by this King with regard to Your Majesty, and sincerely hopes that the present union will powerfully contribute to the welfare of Christendom, as the ambassador himself will personally declare whenever he has an opportunity.

The King was very glad to hear from Mr. de Cossey,† whom he had sent on a mission to the dowager queen of Hungary, that she had expressed a great desire to see him. He had also heard of the handsome reception given to his ambassador, and had arranged to be by the end of August at Compiegne, and take his Queen with him. He was in very good health, and had ordered [the ambassador] to send Your Majesty his most affectionate commendations. The queen of Navarre (Margaret) has done the same, begging him to remember her kindly to Your Majesty.

They say that when Brian, Henry's ambassador, made the proposal of an interview at Calais, the queen (Eleanor) said

* That is Thamasp, who reigned from 1523 to 1576.

† The original has Cancy; but it must be a mistake for Coucy, *i.e.*, Jacques de Coucy, sieur de Vervins.

1538.

to him that she was not the keeper of harlots (*madre de moças*),* and that the daughters of the Royal blood of France never went out except in company with the queen of that country. In all other things she approved of, and confirmed the King's decision, thus showing that neither would she accept the charge of taking the damsels [to Calais], nor did the King propose it to her.

Charles de Bourbon has conveyed to Mr. de Vendôme the message brought by Selva† respecting the journey to Levant. The former kisses Your Imperial Majesty's hands for the favor, and says he is very desirous of employing himself in your service.

22 Aug. In conversation with the High Constable the other day he (the ambassador) was told: "The King forgot to relate to you a curious anecdote with regard to the Calais interview. Among the damsels, whom Brian designated for the journey to that town, is a daughter of Mr. de Vendôme, now a nun in a convent. Upon which the High Constable remarked: "I have no doubt that as the king of England considers himself a Pope in his own kingdom, he would have preferred the nun to any other daughter of the Royal blood in France."‡

That the queen dowager of Hungary (Mary) having forwarded to the Imperial ambassador various questions, to which an answer was required, such as the marriage of Clèves and others, the ambassador wrote them down and transmitted them to the King's ministers, whose answer was as follows:—

"The marriage will not take place. The King is unwilling to help, or favor the duke of Clèves, in that affair; on the contrary he is ready and prepared to fulfil all and every one of his promises and engagements towards the Emperor in that, as well as in other matters." Besides this categorical answer on the King's part, there was another from the High Constable to various points touched upon by the Imperial ambassador. The King (said Montmorency) has suspended all the taxes newly imposed, and revoked the statute made in May of the year 1537, forbidding the importation of silks and taffeties manufactured in Your Majesty's dominions, which prohibition, if continued, would have been of great loss and damage to Your Majesty's subjects of Arthois, and other provinces.

That the King has ordered the immediate restitution of such towns and fortresses in the counties of Calmont,§ Luiny, and others, as he had taken possession of during the last war; in short, that the memorandum forwarded by the queen dowager of Hungary to Your Majesty concerning those points was comprehensive, and sufficiently well specified.

* *Padre ó madre de mozas ó* mancebas was at this time the appelative of those who were at the head of a mancebia or house of prostitution.

† Jean Odet de Selve, sieur de Conyères, president of the Parliament of Paris.

‡ *See* above, p. 7.

§ Caumont and Loigny.

1538.

That nothing has been said concerning St. Paul (St. Pol), in as much as the King's ministers have not spoken of him, nor has the ambassador broached the subject in obedience to the Queen's commands.*

The King told him, another day, that he had heard from another servant of his, who returned, after Marillach,† from the Turkish camp on the frontier of Hungary, that the Grand Turk in person left for Constantinople on the 10th of July, and was journeying towards that capital with his face uncovered, and showing himself to his people. He had with him 200,000 men, including in that number 10,000 young janizaries, inexperienced in war. His army was in bad order, and the men so overcome with fear, that in the opinion of the said royal servant, they would not get half way without breaking up and disbanding, and yet (he added) the Grand Turk persists still in his determination to come next spring to Buda and Moldavia.

The Turk, nevertheless (added Marillach), was willing to make peace with Your Majesty, even to the inclusion of the Venetians, a thing to which he had never agreed before.

That almost all the Christian slaves in Barbarossa's galleys had died of the plague, in consequence of which the fleet under that captain's command was badly appointed and manned. The Frenchman above alluded to had been nine days in the Turkish camp; he left Constantinople with the army on the 10th of July. Not only did he confirm the news brought by Marillach respecting the Sophi of Persia, the green Tartar,‡ and the Georgians; but he had brought further intelligence concerning the East, at which king Francis was exceedingly pleased, having ordered the man to communicate with Your Majesty's ambassador in France, and say that measures will be taken, &c.

The Constable also told the Imperial ambassador that it would be advisable to establish regular postal communication between the two countries [France and Spain] so as to avoid the cost of express messengers.

The duke of Savoy (Carlo III.), as it would appear, has not yet ratified the truce; the prorogation for one month granted to him will expire four or five days hence, and, therefore (says the King), should he not fulfil his engagement in that respect, and ratify the same within the term fixed, I shall be obliged to make sure of his person anyhow, so as not to have 5 or 6 thousand men continually on the frontiers of his duchy for no good at all.

The marquis del Gasto (Alfonso Davalos), on the other hand, induced by the ambassador from Savoy, and believing, no doubt, that the Duke (Carlo) had already ratified Your

* Eleanor ?.

† Charle de Marillac (1510–60), *see* above, p. 8.

‡ By the Grand Turk Solyman, the Magnificent is here meant, for he reigned until 1566; by the shah of Persia, Thamasp I. (1523–76).

1538.

Majesty's truce with France, had written a rather sharp letter to Montejean.*

No one knows where the Duke is now; but it is reported that he has not received one farthing from Your Majesty for his daily wants, and that he is about to pawn or sell his jewels.

The King has told him that he is about to send a gentleman of his chamber to Your Majesty to report what he has heard about the Duke, and to complain of him, and of the revolutionary movements in Savoy and Piedmont, which he is determined to stand no longer.

Aug 30. In date of the last day of August the ambassador says that he has nothing new to report, save that the High Constable (Montmorency) said to the bishop of Vincestre (Winchester)† at his departure for England: "Tell your master, the King, that if he wishes to marry in France, he can choose among the damsels of Royal blood except the nun‡ (meaning one of the duke of Guise's daughters) that one he shall not have. The daughters of Lorraine and Vendôme are under the guardianship of their respective fathers, uncles, or kinsmen; and there is no means of making them go to Calais. This answer the Bishop is to take soon to England; but the ambassador imagines that he will stay a little longer in Paris, in order to see how the interview between the king of France and dowager queen of Hungary turns out.

That Your Majesty will soon hear by the sieur de Lordres the message of the Most Christian queen of France (Eleanor) respecting the marriage of Mme. Marguerite, the King's daughter, with the prince of Spain (Philip), and that of the duke d'Orleans (Charles) with the daughter of queen Eleanor.§ King Francis, his father, to have the usufruct of Milan, whilst his son will have the direct possession thereof. This settlement the Most Christian Queen has much at heart, and she has recommended to her ambassador to do the utmost to make Your Majesty consent to it. The Imperial ambassador, however, writes that no hint on this subject has been thrown out to him by the King's ministers, and yet he is pretty sure that they would be highly pleased if Your Majesty would confer on the duke of Orleans the title of king of Lombardy.

The princess of Navarre,‖ so called, has been at Bles (Blois). She is well made and pretty. Her mother (Marguerite) wishes very much that she should marry some prince of Your Majesty's blood, whilst the Most Christian Queen (Eleanor) thinks she might do for one of the sons of the

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* *See* Vol. V., Part II., p. 237, 251, 297.

† Stephen Gardiner.

‡ *See* above, p. 10, where the nun is said to have been Vendôme's daughter.

§ Mary or Maria, daughter of K. Dom Manoel of Portugal and Eleanor, the Emperor's sister.

‖ Jeanne, daughter of Henri d'Albret and Marguerite de Valois, sister of Francis I.

1538.

king of the Romans; her own mother would much prefer that she married the prince of Spain (Philip).*

The Most Christian Queen (Eleanor) has moreover charged him (Scepper) to recommend to Your Majesty the suit of one Mr. de Hedam, who is now claiming the lordships of Florenges, Loigny, Bullon, and others. The ambassador's answer has been that the last named town belongs to an abbot and to the Church of Lieja; but the Queen has replied that she will be glad of the case being tried and justice done with respect to them; but that she begs Your Majesty's favor for the other two (Florenges and Loigny), intending them for Mr. de Hedam, who is to marry Da. Beatriz Pacheco.

King Francis wishes very much, as Mr. de Lordres will explain, that cardinal Gaddi's pension on Naples should be restored to him, firmly maintaining that he (the Cardinal) took no part at all in Philippo Strozzi's conspiracy, or in any other against the government of Florence.

The High Constable has further told him (Scepper) to write home, and say that very shortly the King, his master, will have at his disposal a considerable sum of money, which he will place at Your Majesty's commands, for he (the King) has nothing that is not your own also.

That the Lutherans have sent ambassadors to England, who are actually preaching in German, and that the daily destruction of churches and abbeys in that country continues.

That the King is sending to king John of Hungary† a gentleman of his Chamber, to inform him of the friendship now existing between Your Majesty and himself, and at the same time exhort the latter to make peace with the king of the Romans, if he has not already done so. This the ambassador has induced the High Constable to procure at the instigation of the Waywode's resident ambassador in this Court.

Indorsed: "Summary of letters from the Imperial Ambassador in France."

Spanish. Original minuta. pp.

30 Aug. **5.** LUIGI GONZAGA‡ to the EMPEROR.

S. E. Sicilia, L. 113, B. M. *Add.* MSS. 28,590, f. 212.

Is in receipt of his letter from Agua Morta (Aigues-Mortes) of the xviii. of July.

Prince Andrea Doria anchored here the day before

* Then 11 years old, since he was born on the 29th of May 1527.

† Zapoli or Zapolsky having died in 1538, his son Jean or John succeeded him.

‡ At this time Ferrante (Fernan, Ferdinand) Gonzaga, count of Guastalla, third son of Francesco II., fourth marquis of Mantua (1484–1519), was viceroy of Sicily. Luigi, the writer of this letter, must have been a natural son of Ferrante, or some kinsman of his, for although there was another Luigi Gonzaga, third son of Frederic, fifth marquis, and first duke of Mantua, he was not yet born, since his birth is placed by the most accurate genealogists in 1538. In 1565 the latter became duke de Nevers and Rethel by his marriage with Henrietta of Clèves, daughter and heiress of François, duke de Nevers and Rethel. He followed the party of France; was taken prisoner at the battle of St. Quentin in 1557, became ambassador at Rome for Henri IV. of France, and died in 1595.

1538.

yesterday with his 20 galleys, and 2 more of the Pope's. Yesterday morning, the galleon and the rest of the ships that had remained at Genoa came in. Finding on his arrival that everything was in order, the Prince would not stay and lose time; so after taking on board some wine for his own table, he resolved to set sail, which he did this very afternoon.

He (Gonzaga) is aware of the Emperor's intentions, and is, therefore, of the same opinion as the Prince, namely, that something ought to be done this year to facilitate the future undertaking [on Algiers].—Messina, 30 of August 1538.

Italian. Original. pp. 3.

11 Sept. **6.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. Estado Roma., L. 114. B.M. 28,590. C. 214.

The Most Christian King has written to the dowager queen of Hungary, regent in Flanders, a letter of excuses for his not being able at present to meet her, as proposed. The Queen has graciously accepted his excuses, telling him not to overfatigue himself, or take too much trouble unless business is pressing and absolutely requires it. She will wait on the frontier as long as necessary.

The Imperial ambassador has heard from a very authentic quarter that king Francis had said that it was the Queen, his wife, not he, who had solicited the above-mentioned marriages,* and other things. He would not for anything in this world make a demand, which, in the event of its being refused, might make Your Imperial Majesty suspect that his friendship and esteem for you was diminishing; for whether Your Majesty grant or refuse his application, he is sure to continue Your Majesty's sincere and disinterested friend.

Strong measures are being taken against those who once held office under the admiral of France (Brion–Chabot). Mr. Des Barres, receiver-general of France, has been imprisoned, and the provost of Dyon (Dijon) has taken to flight; the president of Toulouse has been appointed commissary to conduct the proceedings against them. The Admiral, however, is still at Court, and the duke of Guise has come from his estates, for what purpose the ambassador either does not know or does not say.

The High Constable of France asked him the other day whether he had any answer concerning Philippos Strozzi's business, or that of the admiral of France (Brion), with the sieur de Rye.†

The four French galleys which took the queen of Scotland [to Eder Glascow] had returned from that country, and were getting ready to proceed to the Levant. It would appear that in his contention with the sieur de Rye, the Admiral was getting the better of him; for the latter has shewn letters from

* Those above alluded to between Margaret's daughter and prince Philip of Spain, the duke of Orleans and Mary, infanta of Portugal.

† Gerard de Rye, sieur de Valançon.

1538.

that officer to the effect that the overtures complained of did not in any way originate with Your Majesty, or were uttered by your commands; they had their sole origin in his (Rye's) wish to be useful. Indeed, had he had the opportunity, he would have tried to win over the Dauphin himself.* With all that, there is no news of the Admiral being sent back to his government.

The King is very glad at the dowager queen of Hungary being so long on the road, as that delay has given him time and leisure to make more ample provision, determined, as he says, to go as far as Cambray, there to meet the Queen, and then bring her over with him to Champigna (Compiegne ?). He has ordered many pretty things from Portugal, as well as from Germany, Paris, and Anveres (Antwerp), declaring that since Your Majesty was so liberal to the ladies of his Court, when they met at Nizza and Aigues-Mortes, he wishes to be so with the Queen's ladies at Cambray. September 11, 1538.

French. Original. pp. 13.

31 August. **7.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS and DON DIEGO DE MENDOZA to the EMPEROR.

Wien. Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 231, ff. 41–62.

Waiting to be able to report news of some importance, we have purposely delayed writing to Your Majesty, lest our joint despatch should worry you with the narrative of insignificant events in this country. Yet of those events, such as they are, we have not failed, from time to time, to inform Mr. de Granvelle; more particularly of this King's discontent, as Sir Cromwell has assured us, at his not having been expressly named in the last truce, and at Your Imperial Majesty wishing (as he says) to give the king of Portugal precedence to him. Such, indeed, have been the King's complaints, as profferred by the Lord Privy Seal in his master's name, which complaints we have answered in almost similar terms as your Imperial Majesty's ministers did [at Barcelona] to the English ambassador.†

We have also acquainted the sieur de Granvelle with the fact that the French ambassador at this court (Marillac) had sent us his excuses for having made no public manifestation of joy on account of the truce, or peace, as these people will call it, which is said to have been concluded at Aigues-Mortes, in as much as he (the ambassador) had not been officially informed of it, and besides that it seemed to him unreasonable to speak of peace before it was quite certain; for it appears that the gentleman sent by the king of France after the meeting at Aigues-Mortes, as well as the one who went first to the queen

* "Diciendo el tal dicho Rye que las tales platicas procediera no por orden ni mandamiento que tuviessa de Vuestra Magestad, syno solamente por la buena voluntad que él tenia de hazerla servizio, y que hubiesse querido ganar al Dolphin, si pudiera."

† *See* Vol. V., Part II., p. 522.

1538.

dowager of Hungary, to come afterwards here, and then go to Scotland, had already passed through this city. Indeed, the French ambassador had accompanied this latter gentleman to Court, and the King had treated both of them fairly well (*qui leur fist assez raisonable chière*), having after dinner conversed with them for a length of time. Immediately after their taking leave, the King despatched to Flanders a servant of Master Huyet (Wyatt) and another man, without, however, having informed, as we have been given to understand, the French ambassador of their departure, as is customary in such cases.

The above were the reasons the French ambassador had, as he said, for avoiding any public demonstration or rejoicing at the truce, knowing very well how disdainful and disappointed this King would be on hearing of it, and how inopportune it was for himself, owing to the numerous affairs of his master's he had to pursue in this country, for the negociation and final settlement of which he would be obliged again to attend the King's Court sixty miles away from this city, whence he had just returned. Indeed, the ambassador was obliged to go thither again, though he did not make a long stay. On his return to London, he happened to say to one of his most confidential servants, who repeated his words to us, that they might recall him to Court as they pleased, they should do so three or four times before he should think of obeying the summons, thus indicating that he had not been treated as he expected. Coming, moreover, to the subject of the marriages, he positively declared his firm belief that neither of the two matrimonial alliances this King was conjointly negociating in France and in Flanders would be granted.

About that time, that is, on the 13th inst., Your Imperial Majesty's letters of the 29th ult. came to hand, together with the copy of those addressed to the queen dowager of Hungary. On the receipt of which we wrote to the French ambassador, congratulating him on the very good peace and affectionate understanding existing between Your Imperial Majesty and the King, his master; telling him besides that for the consolidation and effectuating of the said peace it was convenient, nay necessary, that between the ministers of both princes there should be that correspondence, understanding, and mutual trust, which we ourselves intended to keep and observe on our part, especially towards him, whom we had always understood to be much inclined to peace; and that on our return from Court, whither we both intended going for the sole purpose of my (Don Diego) taking leave of the King, we would both call on him. The ambassador answered that he was marvellously glad at the news he had received through us, and that he would be delighted if we ourselves would publish this news at Court, as if it were in confirmation of the hints he himself had from time to time thrown out respecting the truce; adding that he very much wished he had at his command

1538.

some trusty messenger to inform the King, his master, immediately of the good-will we had manifested in the affair, and the courtesy used towards him.

On the 17th we left this city for the Court,* fifty miles hence, in the neighbourhood of which the King was hunting from place to place, without staying at any particular spot. No sooner did he hear of our arrival, than he sent us a message appointing the 21st inst. for the audience at a manor belonging to Sir Cromwell. We stayed two days at a place distant about three miles from that manor, and were visited in the name of that official, who at the same time caused such abundance of provisions to be sent thither, both on our arrival at and at our return from the King's Court, that nothing better could be desired. †On the road to Court, half-way between our lodgings and Sir Cromwell's house, we were met by Sir Feris, Knight of the Garter, and by Sir Coban, and taken straight to Sir Cromwell's apartments, who, according to his laudable custom, received us with great kindness and cordiality. After the usual courtesies, and whilst we were changing our travelling costume [to put on a more suitable one], Sir Cromwell came into the room and began to interrogate us rather abruptly‡ as to whether we had any news to communicate respecting the peace, as he called it, concluded between Your Imperial Majesty and the king of France. "Some people" (said he) "will have it that the peace has actually been made; but I cannot believe the report, for my master's ambassadors [in Spain] only write of a truce." Our answer was that we had not been particularly informed of what had passed at the meeting of Aigues-Mortes; and that the English ambassadors at Your Majesty's Court ought to know better than we did; the only thing we knew about it was that there existed now between you two a much better understanding and closer friendship than ever. This answer of ours did not then elicit any reply or observation whatever on the part of Sir Cromwell; but at the dinner table, and when the repast had begun, the Privy Seal did not forget to allude again to the news about the peace, not denying or contradicting it in any wise as we might have expected, but counterbalancing it, as it were, with intelligence by no means so agreeable from other quarters, such as his having heard from Germany that the Turk was already in Belgrade at the head of a very considerable force with the avowed intention of invading

* Ampthill (?).

† "Et venant a la Court nous vindrent rancontrer a my chemin de la dicte maison et de nostre logis le sieur de Feris, chevalier de lordre de la garretiere, et le s^{r} de Cobar, les quelz nous conduyrent tout droit a la chambre du dit sieur Crumuel, lequel selon sa bonne coustume nous reçeust tres humainement." Feris must be Sir Walter Devereux Ferreys. As to Cobar (*sic*), which is probably an error for Coban, I find no other gentleman whose name bears some similarity to Coban but that of Sir George Brooke, Lord Cobham.

‡ "Ainsi que nous nous deshabillions il nous vint interroguer assez brutement (brusquement ?) si avions quelques nouvelles que la paix fust faicte."

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES

1538.

Hungary; that the son of the duke of Clèves was already in peaceful possession of the duchy of Ghelders, &c.

Our reply was that the the news of the Turk's progress concerned Christendom at large; the danger was common to all; those among the Christian princes who refused to help and assist against the Infidel, would, henceforward, be reputed not only as bad Christians, but as people actually out of their senses, since they disregarded the almost inevitable danger and calamity to which they were exposed. With reference to the other intelligence, we observed that the duke of Clèves could not do less than accept on account what had been offered to him, considering that "whoever takes without right, is bound to restitute in full,"* and that he imagined that the Duke, on hearing of the Emperor's pretensions and titles to the Duchy, and of the expences of the suit itself, would soon come to reason,† and not risk losing the certain for the uncertain, besides which, even in the event of his resisting the legal sentence, we were sure that the Duke would never be helped and countenanced by France, without whose assistance the last duke of Ghelders (Charles d'Egmont) had never dared to undertake anything whatever. It was also to be considered that Your Imperial Majesty could bring a much greater pressure to bear on the duke of Clèves, inasmuch as most of the property left by Monsr. de Ravestein, which the Duke has inherited, happens to be situated in the Low Countries, and consequently under Your Majesty's dominion. As to the duchy of Ghelders itself, he (the duke of Clèves) had not the least right to it, which premise We then and there proceeded to prove by declaring only a portion of Your Majesty's positive rights and titles to that duchy.

No answer came from Sir Cromwell to our statements on this subject; but after a time he began to praise the disposition, temper, and good qualities of the young Duke, for no other purpose, as we suspect, than to rouse our jealousy and make us suspect that the King, his master, may have cast his eyes on him as a husband for his daughter, the Princess.

Some time after this and other like familiar conversation, Sir Cromwell asked us point blank whether we had any knowledge of the news current here in England, *i.e.* that Your Imperial Majesty had an idea of passing through France to go to Flanders, and what we ourselves thought of it. Our answer was that we had not been officially informed of Your Majesty's determination as to that; but fancied that if the sea were not navigable at the time, Your Imperial Majesty would not hesitate to journey through France, and that since Your Majesty had done so once under very different circumstances, as they well know, now that the Most Christian King was his friend,

* "Bien considerant que a mal prendre ny avoit que bien rendre."

† "Et que pensions que ayant le dit duc de Cleves entendu les pretenses littres (*sic* tiltres?) et frais de vostre maiesté quil se rangeroit a la raison."

1538.

he would do it without scruple of any sort. As to their remark that they wondered how Your Imperial Majesty—after what had passed between You and the French king, when the pretensions of the one and of the other were still on foot, and far from being defined and settled—could consent under cover of a simple truce, or even of a peace perhaps as fragile, as experience has often shown, throw himself, as it were, into the hands of a prince, who for the last few years had been his sworn enemy, we told him and the rest of the privy councillors that they ought to consider that Your Imperial Majesty and the king of France, as very Christian and wise princes, knew the immense damage and injury which they themselves, and in fact the whole of Christendom, had received, and would in future receive, through war, were it to continue. That the rival pretensions put forward by each of the parties were not worth the hundredth part of the damage already caused, and that they were fully convinced that God would in time find ways and means to arrange and settle all quarrels, if any still remained, to the satisfaction and content of both parties, and that as far as we ourselves were concerned, we were willing to engage that neither on one side nor on the other would there be quarrel, dispute, or scruple likely to disturb the sincere, perfect friendship and good understanding between Your Imperial Majesty and the Most Christian king of France.

To the above manifestation of our sentiments on that point neither Sir Cromwell nor the rest of the privy councillors round the dinner table—such as the earl of Derby, the young marquis of Dorset, the earl of Wiltshire, the bishop of Duram (Durham), the Grand Esquire, and Master Valop (Wallop)—made any reply; they lowered their heads, and remained, as it were, stupefied and astonished, without uttering one single word more about that or any other affair.

The dinner over, Sir Cromwell, and the rest of the above-named privy councillors, went to the King, their master, and remained nearly one hour with him, after which we ourselves were admitted to the Royal presence. He received us kindly enough, when, without ceremony, preamble, or preface of any sort, or the usual commendations on the part of Your Majesty, we proceeded to tell him, that believing him to be in possession, through his ambassadors, of fresher news from the Imperial Court than we ourselves could furnish him with, we would not enter into particulars, but would limit ourselves to announcing that Your Majesty had already transmitted to the dowager queen of Hungary the powers he (the King) had asked for, and that since the affair of the marriages was henceforth to be treated and discussed by the said queen, Your Imperial Majesty had recalled one of us (Don Diego) for employment elsewhere, though with the understanding that I (Don Diego) am to go first of all to Flanders, and reside there as long as the Queen may deem it necessary for the good

1538.

issue of the affairs to be treated of there. And, therefore, that I (Don Diego) begged him to say whether I could be of any use to him in Flanders or in Spain.

After thanking me for my offers, the King asked me (Don Diego) how I intended going to Spain, by land or by sea. I answered resolutely and at once that my intention was to make a land journey, and pass through France. This the King was astonished to hear, as also that we (Don Diego and Chapuys) had no other express charge but that of asking him what was his final resolution respecting the principal affair, that we might at once communicate it to the Queen, who had also written to us on the subject, inquiring how and by whom were the negociations to be conducted in the Low Countries.

Upon which the King asked us whether we were named or not in the Emperor's powers to the Queen. Our answer was that he ought to know better than ourselves, since his own ambassador at the Imperial Court had seen and examined them. We ourselves could not tell positively, though we fancied that we were not named. "How then" (said the King) "are the marriages to be negociated between me here and the Queen Regent in Flanders? I always thought, and so I was told, that some person would be appointed who, residing for the Emperor here in England, might at any time consult with the Queen Regent on any case of importance that might occur, since the distance from Flanders is not such that an answer cannot be obtained within a few days, whereas it will take weeks to have one from Spain." We replied: "That is no fault of ours, nor is it the Emperor's. It was for the English ambassador at the Imperial Court to start the objection, since he had in his hands the original powers, and plenty of leisure to read and examine them."

At first the King attempted to ignore the communication of the powers to his ambassador, but at last, seeing that such an excuse would not serve his purpose, he had recourse to one of his usual sophistical arguments, saying, that the powers, though read aloud to his ambassador, had not been placed in his hands, and therefore could not have been thoroughly examined; besides which he (the King) had been given to understand that they were altogether insufficient even respecting the marriage of the Infante Dom Loyz (Luyz), which was the principle point, in as much as Your Imperial Majesty had not yet obtained the reliable information required concerning the said Infante's property, nor what estates or revenues he possessed as security for the dower. Another scruple did the King start in the matter, namely, the want of powers from the Infante himself, without which, he maintained, no steps could be taken by the Queen Regent for the marriage of Dom Luyz and the Princess, in as much as Your Imperial Majesty (said he) could not take any engagements in the Infante's name without his consent, nor could the Infante frankly dis-

1538.

avow any thing done in his name without vilifying or casting discredit on Your Imperial Majesty and on all those concerned in the affair. At last, however, the King waived his scruples in the matter, and made no further objections, owning that our arguments in favor of the validity of Your Majesty's powers were convincing and could not be contested.

Coming then to more precise terms, we told the King that in our opinion, as good servants of his, had he sent forthwith some one to treat of the affair without loss of time, as he ought to have done, the whole matter would have been settled long ago to his complete satisfaction. Now he ought to put aside all ideas likely to cause delay, and at once declare openly his intention, for the affair has been too long in hand (*en terme et sur le bureau*), and that if he only would return to the old path, he would find Your Imperial Majesty ready to meet him as frankly and openly as could be desired. The difficulties intervening were of no great importance, though up to that hour, to speak the truth, he himself had done little on his side to remove them. We, therefore, begged him to decide and declare to us his intention, that the affair might no longer remain in suspense, for by doing so, means might easily be found to conclude the whole to the mutual satisfaction of the parties.

Hearing which the King manifested plainly a certain inclination to get out of the affair altogether, bringing forward the very same arguments adduced on former occasions, adding that since we had not sufficient powers to treat with him, it was useless to discuss the matter any longer. His ambassador in Spain (he said) had particularly, and in detail, declared to Your Imperial Majesty his intentions in the matter, and, therefore, there was no further declaration needed on his part. To this we replied that if his ambassador had acted in compliance with his orders and instructions, we had not the least doubt that Your Imperial Majesty would have answered him on all points, and that if he himself was satisfied with it, there was no excuse for not proceeding with the affair. Should there be in Your Majesty's answer anything that he (the King) disliked or objected to, he might tell us that we might at once inform you and the Queen Regent.

No immediate reply came from the King; but having requested us to have a little patience, and wait until he had conversed with some of his Privy Councillors, he left us, and went to the embrasure of a window at one end of the Council Hall, where he talked for a few minutes to them, and then returned, saying to me (Chapuys), "I am very glad to hear that you are to remain with us. As there will be hereafter plenty of leisure and time to treat of this and other affairs with you, I will not go on now with the subject. As to you, Don Diego, I must talk awhile with you that you may hear my confession." Having said which, he took me a little apart, and began to

1538.

explain how the good inclination he had always noticed in me towards the settlement of the affairs in hand gave him full hope and confidence that I would in future do my best to bring these affairs to a satisfactory issue. Of that he was sure; but at the same time he begged me most earnestly, when in the presence of Your Majesty in Spain, to be the interpreter of his sentiments. "After my most cordial commendations (he said) you are to remind the Emperor of the old and almost uninterrupted friendship which has existed between the two houses of Spain and England, as well as of the many favors I have rendered him. On that account, as on many others, I think that the Emperor ought to condescend to treat with me frankly, deliberately, and openly. This much I will beg and entreat you to represent to His Imperial Majesty, as well as to the queen regent of Hungary, towards whom I have always borne the most sincere affection, taking singular care of her affairs, and doing her pleasure on all occasions." He ended by begging me (Don Diego) to write to him from Flanders, and also from Spain, and communicate with his ambassadors as often as I could.

I (Don Diego) answered that I was sure Your Imperial Majesty would consider it good service if I could do anything for him (the King) in this and other affairs, and that on this occasion, especially, I should have the greatest pleasure in obeying his commands. But as to writing to him, or communicating with his ambassador, there was no need of that for the present, since I had the means of corresponding surely and secretly with me (Eustace Chapuys), who, second only to Your Majesty's interests, was as desirous of doing him service as his own ambassador or any other subject of his, and that he (the King) would do an injustice in confiding his secrets to anyone else but me.

After this the King returned towards the centre of the room, and began to address us, saying, that he begged both of us to do good offices in the affair, and try to make the queen of Hungary communicate to him directly, or by means of a proxy, the substance of the powers she herself had received from Your Majesty. Otherwise he knew not (he said) how the thing could be managed; and notwithstanding our joint representations that as that was the very thing the Queen Regent had charged us to ask from him, a similar demand on his part seemed to us, therefore, calculated to impede all kinds of negociation, we could not prevail upon him to change his opinion in the matter, or say one word more. After which, taking gracious leave of us, he retired to his apartments.

We must not forget to say that two or three times during the above conversation the King assured us that he was getting already too advanced in years to wait much longer, and that it was necessary for him to press this matter of the marriages as much as he could; which assurance on his part we can in no wise explain, considering his cool behaviour in

1538.

the affair, than by the desire he has of colouring his dissimulation, of which however he furnished us with a further proof; for after telling us plainly that the Infante's marriage was the principal topic of the negociation, and one without which it was impossible to proceed any further, it was evident that whereas some time ago he only sought to conclude his own marriage and postpone the other, nowadays what he is aiming at is to negociate that of the Princess only, and not say a word of his own, for no other purpose, as we think, than that of drawing from Your Majesty some declaration or other respecting the duchy of Milan, of which he himself may profit, by sowing discord and jealousy between Your Imperial Majesty and the king of France, which conjecture of ours was afterwards fully confirmed, as will be said hereafter, by the conversation we had with Cromwell.

Whilst the King was talking to me (Don Diego), Sir Cromwell was making similar statements to me (Eustace Chapuys) in a corner of the hall, telling me, among other things, that Your Majesty, as the rumour went, was actually treating of a marriage between the young duke of Clèves and the dowager duchess of Milan; which rumour, he said, was injurious to his master's reputation, inasmuch as he had been the first in the field, and that in future people might say that either the Duchess' hand had been refused to him, or that it had been granted after the Duke's refusal. My answer was that I knew nothing of such negociation, nor did I believe that it had ever existed; and yet that Your Imperial Majesty, perceiving the terms and manner of conducting the negociation, would in my opinion be justified in doing so. At the same time I was astonished to hear him say that his master would fall into disrepute through it; I did not see that at all, although I refrained from pointing out to him the many considerations which prevented me from adhering to his proposition, for he knew them as well as I did. "Now is the time" (I added) "to take away the mask of dissimulation, and proceed speedily to business, and since the difficulty in the King's marriage rests chiefly on the cession of the right of the Palatine Duchess to her sister of Milan, let the matter be referred to His Imperial Majesty's arbitration, as well as that of the Princess' dowry, if there be any difficulty about it, for the Emperor is without comparison more partial towards the King than towards any other of the parties concerned." Sir Cromwell's reply was that the coldness I (Chapuys) complained of proceeded from Your Imperial Majesty, not from the English. There was no difficulty (he said) about the dower, if there were any the King, his master, would gladly give twenty thousand ducats out of his own purse.*

* "Et si nestoit la difficulte sur le dit douaire, pour le quel il seroit content de donner du sien propre xx. mil escuz."

1538.

Shortly after our departure from the King's presence, and whilst we were putting on our riding costumes,* Sir Cromwell came to us, and said that the King had just ordered him to give me (D. Diego) four hundred pounds sterling, equivalent to sixteen hundred ducats; and he then and there repeated in substance all that the King had said to us, and especially to me D. Diego, on the affair of the marriages, earnestly requesting us, both in the King's name and in his own, to do our best to promote the affair in question, sure as his master was (added Cromwell) that by means of the duchy and state of Milan everything could be arranged and settled. This he (Sir Cromwell) said half between his teeth, whilst we on our side, making as if we had not taken the hint, replied that he might be sure of our good-will, and that it seemed to us that if the King, his master, had really suggested that Your Majesty's powers should be sent to the queen of Hungary, it was for him to send thither a personage of his kingdom to gain time and at once commence the negociation. This proposition of ours was immediately rejected by Sir Cromwell, who said: "It would never do for the King, my master, to send an embassy to Flanders on such an errand as that. After so much trouble to conclude nothing at all, would be disparaging to his reputation. As to sending thither a private person, as you suggest, that is out of the question, for my master has not at this present moment with him anyone to whom he can entrust a negociation of that kind."† In vain did we represent that Your Imperial Majesty had sent me (Don Diego) from a much greater distance than that which lies between England and Flanders, and that if the King was so scrupulous as to distances, he ought to have been doubly so when he asked that the ladies should come to Calais.‡

We must not omit to say that our joint opinion is that this King is at present very much surprised, bewildered, and perplexed at what has happened, and that he has evidently lost a good deal of his former bravery and buoyancy of spirits, showing at present greater mildness of temper and even simplicity than was his wont before, which change, as we take it, does not proceed from any honest feeling or good-will towards Your Majesty, but has its source in the state of uncertainty and doubt in which he has been ever since the interview at Aigues-Mortes, not knowing exactly what

* "Ainsi que prennions nos accoustrements a chevaucher."

† "Car le dit roy navoit personne quil puist envoyer si confidente quil sen voulsist repouser sur luy. Et ne servist en riens luy remoustrer comme vostre maieste mavoit moy, don Diego, envoye de bien plus long quil nestoit dicy en Flandress, ne aussi que le dit sieur roy estoit si respectif a ce que dessus, et trop plus par honnestete le devroit il estre, avoir lespreuve de toutes pour sçavoir la quelle luy satisferoit mieulx, demande[r] que les dames vinssent a Calais."

Henry had from the beginning shown disinclination to go as far as Brussels to see Sforza's widow, and asked that she should be taken to Calais. *See* Vol. V., Part II., p. 432.

‡ That is to say, the dowager duchess of Milan, Christina of Denmark, and Mary, queen of Hungary. *See* Vol. V., Part II., p. 433.

1538.

turn Your Majesty's and the Most Christian's affairs will take. As a proof thereof, he has lately resented beyond measure the mission of the above-mentioned gentleman, Monsr. de Cenys,† sent to Scotland by king Francis, as well as certain words rather sharp and incisive (*griefues et piccantes parolles*), which the resident French ambassador addressed to him on the occasion of introducing Monsr. de Cenys, for* on the very same day, and immediately after the audience to the two Frenchmen, Master Huyet's secretary was sent to Spain with despatches, as above stated. But that is nothing in comparison with the King's disappointment and anger at hearing the French ambassador's observations at the last audience of the two, as we will explain hereafter.

In corroboration of our argument, to prove that the coldness and dissimulation shown by the King and his minister in the matter of the marriages proceed chiefly from the above causes, as well as from the hope the King has, that the Most Christian king of France will do him the pleasure of sending to Calais, or its immediate neighbourhood, Monsr. de Guise, with his niece of Lorraine, his two daughters, and that of Vendosme; but, as Your Majesty will presently hear, he was mistaken, and this might make him change his purpose and conduct.

The King granted us permission to visit the Prince and the Princess, though we perceived that had we not applied for such permission, he himself would have requested us to go, for he evidently wished the latter to speak to us as prescribed in a letter of Sir Cromwell, addressed to her in his (the King's) name. The substance of the letter was that she (the Princess) had heard from an authentic quarter the dissimulation employed by us, Your Majesty's ambassadors, in the discussion of the affair concerning her individually, and that from the fact of Your Majesty being her good lord and cousin, all people would have thought that your kindness and friendship towards her would have been of greater magnitude. Being a woman, she could not help saying so much to us; not, indeed, that she felt any particular desire or anxiety for the issue of the matter in question (since she only obeyed in that respect the commands of her most gracious and loving father, the King, in whom, after God, she placed all her trust), but because, after so many overtures and fine words, nothing had been concluded, as she heard; and also because when merchants were in the habit of bestowing as a dower on their daughters one-fourth of their annual revenue in cash, we Imperial ministers should only have offered 20,000 ducats, and even those so uncertain as to the manner of settlement, that had misfortune obliged her to leave England and have recourse to her dower, she might, perhaps, never have known upon what her revenue was settled. Sir Cromwell, as it appears,

* Jacques de Coucy, sieur de Vervins. *See* above, p. 9.

1538.

had besides written to her to use the very words of the letter, coupled with such gentle terms as her own wisdom and natural discretion might suggest, and immediately inform him of what passed at the interview with us.

We must observe that the contents of Sir Cromwell's letter to the Princess had been duly communicated by her to us the day before we called, that we might be prepared to shape our answer in writing; which we did accordingly that she herself might transmit it to her father, the King. The answer, as we flatter ourselves, is courteous and satisfactory for both parties. We omit it for fear of lengthening this despatch of ours, already too prolix perhaps.

After visiting the Prince, who is the prettiest child we ever set eyes upon, we returned to the Princess, and began again to speak about Sir Cromwell's letter, and our own answer to it. After a good deal of conversation on the subject, the Princess said to us that all her hopes centered in God and in Your Imperial Majesty, and that she held you in the room of father and mother, and was so affectionately attached to you that it seemed almost impossible to her to have such an affection and love for a kinsman. She knew perfectly well that it had not been your fault if the affair of her marriage had remained in the state in which it is. That she really believed what we had told her to be the exact truth, in spite of the efforts made to persuade her to the contrary. Indeed, she owned to us that about last Lent the King, her father, had tried to convince her that Your Imperial Majesty proceeded in the affair with the utmost dissimulation, and without any wish whatsoever to treat of it, so much so that it seemed as if the whole thing had been planned in order to bring discredit (*desextimation*) upon him (the King). She (the Princess) had before and after her father's representations experienced that the contrary was the case, and, therefore, she was now ready to act one way or the other, whichever your Imperial Majesty decided respecting the marriage proposal.

This seemed to us a fair opportunity to ask her, as we did, then and there, whether, in case of a favourable opportunity presenting itself, she would have courage enough to leave England by stealth. To this question of ours, the Princess, from modesty, as we presume, did at first show some reluctance to reply. Then she said that she could not say yes or no, for things might arrive at such a pitch, and the occasion for her departure from this country might become so propitious and favourable, that she would have no scruple or difficulty at all in leaving anyhow. She would let me (Chapuys) know her intentions on that score; for it might happen after all that the King, her father, might hereafter show greater consideration for her, or cause her to be more respected and better treated than she had been until now, in which case she would much prefer remaining in England, and conforming herself entirely to her father's commands and wishes, obeying him implicitly, and so

1538.

forth, though still acting by my (Chapuys), advice. Such was the Princess' language in the two long conferences we held with her. In short, she begged us to present Your Majesty her most humble commendations until she herself did so by letter.

The day before we visited the Princess for the second time, as above said, the ambassador of France sent word that he wished to call on us; but we, considering it a greater honor for your Imperial Majesty, as well as a courtesy on our part likely to flatter the French—who are, generally speaking, proud and vainglorious—anticipated the ambassador's visit, and started one day for his hotel by the riverside. Scarcely had we commenced our journey than we saw him riding fast to join us, and making us signs to stop, which we did. The place where the ambassador overtook us was one midway between his lodgings and ours, not far from the hotel of Mme. de Monstreul (Montreuil), late governess of the deceased queen of Scotland, and now on the point of returning to France, at whose house the French ambassador had just been dining. This being the case, we asked him to introduce us to her, as he might then and there, without going farther off, tell us at his leisure whatever he had to impart. This seemed to us an act of courtesy towards the lady, to whom we made a present of venison and wine in consideration of the favor she seems to enjoy with the King, who, knowing she was to pass through London, had sent two gentlemen of his chamber to accompany, entertain, and feast her, not only in this city, but also on the road to Dover, where the King himself is to meet her by appointment in order to entertain her.* The lady, as we hear, fully intended to leave next day, yet, on the ambassador representing to her that he wished to entertain us at dinner, and that it was very important that she should delay her journey to Dover, that she might attend it, and thus give more publicity to the entertainment, and make people talk about it, she agreed to wait until our return from the Princess, whom we were to visit the day after. And so it was, for on the following day the French ambassador entertained us all most magnificently, the Venetian secretary being one of the party. No politics, however, were discussed at table; nothing but amiability and cordiality reigned during the repast.

On the two occasions that we have been with the French ambassador he has given us full hope of a lasting and in-

* "Et pour ce questions assez loing de son logis et des nostres, et que estions voisins de celluy de Mme. de Monstreul, jadis gouvernante de feue la royne descosse, la quelle sen retourne en France, ou le dit ambassadeur avoit disne advisames de prier le dit ambassadeur quil nous menast visiter la dite dame, et la pourrions deviser a nostre plaisîr. Et nous sembla user de ceste courtoisie envers la dite dame, et luy faire present de vin et de venoison, considerant entre autres choses le cas que faisoit delle ce roy, le quel avoit içy envoye ung gentilhomme, depuis envoya ung autre pour laccompaigner, entretenir, et faire festoyer en ceste ville, aussi la guyder jusques a Dovres, la ou le dit roy se avanceroit daller pour la festoyer."

1538.

dissoluble friendship being soon made between Your Imperial Majesty and the King, his master. He, himself, as far as we can judge, has given signs of trusting in us most implicitly, so much so that he has declared that on the two last audiences he has had from this King—the first of which was for the purpose of introducing the French ambassador, who was going to Scotland, and who has since returned in company with Mme. de Montreuil—he had had high words with this king, and gone so far as to tell him that it was uncourteous of him to ask Monsr. de Guise to come to Calais, or thereabouts, with his daughters and nieces, and propose sending thither a personage of equal rank and quality as the said Monsieur de Guise, or some of his own privy councillors, to chose the fittest damsel of the lot for him; for in the first place he (the ambassador) did not think that there was in the whole of England a prince of Royal descent to be compared to that duke; and secondly, because it was a most strange novelty, likely to throw discredit on the ladies themselves, to make them come and present themselves before him, to be afterwards ignominiously rejected and sent away. Indeed (continued the ambassador) were such assembly and meeting to be granted, the King might ask to try every one of the damsels in order to know which suited him best.* The ambassador told us that the King became very angry when he heard the above remarks, and began to magnify his own power, declaring that his rank and quality were such that whatever he asked might be conceded; he had given plenty of occasion to justify his being gratified in things of much greater importance than that. The ambassador (he said) was not justified in holding such arrogant language, and assuming so much on the strength of a mere truce between his master, the king of France, and Your Imperial Majesty, since, after all, that truce was not of such nature and duration as the King, his master, and he (the ambassador) perhaps imagined. Experience would soon show them how feeble its foundations were, and that in spite of whomsoever should oppose him, he (the King) would, before many days had passed, have become master of Milan for his daughter, the Princess. That was almost a certainty, for Your Imperial Majesty had often offered the duchy to him, even after the meeting at Aigues-Mortes, and the offer had since been renewed to his own ambassador at the Imperial Court. The French ambassador replied that those were mighty

* "Que cestoit ung peu de descourtoisie quil deust demander venir a Calaix ou la aupres le sieur de Guyse avec la compaignie surnommee, la ou il disoit vouloir envoyer de sa part personne conforme á la qualite du dit sieur de Guyse et quant et quant les plus confidens de son conseil prive, pour choisir la femme que sembleroit plus sortable a luy, car outtre quil ne pensoit, que iqy sen trouvait personne royale et de l'Ecosse (et de l'estoffe?) du dit sieur de Guyse, cella estoit bien nouvelle et estrange chose de vouloir donner ceste desreputation a tant de femmes que de les faire venir comme[a] se presenter et soubtenir une ignominieuse repulse, et quil pensoit que apres que icelle assemblee luy seroit accordee, quil demanderoit, &c."

1538.

words indeed, but that the things themselves were almost impossible, especially with reference to the duchy of Milan. That he could never have, except by sheer force, and against the will of Your Imperial Majesty and of the King, his master, both of whom were now so united together, and so closely allied, that their interests were identical.

Such was the ambassador's reply to the King, as he himself gave us (Chapuys and Don Diego) to understand, laying much stress on certain points which he did not specify in detail, though he uttered the whole with considerable emphasis and some amount of acrimony. At last it appears that the ambassador, who has always professed to be this king's servant, and to have once enjoyed his full confidence, availing himself of that circumstance, said the other day to him: "Methinks this is not the time nor the season for bravadoes and arrogant speeches (*ne faire du fier*). Your Majesty ought to believe firmly that whatever your ambassador in France may have written concerning the friendship and good understanding between the Emperor and my master, the bonds that unite them just now are so close that all the world put together would be powerless to sow dissension between them, much less dissolve their alliance, fresh as it is."

On the hearing by king Francis of this conversation, he wrote to his ambassador a letter, which the latter has read to us from beginning to end, in which he tells him, without dissimulation of any kind, that he has received his despatch of the 10th ult., and that he considered it a great service his having answered the King on the above-mentioned occasion as he had done, mixing together the sweet and the bitter. He (Francis) perceived that the vainglory and arrogance of these people had taken such deep root in their hearts that it would be difficult to extirpate it altogether. That with regard to the assembly of ladies, which the King asked for, he was to make the King understand that Lorraine was not under his sway, and that he would have to apply for the hand of the damsel to her father and mother; and as to the two daughters of Guise, one had already professed as a nun, whilst the other, as well as the daughter of Monsr. de Vendosme, could not be disposed of. He (the King) wanted them to accompany the Queen, his wife, to the interview with the dowager queen of Hungary, which interview had been arranged beforehand for the sake of merriment, pleasure, and festivity, not to treat of political affairs, as he (the ambassador) might further explain if the King asked him for particulars.

In addition to this, king Francis wrote to his ambassador that the friendship and good understanding between Your Imperial Majesty and himself was daily increasing, and getting closer and firmer, with every appearance of growing and successive improvement, notwitstanding all the reports of those who had written the contrary to him.

1538.

In precisely the same terms does the Grand Master and High Constable of France (Anne de Montmorency) write to this ambassador on those points, adding only that the English one at the Imperial Court had at one time well-nigh overturned the whole of king Francis' plans; but that there was now no danger whatever of that; things went on so prosperously that neither he nor any one else could spoil their game.

Yet with all that, and notwithstanding the above and other confidential reports of the French ambassador, he has not forgotten to ask, whenever he has had an opportunity, when we thought peace would be concluded between Your Imperial Majesty and his Royal master, for (said he) though there is every appearance of it, peace is not yet made. (He added) I firmly believe, however, that all matters will be satisfactorily adjusted in the end, and that in case of arbitration there ought to be no other arbitrators nor mediators than Your Majesty and the King, his master, or, perhaps, the Queen (Eleanor), who had been the chief instrument in bringing about this and former interviews. It was acknowledged throughout France that no one knew better the ways of gaining over Your Imperial Majesty than did she, who had always declared you to be unconquerable, except by courteous and gracious means. That all those who were jealous of the close alliance between Your Imperial Majesty and his master, the King, were no doubt disappointed and sorry at the interview held at Aigues-Mortes, particularly the Pope, notwithstanding the mien he had put upon it. And on our remonstrating and giving our reasons for believing or presuming the contrary, the ambassador replied that though His Holiness was perhaps of the condition and temper that we represented him to be, and what we said of him had the appearance of likelihood, yet His Holiness, after all, was only a man; his goodness and inclination could not be so strong and constant as to resist and encounter the malice and wickedness of his cardinals and other people by whom he was surrounded. This very observation about the Pope the ambassador made at Mme. de Montreuil's, and in her very presence, and afterwards repeated it at his own lodgings, adding that the Venetians were anything but pleased at the prospect of a closer friendship between Your Imperial Majesty and his master, the King.

This last assertion of the ambassador respecting the Venetians we thought fit to contradict, saying that we found it very strange, considering their efforts to promote that alliance, without which they knew very well they could not be preserved from Turkish violence. They themselves were now hard pressed by the Infidel; it was their interest to have him expelled from Europe, by which they would profit more than any other Christian nation in Europe, since they themselves were his closest neighbours. This last point the ambassador refused to grant, alleging that Your Imperial Majesty had

1538.

greater occasion and necessity for defending the coasts of Epirus and Morea than the Venetians ever had, since after all both those countries were close to Naples and Sicily. While discussing this point with the ambassador, we found an opportunity of telling him that letters lately received from Venice and Ragusa announced the death of the Grand Turk, though the news required confirmation. This piece of intelligence was not to the ambassador's taste; we could very well perceive that from his manner and countenance, from which, as well as from other phrases that escaped him during the conversation, we are convinced that king Francis confidently hopes to have Milan in the end.

Of other news we have little to say, except that the ambassador of the duke of Saxony, and of the Landgrave of Hesse are still here [in London] in continual and almost daily communication with the prelates deputed by this King, and that a priest, who has come in their suite, is now preaching every feast day at the cloisters of the Austin Friars. The King goes on with the demolition of convents (*cloistres*) and monasteries, and two days ago sent to the Tower of London the step-brother (*frere mainsne*) of cardinal Pole, owing to his having, as it is thought, corresponded with or received letters from him without showing them to the King, which is here considered a crime of *lèse Majesty*.

In obedience to Your Imperial Majesty's orders, I (Don Diego) will start to-morrow, the 1st of September. Would have done so before had I not been waiting for this King's letter to Your Imperial Majesty, and to the queen of Hungary, which together with my passport I have just received. And with regard to me (Eustace Chapuys), in compliance with Your Majesty's instructions, I will continue to reside here with the charge you were pleased to intrust to me, and will try to fulfil its duties to the best of my abilities.—London, 31st of August, 1538.

Signed: "Chapuys."—"D. Diego de Mendoza."

Indorsed: "Copy of the letter of the Imperial ambassador in England to the Emperor."

French. Copy. pp. 12.

Sept.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.* 231. ff. 136–7.

8. The MEMORANDUM of the ENGLISH AMBASSADORS.

Whereas the Emperor's Majesty did some time ago make overtures to the Royal Majesty of England concerning two marriages, one of them between the Most Excellent prince Dom Loys, infante of Portugal, and the Most Excellent lady Madme. Marie, daughter of His Majesty, the king of England; the other between the said King, and the most noble lady Madme. the duchess of Milan—which overtures, though mutually accepted and discussed have, for want of ample commission and full powers to treat of, and conclude the

1538.

said marriages, remained for some time in abeyance, without one single more word being said respecting them—whereas matters have come to such a pitch that the said Majesty of the king of England, considering not only the great distance between Spain and England, but the doubts and scruples that might arise, and perhaps, too, cause delay or hesitation in the matter; considering the very affectionate desire shewn by the Imperial Majesty, and by the Most Excellent Princess, the queen of Hungary, and Regent in the Low Countries, to bring the two aforesaid matrimonial alliances to conclusion, deems it opportune and necessary that some fit and sufficient commission and mandate should be addressed by the Emperor to the Most Excellent Queen for the purpose of forwarding the said negotiations.

And whereas the Emperor's ambassadors residing in England, as well as the King's own in Spain, have since certified that the said commission and powers had been forwarded to, and are already in the hands of the Most Excellent Queen; and His Majesty, the king of England, has been informed by credible people that, although the said commission and powers have really been addressed to the Queen, as ordered and promised by the Emperor to Sir Thomas Wyat, Knight, His Majesty's ambassador [in Spain], still he (the Emperor) does not seem inclined to act in the matter as firmly and affectionately as he pretends—the aforesaid commission and powers to the Queen, can be merely for the purpose of making good countenance and show of friendship, and keeping the affair in suspense, and the king of England in balance, and for the purpose of showing to the world that the king of England is under his power and arbitration, and that he can, at his pleasure, make him conclude or not the said marriages; so much so that many well-qualified persons have spread the rumour that the aforesaid duchess of Milan had been secretly offered in marriage to various princes in France, Cleves, and other countries. And whereas His Royal Majesty cannot possibly imagine that either his good brother and ally, the Emperor, who is a prince of honor, and his great friend, or the said queen, whom His Royal Majesty considers to be a most virtuous and good lady, can by dissimulation or deceit abuse so honorable a prince as he is, and one who has so long persevered in amity and friendship towards their two Majesties, His Royal Majesty, considering the length of time that the said commission has remained in the Queen's hands [without making use of it], has now resolved to send the present embassy to Her Grace and pray most affectionately that being, as she is, a princess of great virtue and honor, she be pleased to signify frankly to him whether the Emperor's ministers and her own still persist or not in good countenance and disposition, and are as much inclined to the accomplishment of the two said marriages as they were when the first overtures were made.

1538.

The Queen's answer to the above declaration and question on the part of the king of England was, that His Imperial Majesty is a prince of honor, very desirous of preserving the King's friendship, and, therefore, it never had crossed his mind to use dissimulation with His Grace; on the contrary, he was still quite of the same mind in the matter of the marriages, and she, herself, was very glad that the negociations were being carried on, and would give her utmost diligence and attention to them.

His Majesty, the king of England, wrote again to Her Grace that, since the Emperor and Her Grace continued to be so favourably disposed towards him, His Majesty, the King, in order to show that his own sentiments were the same, and that he was equally well inclined to the accomplishment of the aforesaid marriages, had granted to his ambassadors, still residing at Her Grace's court, full and sufficient powers to treat thereof with Her Grace on reasonable and honorable conditions; which request was responded to by the Queen with the assurance that a date would soon be fixed for beginning the negociations, and treating with the English ambassadors at once, or immediately after the interview.* Which answer of the Queen being received, the king of England requested Her Grace to be pleased to appoint an early day before the interview, since, at the time when there was a talk of it, Her Grace had already in her possession the Emperor's powers to represent him in that affair; or, if that could not be done, to write a few words to the King, stating that she had certainly heard his ambassadors' request, but had deferred entering into communication with them until after the interview, immediately after which she proposed, and it was her intention, to proceed without delay with the affair, in such a manner that her good brother, the king of England, would clearly perceive that His Imperial Majesty, as well as the Queen herself, proceeded with good faith in the matter. To which the ambassadors added that should the Queen be pleased to write a letter to that effect, as requested, they would be glad to have a copy of it, that they themselves might write home in accordance with the Queen's missive and the present memorandum.†

French. pp. 3½.

* That of the two Queens, Eleonor and Mary, which took place at Cambray, and had been announced soon after the meeting at Aigues-Mortes.

† The document has no date; but from the allusions to the interview of the two Queens at Cambray, to settle the details of the truce, it is natural to conclude that it was written two or three weeks before at least. In July Granvelle wrote [from Barcelona] to the Emperor, who was already at Valladolid, that the English ambassador had come to inquire how the negociations about the double marriage stood, and that he (Granvelle) had answered that full powers had already been sent to the Queen Regent to go on with the negociation at Brussels. Now the interview at Cambray between queen Eleonor and the Queen Regent of the Low Countries took place in September, and therefore the memorandum of the English ambassadors must have been drawn up at the end of August or beginning of September.

1538.

7 Sept.

S. E. Roma, L. 867. f. 63.
B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 215.

9. The EMPEROR to POPE PAUL.

Is glad to hear from his Nuncio, as well as by letters of the marquis de Aguilar, that His Holiness reached Rome in good health. He, himself, landed at Barcelona in excellent health and good spirits, and so were the Empress and his sons when he met them here at Valladolid.

As the Marquis [de Aguilar] is now being written to concerning the political affairs of Christendom, he (the Emperor) has nothing more to say than to assure His Holiness that his only wish is to secure the peace and prosperity of the Christian community, and that he is already making preparations for the next campaign against the Turk, though he has not yet, for certain considerations, given full publicity to his plans.—Valladolid, 7 Sept. 1538.

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

8 Sept.

S. E., L. 867, f. 64.
B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 216.

10. The EMPEROR to the MARQUIS DE AGUILAR.

On the last day of August a Roman courier dispatched by His Holiness brought your letter of the 16th, with an account of what has occurred since Our departure from Genoa. The Pope's letter to his Nuncio was in conformity with what you yourself wrote, namely, to exhort Us to the enterprise against the Turk next year, and at the same time compliment Us on the peace with France lately concluded at Aigues-Mortes. The letter referred likewise to the projected marriage between Ottavio Farnese, and Our daughter, the dowager duchess of Milan, as well as to the matter of the cardinals' hats.

With regard to the offensive war against the Turk, no exhortation whatever is needed. Both His Holiness and the Republic of Venice may be sure that nothing shall be omitted on Our part. We know very well what Our duties are as a Christian Prince, and it appertains to Our Imperial dignity and authority to take the lead in an enterprise against the Infidel. The occasion seems to Us most favorable now that king Francis, owing to the peace concluded with him, is expected to assist and help the undertaking, or at least not to oppose it. For this reason, and others that might be adduced, We are quite willing to employ Our person and substance in the enterprise, preparing and furnishing everything that is required, as We have no doubt His Holiness and the Republic of Venice will also do on their part. But although this latter, as Our ambassador (Lope de Soria) must have informed you, has answered that they persist in the league against the Turk, and are ready to contribute towards it, yet it is necessary that an express declaration be made by them (the Venetians) specifying the number of infantry, cavalry, ordnance, vessels, and other things required for the undertaking which they will furnish.

Having, as His Holiness well knows, spoken to the Most Christian king of France about the League, and found him

1538.

willing to join it, it seemed to Us not only convenient but necessary to communicate Our plans to him. We have, therefore, sent to him Our Master of the Horse, and Mr. de Pelu, gentleman of Our Chamber, as you will see by the enclosed copy of the instructions given to them. King Francis and his ministers, when officially informed of the proposed undertaking, approved of it; and only objected that in their opinion the period was too short to prepare for so important an undertaking. It might perhaps be that finding us all so well prepared for it, he may now waive his scruples and help at once, or at least not throw impediments in the way of it. Had We been wanting in courtesy towards him, he might have been discontented and shown spite at his not having been invited to join an undertaking, which he was inclined to favor and help. We need not tell you what harm might be done to the execution of Our project had we not done so. But you must be careful not to let out of your hands the copy of the instruction to Our ambassadors, for should the particulars therein contained be divulged, he (king Francis), might be offended, and We would not for the present give him occasion for resentment.

In the instructions, as you will see, it is not expressly said that the expedition is irrevocably fixed for next year. Although such is Our decided intention We would not for certain considerations say so; the Cortes of Spain will soon meet at Toledo, and although there can be no doubt that the members will vote a considerable service of money, yet as Our subjects have had so much to suffer lately from Our wars and frequent absences from this kingdom of Spain, it would not be prudent on Our part to exact so large a sum within so short a space of time. That is why We have dissembled in the instructions to our ambassadors, and will also dissemble at the Cortes, and have instructed Our Master of the Horse (Bossu), and Mr. de Pelu (Peloux), to act in this matter as follows: the former of the two, after communicating with the Most Christian king of France, and leaving his colleague behind to obtain and bring Us the King's final resolution in this matter, and to go to Rome and tell you what he has been able to get, that you may at once inform His Holiness thereof, and then go over to Flanders, and make the States understand that, although in consequence of the peace with France, they had right to expect Our visit, in order to set things in order there, and attend to the restoration of the duchy of Ghelders, which belongs to Us, yet We shall not be able to visit them next year on account of the projected expedition. It seems that the duke of Ghelders having died, the duke of Clèves has forcibly taken possession of that estate; and, therefore, it is for Us to revindicate Our rights to it. But, as We say, the engrossing interest of an expedition against the Infidels absorbs for the present all Our attention, and it will be impossible for Us to visit Our Flemish subjects for some time. Our Master of the Horse

1538.

is to represent that in Our name, and at the same time engage and freight for next year as many merchant vessels as he possibly can, capable of transporting men, and horses, and even artillery. We are told that shipping abounds in the Low Countries, and as prince Andrea Doria and other captains experienced in naval affairs write that in the ports of the Levant no more than 60 or 70 vessels of that description can be procured, Our said Master of the Horse has been instructed to see about it and freight as many as he can in Flanders and Holland. In a like manner circulars have been addressed to all the ports of Spain, from Fuenterrabia to Barcelona and Colibra, asking what number of ships and transports can be found there.

Although Our deliberate and firm purpose is, as above explained, and We need no exhortation or encouragement thereupon, yet that We may have better justification with Our vassals at the Cortes of Castille, it would not be amiss if the Holy Father were to write Us a breve exhorting Us &c. His Holiness might also write to the Most Christian King, or send some one urging him to help and favor the enterprise. The same might be done with the rest of the Christian princes, and German electors. The letters for these last might be sent through the king of the Romans, Our brother, by Cardinal Brundusino—who, according to the agreement made at Genoa, was to go to Germany to treat about matters of the Faith—so that convenient use should be made of them; for it must be borne in mind that owing to the measures lately taken, and the levies of men throughout Germany, the said princes and electors may become suspicious and afraid of some attempt about to be made upon them, but, if spoken to, will become more tractable.

Hearing from the Nuncio here that His Holiness has raised some difficulty about the deposit of the 400,000 ducats for the expences of the undertaking, and as any sum, however small, retrenched from that would be an obstacle in the way of the enterprise, We have agreed with the Nuncio—and think that he ought to approve the agreement—that His Holiness is to deposit 400,000 ducats to be spent in the expedition, and that We on our side are to mortgage to him property and estates of that aggregate value. Should His Holiness approve of this agreement, which We have no doubt he will, since a better and more convenient mortgage for the Farnese family could not be found in Italy—the 15,000 ducats of the Duchess' dower might be included in the mortgage.

Such has been Our proposal to the Nuncio: he has neither accepted nor rejected it altogether; but he thinks that His Holiness will approve of the arrangement.—Valladolid, vii., Sept. 1538.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 12.

1538.

8 Sept. **11.** The EMPEROR to LOPE DE SORIA.

S. E., L. 1314, ff. 36–7. B. M. 28,590, ff. 223.

Your letters of the 25th July and 1st of August, informing Us of that Republic's final resolution in the matter of the League, have been received.

In July last, at Aigues-Mortes, We had a conversation with the Most Christian king of France on this matter of the League. Since then nothing new has occurred save that Our resident ambassador goes on writing that both the king of France and his principal ministers persevere in their affection and good-will towards Us, and seem determined to keep peace and friendship. The King (says Our ambassador) was now sending to Us the bishop of Tarbes*. That Signory may be sure that no peace will be made by Us, unless it be to preserve and augment the friendship and confederacy We have with them. You may assure the Signory of that, and the truth is that whilst at Aigues-Mortes in France nothing was said to their detriment.

Your conduct with the French ambassador residing there with the Signory is very wise and prudent; go on doing the same, and showing great friendship towards him and his master; treating him always according to his acts and behaviour in the affairs of Christendom, and those of the Turk —especially now that Rincon has gone to the latter. With regard to Cesare Fragoso you acted very discreetly with the Signory and with the duke of Urbino. You may continue to do so, taking care to give the Duke all possible satisfaction. That you may well understand Our intention on this point, We may tell you that what We wrote at the time was owing to the great importunities and pressure then put upon Us.

Prince Doria had already effected his junction with that Republic's fleet. His diligence and provisions are such that no doubt can be entertained about his doing what is right, and that he will seize every opportunity of inflicting harm on the Infidel. Though We do not consider it necessary on Our part to write to the Prince and to Our viceroy of Sicily on this subject, it has already been done.

You know the esteem in which We hold the duke of Urbino,† and how glad We should be to have him near Our person in an undertaking of this sort, but the fact is that the command-in-chief of the forces cannot be bestowed upon him for many a reason, the chief one being that all the confederates will most likely send captains in command of their respective contingents, and should king Francis join the League, he will be at the head of his own people or send someone—perhaps his own son—to command in his place, We ourselves intending

* Not Grammont, who had been formerly in England, but Castelnau (Antoine) who had been replaced by Marillac. Both had been bishops of Tarbes, the former from 1534 to 1539, the latter from 1540 to the time of his death.

† Guidobaldo della Rovere, son of Francesco Maria, who had died in 1538.

1538.

to be general commander-in-chief. However this may be the duke of Urbino may be sure that his offer will be taken into consideration.

With regard to your conversations with Dionisio della Vecha, prince Doria has been written to, that he may act as he thinks fit according to time and circumstances; that is all We can do at present, but you will tell Dionisio and the others that We shall keep them in mind as their good services and affection to the Empire deserve.

The above was already written when your letter of the 10th ulto. came to hand. We need not reply to it, but will only refer you to the above. Go on informing Us of whatever happens there at Venice, and as We shall soon want you for a post at Milan, do prepare for the journey, whilst We appoint a fit person to succeed you in that embassy.

Again has the Venetian ambassador spoken to Us and to Our Privy Councillors on behalf of the duke of Urbino. We have told him that We intend to command personally the expedition against the Infidel, and, therefore, that the appointment of Captain-general of the League, which the Duke asks for, cannot be given to him. And upon the ambassador representing to Us (with every possible protestation, and as if he only obeyed the orders of the Signory) that the Duke would be hurt at prince Doria getting the title of Captain-general of the sea, if he himself did not get that of Captain-general of the land forces, at the same time requesting Us to declare that whenever We ourselves are absent he (the Duke) may have the title of Captain-general of the League, We have for the Signory's sake consented to that, and decided that according to one of the articles of the treaty the Duke be named during our absence Captain-general of the League, and exercise the duties of that office in the army. The Signory of Venice, the marquis de Aguilar, and the Duke have already been informed of this Our determination.*

In what We have just written about the Duke, there is, however one thing to observe. It might come to pass that before, and previous to Our formal declaration to the Venetian ambassador on behalf of the Duke, as above, His Holiness had thought of suspending the nomination of Captain-general of the League, and leaving it for the future as an unnecessary appointment at this present juncture. You will mention to the Doge and Signory this scruple of Ours with all possible moderation, and should His Holiness have decided to leave this matter for the future, let it be so, and do not oppose the suspension, because in reality the declaration asked, and which We are ready to make, is not immediately needed.—Valladolid, 8 September 1538.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 18.

* "Y finalmente propuso que le parescia que convenia se declarase que quando nos no habitasemos personalmente en tierra, el Duque usase como capitan general."

1538.

14 Sept. **12.** Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 806, f. 60.
B. M. *Add.* 28,590, ff. 23.

The king of England was so long about granting my passports that I could not leave the country as hastily as I might have wished. On my arrival at Dobla (Dover) I found the King there, and lest he should have anything to add to what he had previously said [at Greenwich] to Chapuys and to myself—as Your Majesty will see by our joint despatch*—I informed Cromwell of my arrival in that town, and sent him message that should the King desire to see me, I would immediately wait on His Highness. Cromwell's answer was that he himself would call on me, and so he did in the course of the day.

He came (he said) to declare to me his great sorrow and tribulation, as well as the King's discontent and anger, at finding that the dowager queen of Hungary had long been in possession of Your Majesty's powers [to treat of the marriages] without his having been informed of it. Many other complaints of the same kind did he (Cromwell) make, adding that to judge from the manner in which the whole affair had been conducted, it seemed to him as if the sending of the powers to the queen of Hungary had been designed as a compliment more than as the means of effecting any good. The King (he added) had also to complain of both of us (Chapuys and myself) inasmuch as in answering the Princess' questions thereupon we had thrown all the blame on him (the King) and his ministers.

My answer to such charges was, respecting the first: That Your Majesty's complimentary offers and good-will from the very beginning must at once have convinced them that there was no dissimulation or feint in them. If the queen of Hungary had not informed the King of the receipt of the powers, it was owing to her certain knowledge that the English ambassador from Spain, and We ourselves in England, had communicated the whole of their contents, which was actually the fact. The Queen, therefore, knowing how desirous the King was of bringing that affair to an end as soon as possible, and knowing also that he was sufficiently well informed of the contents of the said powers, would no longer throw fresh impediments in the way of the conclusion of the marriages, and naturally enough thought that, in order to gain time, the King would send to Flanders some one duly empowered and instructed to carry on the negociation.*

Respecting our answer to the Princess, I said to Cromwell that His Highness, the King, having in our very presence accused Your Majesty of irresolution and delay in the dispatch of that as well as of other affairs, we thought (Chapuys

* A note in the endorsement of this dispatch has the following in the handwriting of Granvelle: "Besides what Don Diego and ambassador Chapuys write in their joint letter, this one of D. Diego's contains particulars worth Your Majesty's inspection."

1538.

and I) that we were bound to undeceive His Highness as to that, and throw all the blame on those who were the real cause of the delay. Cromwell's answer was: "I do not deny that the King, and even his councillors, are partly to be blamed for the coldness and indifference complained of on both sides; but things have since changed, and the King, my master, is now better disposed than ever he was to treat of the affair. Let you, Mendoza, explain to the King how matters stand at present, and when you write home please tell the Emperor that notwithstanding his present close alliance with the French king, the friendship of such mighty princes as he is ought to be secured and preserved with the utmost care and diligence."

I answered that I hoped to God, and to Your Imperial Majesty's virtues, as well as to those of the Most Christian King, that the friendship now established between you two will last for ever, and that, in a like manner, that between Your Majesty and the King, his master, which is no small matter, will likewise be preserved as long as Your Majesty wishes. It was in his (the King's) hands to foster that friendship, and convert it into an indissoluble tie by means of the marriage alliances, &c.

Cromwell also showed, in the King's name, a certain jealousy at the Queen's journey to France, and principally at her having stayed a few days at Breda, where, as the rumour goes, a marriage had been concerted between the dowager duchess of Milan and the prince of Orange, he (Cromwell) adding that we (Chapuys and I) had banquetted and visited the French ambassador, and congratulated him on the occasion.

Fancying that this new chapter of complaints indicated some fear—and no inconsiderable one—on the part of Cromwell,* and that there was no reason to suppose that sentiment to be feigned; considering the temper and condition of these Englishmen, as well as the present state of things, I answered Cromwell's accusations in the most moderate and courteous terms possible, as Your Majesty's instructions to me prescribe, without attempting to remove his suspicions, if he had any on the matter, and also without affirming or denying anything. That they are now in fear of an invasion, more or less soon, there can be no doubt; they have been for some time back busily engaged in sending troops and ammunition to Calais, and other fortresses on the frontier; they have spent money in the fortifications of Dobla Chambra (Dover Castle ?) and other ports, which the King himself has many a time inspected, and was actually inspecting when I left England.

I took leave of Cromwell, who gave me his most humble commendations to Your Majesty, and when I again asked him whether the King, his master, was likely to send soon a per-

* "De manera que pareció [querer] hacer libro de quexas."

1538.

sonage to Flanders to treat of the affair of the marriages, he answered that his master would not, though I fancy that his refusal on the occasion was not so harsh and peremptory as at other times. I then asked him whether he thought that I ought to see the King before embarking. His answer was that I might, if I chose. I, therefore, sent a man to the King to ascertain the hour at which he would give me audience. The man came back and said that he had seen and spoken to the King himself, whose answer had been that he was then so much engaged, that he could not possibly give me a long audience. If my visit was merely one of courtesy, and I had no particular business to talk about, he would spare me the trouble of going to him. I since heard that when the King received my message, he was busy conversing with certain French ladies of the suite of the late queen of Scotland (Magdalen), now about to return to France, with whom he has lately been banquetting and feasting. To two of them, one called Mme. de Montrul (Montreuil), the other De Brun (Le Brun), mother and daughter, the King has given diamond bracelets worth 250 ducats each.* The rest of the ladies, six in number, were presented with rings (*sortiguelas*) and medals of the value of 30 crs. each, a very small gift according to the ladies, who are not at all pleased with it.†

That very night I was invited to supper by the ambassador of France, to meet the above-mentioned ladies of the deceased Queen's suite. After supper, he himself accompanied me to the sea shore, and left me on board the vessel; but as the weather was foul and the wind unfavourable, I returned to Dover, and spent a few hours with the Frenchman. He told me that this King and his ministers could not make out whether they were in Heaven or on the Earth, so disconcerted were they at the prospect of an alliance between France and the Empire, and that now was the time for Your Majesty and the King, his master, to arrange matters between you two so as to profit in common. The King had that very afternoon mentioned to the ambassador that I had applied for an audience, but that being at the time engaged with the French ladies as above, and very much entertained with them, he had declined my visit.

At Calais I met several people, and persons of my acquaintance, whom I had known whilst in England, who told me that they had come by the King's commands to reside in Dover; they were all men of rank and experienced soldiers, and I was well received and entertained by them.

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* "A las quales ha banqueteado y hecho gran xera, y á dos de las más principales, que llaman, la una Madame de Montrul, y la otra de Brun, madre y hija, dió sendas sortigas de diamantes, de valor de docientos y cinquenta ducados."

† "Ansi mismo á las demas, que eran seis, dió unas sortiguelas y medallas cada treinta escudos, las quales lo tomaron y por parcellas poco quedaron cos harto descontentamiento."

1538.

I learned whilst at Calais that at the bridge of the Passo,* looking towards Dunquerque (Dunkerke), and at other bridges in the place, there had been for the last 20 days a strong guard kept at night, which in my opinion is one of the most unwarrantable and uncalled for measures of precaution, which these people, generally suspicious, or pretending to be so, could take at the present moment.†

I then came to Brussels, where I kissed the Queen's hands, and delivered the King's letter as well as the credentials in my favor, as Your Imperial Majesty will see by Chapuys' letter and mine. I likewise placed in the Queen's hands the report which Your Imperial Majesty ordered me to make, both verbally and in writing, of all the incidents of the negociation with this King and his ministers. This being done, a despatch was prepared for England, as Your Majesty will see by the Queen's letter to me.

As my report embraces many days, and contains particulars referring to various times, I was unable to draw it out as soon as I might otherwise have wished; at any rate it is now done, and in the Queen's hands, as above stated.

The English ambassador at this Court died the other day. He was a jovial, good-humoured man, more fit for courtly and social intercourse than for political business, for which he had no great taste or capacity. As the English seem to desire that the pending affairs should be quickly settled, and must for that purpose send another man to reside at this Court (Brussels), they might appoint some person of quality and parts, as well as wisdom, well furnished with sufficient powers and instructions to terminate and conclude the affair. By that means the objection the English make of sending an extraordinary envoy for such a purpose will cease at once, since they must needs have soon an ordinary one to reside here.

With the Queen's leave I went next to Breda, whence this letter is dated, to visit the marchioness of Zenete.‡ On my arrival at the gate of the Castle, I heard that the marquis had died. I lamented his death, as it was right to do, owing to the loss his widow has just sustained, and also because Your Imperial Majesty will be henceforwards deprived of his valuable services, he having been, whilst he lived, one of Your Majesty's most devoted vassals and servants.

As she (the Marchioness) and the Prince§ are sending on this courier with the above melancholy and distressing news, and I

* La puente del Passo.

† "Tengolo por una de las mas livianas sospechas, que suelen dar á entender que tienen."

‡ Da. Mencia de Mendoza, marchioness of Zenete, in her own right, married to Henri de Nassau, who died, as here stated, in Sept. 1538.

§ That is René, who succeeded him, for Henri, who had been married three times, left only one natural son, named Alexis de Nassau, lord of Courtoy and Trasnes, who did not inherit the principality of Orange. This went to René, who died without posterity in 1544, being succeeded by his cousin, Guillaume, the Statholder of the Low Countries.

1538.

consider the man a safe and trusty messenger, I have given him the enclosed in cipher from my colleague in England, informing Your Majesty of all the incidents of our negociation. As I had no cipher by me when I arrived at Brussels, I borrowed one in that city, lest Your Majesty should not be acquainted in time of what has been done both in England and in these Low Countries respecting the proposed marriages.

I pray and entreat Your Majesty to send me instructions as to what I am to do next, and urge the Queen Regent to dispatch me so that I may go back to Spain, and employ myself in Your Majesty's service.

Other letters and reports of less importance, which cannot be well entrusted to another person, or are too long and minutely detailed to be transcribed in a short time—and yet will not suffer by the delay—I keep by me here until there be the opportunity of a trusty messenger or I be allowed to present myself to Your Imperial Majesty. In case of leave being granted I should wish it might come as soon as possible.

The Princess (Mary) when I last saw her was in good health, but for the last few days (I hear) she has been rather delicate. I fancy the cause to be the confinement (*estrechez*) in which she lives, for nowadays she is kept much closer and more poorly than before. Her Highness' personal commendations I reserve for next occasion when I am in Your Imperial Majesty's presence.—Breda, 14 Sept. 1538.

Signed: "Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King our Lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 7.

14 Sept. **13.** The Same to the High Commander (Covos).

S. E., L. 806, f. 61. B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 237.

Going from Brussels to Breda to visit the marquis [de Zenete] who was ill, and kiss the marchioness' hands, I learned at the very gate of the castle the death of Mr. de Nassau, which I feel exceedingly, not so much on account of the widowed marchioness [Da. Mencia de Mendoza]—who is a friend and kinsman of mine—* but because in him the Emperor, our master, has lost the most capable and faithful vassal in these Netherlands. So afflicted was the Marchioness with the loss she has lately sustained, that I could not see her, nor could I, though I tried, see the Prince. Both have despatched a messenger to the Emperor acquainting him with the Marquis' death, and are now writing again

* The marquises of Cenete, or Zenete, were closely allied to the counts of Tendilla [Hurtado de Mendoza]. The former drew their origin from Rodrigo de Mendoça, first marquis in 1491, whilst the latter were descended from D. Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, first count of Tendilla. Don Diego, the writer of this letter, and Chapuys' colleague in London, was the son of the second count, first marquis de Mondejar.

1538.

to ask for the Prince the same offices, wages, and emoluments that his father, the Marquis, had, as well as begging your Lordship to intercede in their favour. It seems to me, that if I am at Court when their petition arrives, I ought to join my prayers to theirs, &c.

By our joint letter to the Emperor, and by that which I have since written by myself from this place, your Lordship must have been informed of the state of affairs in these parts. The Queen (Mary of Hungary) is continually sending for me, and asking me a thousand questions. I have put down in writing all the information she may require on the business in question, and begged her to dispatch me at once. She told me that during the journey she is about to undertake to France, she will attend to the English matter. Now I beg and entreat your Lordship to have pity on me, and if possible write a letter to the Queen saying that I am wanted in Spain. Though the journey is not a long one, yet it is costly, and I have not one farthing to bless myself with. So let your letter come with a draft on some banker before or during the journey, it comes to the same thing provided it brings money.

The salt-cellars and other articles which seemed to me pretty and worthy of your Lordship's acceptance, I will take with me. I rather think that if on the liquidation of our account, at the end of the year, you turn out to be my debtor, it will be for a very small sum indeed.

The money that your Lordship told me to draw upon the Imperial Treasury before leaving England, that which the King of that country himself gave me,* and 1,000 ducats which I borrowed from merchants, were insufficient to pay all my debts. That is why I sent to Spain a servant of mine named Sala, to procure, without troubling your Lordship, the payment of the aforesaid sum borrowed from merchants of this city. When I myself go to Spain I have no doubt that the Emperor will give me, at least, a portion of that sum in remuneration for my services.—Breda, 14 Sept. 1538.

Signed: "Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza."

Addressed: "To the most Illustrious, the High Commander of Leon."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

22 Sept. **14.** The Emperor to Cardinal Cesarino.

S. E., L. 867, f. 69.
B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 239.

All you say in your letter of the 3rd of August concerning the peace and friendship between Us and the Most Christian king of France is in conformity with the affection and good-will you have always shown Us, and the reciprocal sentiments by which you are animated.

Spanish. Original draft.

* That is four hundred pounds sterling which Cromwell gave him in the King's name. *See* above, No. 7, p. 24.

1538.

22 Sept. **15.** The SAME to the MARQUIS DE AGUILAR.

S. E., L. 867, f. 64.
B. M. *Add.* 28,390, f. 216.

Wrote to you on the 8th inst. Since then We have received your despatch of the xxix. ulto., brought by Andalot, to which, however, no answer is needed for the present.

During the last few days a gentleman in waiting* of the Most Christian queen of France, Our sister, has arrived with the ostensible object of inquiring how We were faring after Our sea voyage, and certifying to Us the affection and esteem which the King, her husband, bears Us, and which We fully share. The gentleman in question added, that wishing to make that peace and friendship as firm and lasting as it could possibly be, and that it should continue during the lives of Our sons and successors, she (the Queen, Our sister) had bethought her of proposing the following royal marriages, namely, that of Prince Philip, Our son, and Me. Margaret, the daughter of King Francis; that of the duke of Orliens (Orleans) with the Infante, Our daughter, or else with the Infante [Maria] of Portugal, her own daughter, saying that the King, though fully determined to preserve and cultivate Our friendship to the last, is yet unwilling to have a hand in that affair lest it should be in any way disagreeable to Us.

Our answer has been that We always did, and do actually, dislike treating of the marriage of Our children until they are of an age fit for it.

That of the duke of Orliens (Orleans) with the Infante of Portugal (Maria) We have rejected altogether, because another one with Our niece, the daughter of the king of the Romans, (Ferdinand) has been proposed to him as a settlement for the duchy of Milan—a condition, which could not well be changed, or the king of the Romans himself might have a just ground for complaint. The gentleman is now about to depart with this Our answer, and We have no doubt that king Francis will approve of Our reasons. The Nuncio has been informed of this in general terms, that he may write to His Holiness. The enclosed copy of the memorandum put into the Frenchman's hands, will fully acquaint you with the details of the proposition, as well as with Our answer to it; but you must keep this latter by you and not let a living creature see it. Should, however, His Holiness inquire about its contents, you must tell him, as if the whole of this were a secret and confidential matter, on the considerations above expressed, that the move is entirely Our sister's, not the King's.

After the gentleman in waiting came another ambassador from the king of France, that is the bishop of Tarbes,† who, however, has not said a word about the affair in question, limiting himself to general protests and affirmations of his master's sentiments towards Us. We have already appointed

* Probably Mr. de Lordres. *See* above, p. 12.
† Antoine Castelnau, formerly Francis, ambassador in England.

1538.

to reside near Our brother of France the abbot of St. Vincent,* who resided once in that court before the late war as Our ambassador. We have no doubt that the Abbot's person will be acceptable, for Cornelius Scepper writes [from Paris] that he cannot fail to be well received by king Francis.

We need not recommend you in the meantime to keep up a correspondence with the said Cornelius by means of the cipher, which you have by you, and which is generally used by Our ambassadors.

Our ministers have assured the French ambassador here that his master, the Most Christian King, and Ourselves can safely place Our trust in His Holiness, as in our common father, and, therefore, that he (the ambassador) need not have any scruple about communicating to the Papal Nuncio residing at this Our court, his ideas, whatever they may be, on the proposed marriages and other affairs.

On one disagreeable point only has the ambassador touched, which is that of the duke of Savoy (Carlo), complaining that his ratification of the truce is not such as it ought to be; declaring besides that in Piedmont there are symptoms of revolutionary movements, and asking Us to send a person thither to interfere, though it must be said that the Duke complains equally of the French King's ministers.

You must know how interested we are in the welfare of duke Cosmo of Florence, whom We have taken under Our protection. His agents at this Court tell Us that he has lately been summoned to appear before the Rolta at Rome, together with the Commander of Alto Passo and the patrons (*patrones*) of that commandery. This in Our opinion is a very harsh measure, derogatory to the Duke's authority, and one which ought not to have been taken with regard to his person. You will, therefore, pray His Holiness in Our name not to use in that and other matters such terms with the Duke, but treat him in that or any other matters that might supervene, as his quality and authority demand, according to His Holiness' own promises at Genoa before his departure for Rome, when he said to Us and to Our ministers that he would consider Cosmo as his own son and favor him in all things.—Valladolid, 22 Sept. 1538.

Addressed: "To the Marquis de Aguilar."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 6.

Sept. **16.** The QUEEN of HUNGARY to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.* 231, ff. 83-6.

I have heard from D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza what you and he have negociated there [in England], where you are, with the King and his ministers, respecting the new alliances, as well as the state in which those negociations were [when Don

* Bouvalot (?).

1538.

Diego left that country*]; and although it seems to me that they are now as far from ending as they were at the commencement, yet, as the Emperor, my lord and brother, has sent me, as you know, full powers to continue and effect the said matrimonial alliances, provided the King of that country responds with sincerity, and proposes decent and reasonable conditions equally favorable to His Imperial Majesty in the present state of his affairs, and political relations with other princes and powers, his good friends and allies, you may be sure that nothing shall be omitted on my part, and that I will do my duty towards the Emperor, no pains being spared by one who, like me, desires the re-establishment and strengthening of the old friendship and good understanding between this house of Austria and that of England for the common benefit and tranquility of both reigning families.

The King's letter, of which Don Diego was the bearer, informs me of his wish that for the honor of both parties, and before a solemn embassy be appointed, the chief and most effective points of the commission I have received from the Emperor respecting the proposed matrimonial alliances, be at once communicated to him in order that he himself may, without difficulty or delay, take such a resolution on the affair as may be honorable to the parties concerned therein. To that desire of the King I have answered, as you will see by the enclosed duplicate of my letter to him, which I order you to put into his hands. You will easily understand that respecting the points discussed by you and Don Diego with the King's ministers, I cannot, under present circumstances, go as far as you and your colleague have gone; for in the first place, the affair of Milan has since undergone considerable change, owing to the renewal of the friendship between the Emperor and the king of France, and, therefore, that all references and hints on that point are to be carefully avoided, or allowed to pass on as smoothly and quietly as possible.

With regard to the Pope and the General Council, of which the King has often spoken to you, you know very well that the Emperor will never act against the universal Church in direct contravention of his Imperial Office; that is a sort of thing he will never do, even at the solicitation and request of his greatest friend. As to any personal and private matter between him (the King) and the Pope, the Emperor will always behave with the consideration and respect due to his brother and friend, and employ himself in setting right all pending matters in dispute between him and the Holy See.

You may also tell the King that in order to forward those negociations, and proceed more steadily in the matter, so as to

* D. Diego left in the first week of August. *See* above, p. 43.

1538.

bring the whole affair to a conclusion as soon as possible; knowing, moreover, that he has already been acquainted by you with the conditions of both marriages—that of the Infante of Portugal, Dom Luys, and that of the dowager duchess of Milan, our niece—I beg him to be pleased to state to you in writing what property and rank (*avancement?*) he intends giving to his daughter, the Princess; what dower he purposes for the Duchess, and what property is to be inherited by the sons and descendants of the said marriages, his own and the Princess'. That being done, and perfectly understood on both sides, so as to make things quite clear, the King may send his ambassadors when he likes.*

French. Original draft. pp. 2½.

2 Oct. **17.** The High Commander (Cobos) and Mr. de Granvelle to Luis Sarmiento [de Mendoza], Ambassador in Portugal.

S. E. Port., L. 371, f. 144.
B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 248.

Our last letter from Valladolid must have acquainted you with the Emperor's intention of attacking the Grand Turk, &c. [Relates the arrival at court of a gentleman† in waiting to the queen of France, and her proposal of intermarriages, the commission brought by the bishop of Tarbes, &c., almost in the same words as in the letter to Aguilar, and then continues:]

This is in substance what has occurred since the date of our joint letter.‡ As the Emperor's determination to leave Valladolid was so sudden, we could not write then to inform Your Worship on these particulars. Pray communicate them to the king and queen of Portugal, as well as to the Infante Dom Luyz.

The Emperor left Valladolid on Sunday, the 22nd ulto., for Toledo, to hold there the Cortes convoked for the middle of this month.§ We remained behind three or four days to attend to certain pressing business. We will, however, go

* The document is incomplete, and bears no other date than that at the top, 7 bre 1538. A copy of the XVIII. century, though incomplete, bears the following heading:—*Copie de la minute d'une lettre de l'Empereur au Sieur Eustache Chapuis son Ambassadeur en Angleterre, en 7 bre* 1538; which is, however, a mistake, since it is the queen of Hungary (Mary), regent of the Low Countries, who writes to Chapuys, not the Emperor.

† Monsr. de Lordres. *See* above, pp. 12, 37.

‡ No copy of it is in the Bergenroth collection of transcripts from Simancas, now in the British Museum.

§ On the 26th of July 1538 (says Vandenesse), the Emperor came to Valladolid, where the Empress was staying, and remained till the 21st of September, on which day he betook himself to Toledo, and made it his chief residence till the 12th of May 1539, after having in vain assembled the Cortes of Castille in order to solicit assistance for a war against the Turk. *See* "*Itinerary of Charles the Fifth*," by Bradford, p. 511.

The Cortes above alluded to were those of Toledo, which were dissolved owing to the Count of Coruña, and other Castillian noblemen, as well as the deputies (*procuradores*) of several towns, having opposed the grant or service demanded for the Turkish war.

1538.

thither straight, whereas the Emperor will take a circuitous route through the mountains, and will not be there till the xth. The Empress is already at Madrid, and will soon join her husband at Toledo, where they will pass three or four days together.—Cadahalso, 2 October, 1538.

Signed: "Cobos—Perrenot."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

7 Oct. **18.** The MARQUIS DE AGUILAR to the DUCHESS of FLORENCE.

S. E., L. 1,439, f. 111. B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 251.

I have received by Capt. Rodrigo Maldonado Your Excellency's letter, by which, and by another from Lope Hurtado, as well as by what that captain himself has verbally stated to me, I have understood what Your Excellency's answer has been, when asked to sign the powers of attorney for the conclusion and good issue of the negociation carried on with His Holiness. I cannot believe that being, as Your Excellency is, the Emperor's daughter; having always been so obedient to his paternal commands, and knowing also that the present contract has been entered into with his consent and by his express orders; knowing that I myself, trusting in what Your Excellency told me when I was last at Florence, namely, that you were ready to comply with the Emperor's wish in every respect, pledged my word in His Imperial Majesty's name to that effect, you should now, without the least cause or reason for it, propose doing such offence to your own father as not to sign the powers put before you, and this by the advice of those who, no doubt, are more desirous of your ruin than of your's and the Emperor's prosperity.* Indeed, the offence is of such a nature and so great, that were the Emperor to hear of it, Your Excellency's disobedience might be the cause of his casting you away as though you were not his daughter.

As I see no other remedy to this unpleasant state of things than for Your Excellency to grant at once, and before the thing becomes public, the requisite powers of attorney, I now send Obregon, my chamberlain, to place this my letter into Your Excellency's hands, wherever you may be, as well as the enclosed powers for you to sign, so that His Holiness may know that Your Excellency's first answer could not be considered as yours, but dictated by your enemies. The powers to be signed in presence of a notary and witnesses, and my own servant (Obregon) to be despatched forthwith to the Emperor, that he may know whether he has in Your Excellency an obedient or an ungrateful daughter, a rebel to his will.—Rome, 7 October, 1538.

Signed: "Marquis de Aguilar."

Addressed: "To the most illustrious and excellent lady, the duchess of Florence, at the Prato."

* In Bergenroth's collection of transcripts from Simancas is a protest of Margaret's, dated Florence, the 10th of July 1538, against her proposed marriage to Ottavio Farnese, son of Pier Luigi, and grandson of Alessandro (Pope Paul III.).

1538.

10 Oct. **19.** LOPE HURTADO to the EMPEROR.

S. E., L. 1,439, f. 116.
B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 263.

Wrote by express on the 6th inst. concerning the deed which the marquis de Aguilar wanted the Duchess to sign. After that one of the ambassador's servants* came with a letter, and the draft of the powers. Her Excellency was very much offended at this, and, in my opinion, not without reason, for so intemperate and disrespectful a letter ought never to have been addressed to an obedient and virtuous daughter, such as she is, one who has always obeyed, and will always obey, Your Majesty's commands, especially when I had warned capt. Maldonado, the ambassador's envoy, that this lady ought to be treated gently.

It then seemed to me that the best answer to such an insulting letter would be to take no notice at all of it. I have sent Curbino† to him, and here inclosed is the copy of what he is to say to the Marquis in my name. The messenger is also the bearer of credentials for His Holiness, should the Marquis deem it opportune for him to call at the Quirinal. As to myself, I do not complain of the Marquis' allusions to my humble person, for after all the matter is one of Imperial service.

I thought that the best excuse for the Duchess to make was that on the receipt of the Marquis' letter, she was so angry at it, that she formally declared that she would not grant him, or any other, powers to treat of her marriage, unless the Emperor himself expressly commanded her to do so. As this secret message could not be entrusted to any one, I considered it of lesser importance to prolong the affair and wait for Your Majesty's orders, than to go against the obligations and duties of my charge.‡

I entreat Your Majesty to send a gracious answer to the Duchess, and have a letter written to the Marquis, enjoining him to treat her respectfully, as is his duty, and me not so badly as he has done, because if we are to reside at Rome, he must not imagine that he can have there any jurisdiction over us.§

Two days before the Duchess' departure [for Rome] the cardinal (Cibo) and the Duke (Cosmo) came to visit her. They made her all manner of offers, and the Duke appointed one of his own household to see to the quarters of the Duchess as long as she was in Florentine territory. She left on the 8th; will be at Siena (Sena) on the 12th; is in excellent health, and has not the least repugnance to do what Your

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* Obregon, his chamberlain. *See* above, p. 49.

† Cherubino. *See* above, p. 1.

‡ "Pareciome que la mejor escusa era decir que de enojada de lo que el Marques le scrivio, dixo no ottorgaria ottro poder sin carta de V. M^{d} pues el secreto de la cosa no era para confiar de nadi. He tenido por menor mal alargar la cosa hasta que V. M^{d} mande lo que se haga que yr contra lo que era obligado."

§ "Suplico á V. M^{d} mande responder á la S^{a} duquesa graciosamente y escrevir al Marques que trate á Su Ex^{a} como debe y á mi no tan mal, porque, si hemos de estar en Roma, no es razon que él piense que tiene jurisdiccion de mandar."

1538.

Majesty wants her to do. Nevertheless, she has resented the Marquis' letter to her more than I can describe.

Your Majesty's letter to Don Juan* and to me shall not remain without an answer. He, as witness of the whole affair, will reply.

The Duke has shown great satisfaction at what Your Majesty has done.—Sanquexan, x. October, 1538.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imp. Cath. Maj. of the Emperor and King, our lord."

Spanish. Original, partly ciphered. pp. 2.

10 Oct. **20.** Act of Revocation.

S. E., L. 1439, f. 25. B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 255.

The act of revocation by the duchess of Florence of the powers of attorney granted by her to the marquis de Aguilar to treat of her marriage with Octavio Fernes (Ottavio Farnese), His Holiness' grandson. Sent from Toledo, the 10th of October, 1538.†

"I, Margaret of Austria, natural daughter of His most serene, most high, and most powerful lord, Don Carlos, emperor of the Romans, and king of the Spains, &c."

Spanish. Original minuta. pp. 3.

11 Oct. **21.** Eustace Chapuys to the Queen of Hungary.

Wien. Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.* 231.

The King, having this morning heard by letters from his ambassadors at Your Majesty's court of the very kind and gracious reception made to them [at Brussels], as well as of the very honest, discreet, and kindly terms in which they were addressed, would have wished, as I am told, to see and thank me for my commendations of secretary Wriste (Wriotsley), his ambassador, and principally to beg me to express to Your Majesty his best and most emphatic thanks for the same, together with the offer of anything within his power or kingdom, had not some light preservative medicine which he took this very morning, besides a bath which he intends to take to-morrow,‡ prevented his receiving me. Yet, not to delay the departure of this courier, he (the King) has deputed Sir Cromwell to come to me, and be the interpreter of his gratitude to Your Majesty, which that official has done, in such terms, and so affectionately, that I have no words to explain the least part of the King's and his own sentiments towards you. I regret the more not having seen the King, that Sir Cromwell has many a time expressed to me his great

* That is Don Juan Fernandez Manrique, marquis de Aguilar.

† There are two copies of this revocation under the same date, but the marriage had been proposed several months before, most likely at Nizza, or at Genoa, when Pope Paul and the Emperor met, for on the 10th of July Margaret entered a protest against it.

‡ "Mais pour avoir ce mesme jour le dit sieur roy prinse quelque petite medicine preservative, et ayant demain dentrer au baing."

1538.

desire that his master's and his own gratitude for what has been done should be conveyed to Your Majesty. It now remains for Your Majesty to supply my deficiency, and out of the greatness of Your own mind conceive or devise the best possible commendations, offers, and thanks to be returned to this King and minister.

After explaining his commission, Sir Cromwell said to me that when the King this morning had listened to the letters of his ambassadors, and heard of their kind reception by Your Majesty, as well as the cordial desire manifested by the lords and councillors of those Low Countries — especially Monseigneur the duke of Aarschot, and the counts of Bure (Buren) of Trestein and Molembais—of being useful to him, he (the King) could not help crying for joy, and exclaimed: "I always suspected until now that Her Majesty the queen of Hungary, in her political relations with me, was only seeking her own convenience and profit; but now I see she is really in earnest, and means business. If so, she will find me ready for the game, for to fair play good stakes."*

Cromwell further assured me that he had never before seen in the King, his master, so much disposition for the conclusion of the two marriages, especially that of his daughter, and that he was about to dispatch to that end Dr. Carne, a learned man, to treat conjointly with the other ambassadors of that affair, and had already written to Sir Anthoin Brun (Antony Brown) to come back.

He has also told me confidentially and under secrecy that the King intends sending thither, as soon as possible, a gentleman of his Chamber, but that owing to the importance of the affairs to be discussed and put down in writing, he (Cromwell) did not think that the gentleman's departure could take place till after eight or ten days; he would, however, let me know before the despatch with instructions was closed and sealed, and show me besides many other good provisions, such as the King's offer of assistance and contribution against the Turk, of which he (Cromwell) and the rest of the Privy Councillors had that very morning spoken to the King, reminding him of the many pressing and repeated representations and persuasions I had addressed them on the subject.† "That (added Cromwell) shall not be forgotten, and will form a special article of the ambassador's instructions."

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* "Ses larmez sortoint dez yeulx de joye, disant que jusques içy yl avoit aucunement suspeçonne que sa maieste le recherchoit pour en faire quelque sien prouffit, mais maintenant yl cognoissoit bien que sa dite maieste alloit rondement en besongne avec luy, et que puisque ainsy estoit yl voulait jouer a bon jeu bon argent."

† "Et que avant que se serrait (?) la depesche yl me diroit et monstreroit beaucoupt bonnez chosez, et si ne seroit oublie en les instructions larticle touchant la contribution contre le Turcq, du quel encoirez a ce matin luy et ceulx de son conseyl luy avoint tenu propoz, luy ramentonant pluseurs remonstrances et persuasions que sur ce diversez fois leur avoye faittez."

1538.

When we came to speak of Papal authority and the Apostolic See, Cromwell declared at last to me that his master, the King, would not insist on it one way or the other, but would be satisfied if no mention at all was made of it.*

Then, upon my remarking that if the King would do the same with respect to Milan—which I thought he ought to do for the reasons lately alleged by me—there would be no difficulty standing in the way of the said marriages, which might thus be concluded within a very short space of time—Cromwell was for a time thoughtful, and in order to avoid giving an opinion on the subject, said that the French were boasting that before three months were over they would be masters of that duchy, and that the whole affair was to be treated and settled at Compiegne. And upon my repeating to him what I, myself, had told the King in Your Majesty's name respecting Your own journey [to France], and the causes of it, and who was the promoter of the interview, and that it was really but an excuse for pastime and pleasure, he (Cromwell) replied that he believed it was so, and yet he avoided, as I say, answering my observation respecting Milan.† Of one thing, however, I am quite certain, namely, that, as far as he himself is concerned, Cromwell is really in earnest in this affair, and that perhaps no one in this world desires more than he does its accomplishment, having already passed many sleepless nights, and met with a thousand reproaches and objurgations on account of it.‡—London, 11 October, 1538.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To Her Majesty the queen of Hungary, Regent in the Low Countries."

French. Original pp. 4.

Oct.

S. Pat. Ra. Cap. y Tvat. con. Port. L. 2. f. 22. B. M. *Add.* 28,590, f. 243.

22. The Emperor's Declaration on the League against the Turk, and the Military Preparations to be made by the Confederated Powers.

The expedition against the Turk to be prepared for the year 1539, and not later than the month of March.

The infantry to consist of 60,000 men at least: namely, Germans, 30,000; Spaniards, 15,000; Italians, 15,000; cavalry of all nations, 5,000 at least.

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* "Venant a parler de ce que concerne lauctorite du pape et siege apostolique, yl ma dit a la fin, que le dit sieur roy ne sarresteroit en celle, ne en blanc ne en noir, et se contenteroit quil nen fust faicte mention quelcunque."

† "Et luy repetissant ce quavoye (ce qu' avois) recite au dit sieur roy de la part de vostre maieste touchant son voyage et de la cause et promotion dicelluy, et quil ne sagissoit que de sentrevoir et faire bonne chiere, yl me dit que ainsy le croyoit; mais avec tout cella yl dissimula de me repondre."

‡ "Que quant est en luy, yl ne se faisset poinct aux affaires, et ny a par avanture pas ung autre au monde, que plus en desire lexploit, et en a eu mille reprouchez et maulvaysez nuytz pour sy monstrer trop affectionne."

1538.

The German infantry having been divided into three divisions of 10,000 men each, under captains of that nation, called colonels,* namely: 1st, count Fustinberch (Fustenbergh), 2nd, Castelalt, and 3rd, Heychron Rayschak (?), the Signory of Venice may be at liberty to appoint a fourth, provided he be German born, in which case one of the three above-named colonels, whomsoever the Emperor designates, will resign his office, unless His Imperial Majesty chooses to appoint another one, who must also be a German. There will then be four colonels in all for the 30,000 infantry.†

The Spaniards to be commanded by the general whom the Emperor may be pleased to appoint.

The Italians to be commanded by captains of His Holiness, and of the Signory of Venice respectively.

The cavalry by captains of the various nations.

Should king Francis, as is confidently expected, join the expedition, and enlist Swiss and cavalry to that effect, their number, whatever it may be, is to be considered as an independent force, exclusive of the 60,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry belonging to the confederates.

As to the naval forces, considering the number of vessels which the enemy can float, it seems as if 200 galleys at least were required; perhaps 300, counting the transports for the ordnance, ammunition, and provisions. Each party to have ordnance and ammunition in proportion to the number of its men and galleys, and, if necessary, a park of artillery for fighting on land or besieging a town. The artillery to be served by 2,000 gunners; and the horses to be procured from Germany, where they are better and more abundant. Seven thousand pioneers (*quastatori*) will also be required for the expedition, each power to furnish its contingent according to the number of men it may put on the field.

The expedition to meet at Brindisi or Otranto, as prince Andrea Doria may decide.‡

Latin. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.

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* "Quia predicti pedites xxx. tres tantum habeant duces, quos colonellos vocant."

† "Et tunc ex his tribus predictis unus cæsabit (cessabit), qui Cæsaræ Maiestati videbitur. Similiter Sanctissimus Dominus Noster, si Sanctitas sua vellit, possit pro sua portione alemanorum unum colonellum ex dicta natione quem vellit nominare & hoc casu erunt quatuor colonelli, aut etiam tres tantum si m.
xv. qui erunt proportione Cæs^{e} M^{tis} sua Maiestas vellit unum tantum praesse."

‡ The document begins by way of heading with the words "Johan Fernandez Manrichus" and "Marco Antonio Contareno," as if both were attesting the deed—one on the Emperor's side, the other on that of Venice. The former was no other than the marquis de Aguilar, Imperial ambassador in Rome, whose despatches have already been abstracted; Marco Antonio Contaréno was Venetian ambassador at Rome.

The deed is dated October —, 1538, being only a copy of the draft sent to Rome; but, as will be seen hereafter, the original was not presented until the 3rd of November, when it was signed by the Pope.

1538.

10 Nov. **23.** The Marquis de Aguilar to the Emperor.

S. E. Roma, L. 867, f. 129. B. M. 28,590. f. 259.

As Lope Hurtado tells me that the Dowager Duchess [of Florence] is about to send an express to Your Majesty, I will only relate what has happened since my letter of the 2nd.* On the following day, which was the 3rd, before the Duchess' arrival in this city, His Holiness wished to have laid before Him the deed specifying the obligations of each of the confederated powers for next year's undertaking against the Turk, which deed he then proceeded to sign, as did also the Venetian ambassador (Contareno) and myself.†

On that very day the Duchess came to dine at a villa of her own, half a mile from Rome, accompanied by the duchess of Castro,‡ the lady Costanza and her sons, besides other relations or ladies of her household. The duke of Castro (Pier Luigi) came also, having escorted the Duchess [Margaret] during the whole of her journey from the frontiers of the Florentine territory. In the morning several cardinals, among whom were the Vice-chancellor, the Camarlengo, Santiago, and Ottavio,§ had gone out to receive her. After dinner came His Holiness' family and that of the above-mentioned cardinals, the Rota and the rest of the offices, each according to order of precedence, the Consul and Senator of Rome, with twelve well-appointed gentlemen, who were all the time round Her Excellency's horse, a most beautiful hackney, and richly caparisoned, which cardinal Farnese (Alessandro) had sent in the morning for her riding. She (the Duchess) made her entry between cardinal Farnese and cardinal Santiago (Sarmiento), and I must add that the concourse of people was as thick and numerous as if Your Imperial Majesty had entered Rome. In the Quirinal all the cardinals were present, and the Duchess herself, after kissing His Holiness' foot, answered all his questions with such promptitude and discretion that all present were astonished to hear her, and His Holiness particularly pleased.

On that very day His Holiness told me that the marriage had better be ratified immediately, so that the festival should be complete. My answer was it might be so done if His Holiness wished. I said this much, because I cannot help thinking that His Holiness has got some scent of what passed when the Duchess at first refused to grant the powers, and that he might perhaps have some scruple thereupon. Nor could I have met His Holiness' hint in any other way, for as the powers themselves were not forthcoming, I could not do less

* Probably a mistake for the 7th. *See* No. 19.

† *See* above, No. 22, p. 54.

‡ Pier Luigi Farnese, duke de Castro, was then married to Hieronima Orsini, daughter of count Pitigliano. By the lady Costanza, the Pope's daughter and Pier Luigi's sister is meant. She was first married to Bozio II., Sforza, count of Santa Fiore, secondly to Stephano Colonna, duke of Palestrina.

§ By Santiago, cardinal Sarmiento, archbishop of Santiago de Compostela, is meant. Octavio is, no doubt, Ottavio Farnese, the bridegroom.

1538.

than take the engagement in Your Majesty's name, subject to their ratification when received. And, therefore, on the 4th inst., in the presence of His Holiness and of all his cardinals, of the ambassador of the Most Christian king of France, who had only arrived the day before, and had entered Rome in the Duchess' suite, as well as of the other resident ambassadors, the marriage contract was read aloud in Italian, that every one present might understand it. Then, after an oration by cardinal Archinto in praise of the married couple, the marriage ceremony was celebrated, and the contract ratified; after which His Holiness sent to the Duchess a jewel, consisting of one diamond and one balass,* valued 11,000 ducats, besides a ring estimated at 1,500.

Her Excellency supped with His Holiness at his own table, and at another close by were the ladies and other principal persons. The feast and rejoicing lasted till past midnight; His Holiness showing all the time how pleased he was at the discretion, beauty, virtues, and other accomplishments of the Duchess. He has since requested me to remind Your Majesty how pleased he would be if the marriage could be consummated about next Christmas.

The deposit of the 200,000 ducats, and the bills of L. Ansaldo are already in the Duchess' hands, and His Holiness has given orders that all property once belonging to the Medici family, here at Rome and elsewhere, should be at once restored to her, most particularly the Roman property, which is said to be worth upwards of 60,000 a year, without including another estate, called Paludes Pontinas (the Pontine Lakoons), which has been found to belong to the Medici. These estates, and others which will turn up, will greatly increase the Duchess' dower.

Since His Holiness has an interest in finding out what property the late duke of Florence (Alessandro de Medici) owned here, at Rome, there can be no doubt that the most minute inquiry will be made. Had it not been for this marriage, surely half that the said Duke possessed would have been lost.

His Holiness has sent to Naples for Dr. Gilberto Albertino, the manager of the Sessa estates, that he may enlighten him as to the value of certain lands, which he wishes to purchase for the Duchess' dower. The marquis della Valle Siciliana (Alarcon), amongst others, wishes to dispose of his.

To the question asked by the Venetians as to whether, in case of Durazzo or some other place in the enemy's territory not being taken, as is expected, it would be advisable to choose Corfu for the winter-quarters of the Spanish infantry, the Signory have answered—and Lope de Soria writes in confirmation of it—that they will be delighted to have the Spaniards with them.

* "De un diamante y un *balaj* de precio de once mil ducados." Balaj in Spanish is the balass or spinel ruby.

1538.

I called upon Mr. de Griñan, the French ambassador. He seems to me to be a wise and discreet gentleman. After telling me that his master, the King, was as inclined as ever to the keeping of the truce, and had given him orders to communicate with me without reserve, he added: "I have another good piece of intelligence for you, namely that the king of England has requested my master to join him that both may make war on Your Majesty, and that my master's answer has been that he had for a long time wished to become the Emperor's friend, and that now that God had granted him that boon, he fully intended to keep it." He (king Francis) had admonished the king of England to return to the obedience of the Church, and forsake the path he had hitherto followed. The ambassador had already been received twice by His Holiness, and had spoken to him in the same terms as he did to me. Interrogated, as His Holiness himself has informed me, whether the King, his master, intended or not to help in the enterprise against the Turk, the French ambassador replied that he certainly did intend to do so, and that at the expiration of his truce with Solyman—which would only last a few months more —people would see whether he was in earnest, and whether his intentions were rightful or not. "My own private opinion (added the ambassador) is that the house ought first to be swept clean, and the domestic enemies reduced," meaning that matters ought to be so managed that the king of England and the Lutherans should first, in one way or other, be recalled to the path of Faith and Christian union. Some days after, whilst commenting upon these words of the French Ambassador I said to His Holiness: "No doubt the ambassador is right, and yet it seems to me as if the greater danger ought to be attended to by preference; for without getting first rid of the Turk, and breaking down his power, or insuring ourselves against it, there is no use trying to extirpate the evil at home, especially under present circumstances, and when a league and confederacy has been formed which the Venetians themselves have joined, &c."

[The affair of Lope Hurtado de Mendoza and the duchess of Florence.]

Ferrara and its Duke.—His Holiness and the Duke (Hercole II.) have not yet settled the Modena affair. The difference lies in 40,000 cr., which the Pope lent on Modena to the emperor Maximilian, the Pope insisting upon the deed being drawn up without expression of the right which the Holy See may have to that sum. I have done all I could to give a decided turn to the affair; but have found obstacles on both sides, and principally on that of the Duke, who is very irresolute. I have even proposed that the debt be reduced by one-half; but the Duke wants to give in payment certain claims he has on France, as well as other sums of money on revenues he says he is entitled to.

1538.

The Church of Valencia and the Cardinal of Trento—bishop of Lunden.

Bishopric of Arras to Prothonotary Perrenot, son of Mons. de Granvelle (Nicolas Perrenot).—The bishop of Cambray had already nominated for the provotship (*prepositura*) of San Thoma; but since Your Imperial Majesty orders it, steps will be taken for the appointment of Maestro Odoardo, with a pension of 300 florins for Eustace de Croy.

The Cardinal of Naples asks Your Majesty's consent to renounce the bishopric of Acherra (Acerra) in favour of Dr. Paulo de Chisis (Cesis?), His Holiness' referendary—Cardinal Jacobatiis.

The viceroy of Naples (D. Pedro de Toledo) writes on the 9th inst. that Barbarossa was in the canal of Corfu with the whole of the Turkish fleet, and that he had done already some damage at la Faraja and in Chefalonia. He had also taken some vessels, of what nationality it was not stated. He had met with fair winds so as to go in search of Your Majesty's fleet and that of the Holy League; but owing to the difficulty of crossing the canal with winds from the east, it was not known what he had done.* The intelligence is of the first inst., sent by the proveditor of Corfu.

I was about to close this letter when the Venetian ambassador sent me the news from Ragusa of the 26th ult., purporting that Castilnovo had been taken by assault, with the death of 200 Turks, who composed its garrison. Five thousand more, who came to the relief of the place, had also been defeated with a heavy loss in killed and prisoners.—Rome, X. November, 1538.

Signed: "El Marques de Aguilar."

Postscriptum: Giovan Pietro Cafarello, whom the duke of Castro employs, whenever he or His Holiness wants to expose goods in the market-place, has just this moment called to say that the Duke and Duchess are not at all pleased with the proposed marriage of their daughter† to the son of Mr. de Vendôme,‡ and that he (Cafarello) wonders why the Duke, having said that he desired particularly to know your Majesty's will, in order to facilitate or bring about the said marriage, had not heard from me. Cafarello was requested to find some means of making me reveal what your Majesty's wishes may be on that point. I answered that I knew nothing of the affair save the instructions received from home after His Holiness' Nuncio had spoken on the subject.

My impression, however, is that the French ambassador (Grignan) since his arrival here, has spoken of that very

* "De la qual no se sabia los effectos que havia hecho por respecto de la traviessa (travesia?) del Golfo con los xaloques."

† Pier Luigi Farnese had only one daughter, named Vittoria, who married Guidobaldo della Rovere, duke of Urbino.

‡ That is Antoine, son of Charles, duke of Vendôme.

1538.

marriage, and asked no doubt a considerable sum of ready money [as dower], which His Holiness is not at all prepared to give, and that these people wish me to take a hand in the affair, and try to make Your Majesty prevent the marriage, and give them some compensation. I also fancy that they would be glad to return to the marriage of duke Cosmo with the Pope's granddaughter, because the duke of Castro has lately been heard to say that the viceroy of Naples is actually promoting a marriage between the said Cosmo [of Florence] and his daughter (Leonor). The marchioness of Pescara is now here, and I have reason to believe that she talks of the marriage of her son by Ascanio Colonna.*

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

Wien. Imp. Arch. *Rep.*P.*Fasc.*C.231. ff. 150–1.

24. The ADVICE tendered by an ANONYMOUS COUNCIL upon the TREATY of CLOSER ALLIANCE to be CONCLUDED with the KING OF ENGLAND.

That the Emperor may know what is most expedient, convenient, and even necessary in the negociation with the king of England's ministers, in case of a closer alliance being contracted, and the Palatine Countess'† rights to the crowns of Denmark and Norway being made over to the King of that country, the following considerations are respectfully submitted :—

In the first place it must be borne in mind that in the year 1506 the late king Philip,‡ being obliged by stress of weather to land in England,§ made then and there with the king of that country a commercial treaty highly detrimental to the interests of these Low Countries, and one, in fact, that the inhabitants thereof could not well endure. Which treaty, such as it was, the king of England's ministers have always asserted and maintained to be perpetual, founding their assertion on the words of a clause (subjoined to this present Advice‖), wherein it is said that the said commercial treaty was to last until a new one was prepared and concluded. To this revision or renewal of the treaty the English ministers have never consented ; they have, on the contrary, on various occasions solicited the confirmation of that of 1506, which for many urgent considerations has always been equally refused on our side. Since then several provisional ordinances, professing to regulate the intercourse of trade between the two countries, have been promulgated on both sides, and the question whether the commercial treaty of 1506 was perpetual or not, and whether it ought to be observed or abandoned, has remained in abeyance, as appears from the subjoined abstracts‖ of the intercourse (*entrecour*) or commercial conven-

* " Y hambien está aqui la marquesa de Pescara, que erco habla en sa hijo de Ascanio."

† That is Dorothea, the daughter of Kristiern, then married to the Palatine Frederic.

‡ Philip, the father of Charles V.

§ " Contraint par torment de mer prendre terre en Angleterre."

‖ Neither of the clauses mentioned in this paper are appended.

1538.

tion of 1515. Ever since the queen of Hungary took into her hands the government of these Low Countries, knowing how interested the Emperor's subjects were in the strict observance of the treaties, she has often requested the king of England to consent to a new one being made for the regulation of trade between the two countries. The King having acceded to her request, sent his deputies to Calais, whilst the Queen sent hers to Dunkerk; but the English maintaining all the time that the treaty of 1506 was perpetual and ought to be strictly observed, whilst those of the queen of Hungary held that it could not be perpetually valid, inasmuch as it lacked confirmation, and the time of its duration had already expired, no good whatever was done, and although the Emperor's deputies were disposed and willing to have the same treaty of 1506 revised and brought into reasonable terms, equally advantageous for both the contracting parties, the English would not hear of it.

It is, therefore, probable that if a new commercial treaty be negociated, the King of England's ministers will persistently try to have that of the year 1506 ratified, and will perhaps endeavour to gain their object by means of covered words, a thing to which great attention should be paid. If matters could be so managed as to entirely do away with the debated question whether the commercial treaty of 1506 be perpetual or not, and have the treaty itself declared invalid and nul, a great boon would be conferred on the inhabitants of these Low Countries, and it might lead the way to an arrangement for a more reasonable one.

To attain this desirable end it ought to be stipulated that in future, for a period of five or six years, at least, the letter of the commercial covenant made and concluded in the month of April, 1520, should be strictly observed, and that during that time there should be a meeting of deputies from both countries to reconsider and re-examine those points, in which there might be detriment to either of the parties, the whole of this being done in a spirit of perfect impartiality and good fellowship, so as to meet the convenience and benefit of both parties. At the expiration of which period of five or six years all previous treaties for the intercourse of trade are to be virtually abolished and declared nul.

Should this not be attainable, as most likely it will not be, at least great care should be taken that no confirmation of the said treaty of 1506, nor even of that of 1520, take place directly or indirectly, unless it be provisionally and for a limited period of time, lest the English should allege that according to the clause herein subjoined of the treaty of 1520, that of 1506 must be considered as fully confirmed.

On the other hand in granting to the king of England the cession by the Countess Palatine [of the Rhine] of all her rights to the crowns of Denmark and Norway, care should be taken that all subjects, natives or inhabitants of those countries, whether patrimonial or otherwise, who have placed or may

1538.

hereafter place themselves under His Majesty's rule, as lord of these Low Countries, and settle therein with their boats, ships, goods and chattels, merchandise and so forth, gold and silver, both coined and in bullion, be allowed without trouble and at their ease to go about, frequent, reside in, and inhabit, go to and come from the said kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and their dependencies, as well by sea as by land or sweet waters, and principally by the Sund of Bette (Sund), going to or returning from Prussia, Rierevel, Dantzig, and other neighbouring countries or lordships, without being arrested or hindered in their persons or properties, provided they pay the anciently established customs dues (*tonlieux*) and other usual taxes as in time of peace, each being, however, responsible before the judges for all private and personal debts.

As, moreover, generally speaking, it is customary to stipulate in all treaties with princes and lords of those Austral regions that each contracting party is to keep the roads and passes perfectly free and secure from corsairs, pirates, and privateers —who generally abound in those regions more than in others (many gentlemen thinking that robbing on the high seas is no crime or misdemeanour)*—it would be well to stipulate that should the king of England obtain the possession of the said kingdoms of Denmark and Norway he shall be obliged to keep a guard, deliver, secure and preserve the roads, straits and passes leading to and from the said kingdoms, as well by sea as by land, or sweet waters, from robbers, thieves, highwaymen, cut-purses (*destrousseurs*), corsairs, pirates and "ecumeurs de mer," so that those who wish to visit, for the purpose of trade or otherwise, the aforesaid kingdoms, may do so freely, and without impediment of any sort go thither and return whenever they like.

That the king of England is not to grant safe-conducts, nor allow them to be granted by others, to the said robbers, thieves, highwaymen, cut-purses, corsairs, pirates and privateers, for them to be received, housed (*herbergez*) or otherwise sheltered, and that should any property or goods belonging to subjects of these Low Countries, and taken by sheer force from them at sea or on land, be found in any port of the said kingdoms of Denmark and Norway, or elsewhere, the owners may claim the same, and pursue their action of recovery, until indemnified of their loss, the king being bound to have all property restored without delay or impediment of any sort.

Likewise that neither in the said kingdoms nor in their dependencies are the enemies of these Low Countries to be sheltered, received, favored or allowed to treat; that they will not be allowed to make recruits, or be furnished with ammunition, provisions and victuals, vessels, maritime stores, or anything

* "De garder les chemins et passaiges francs de coureurs, pillars, et privates, qui ont accoustume plus regner a dits quartiers que autres, en tant que pluseurs gentilhommes ne le reputent pour delict ou mefait."

1538.

else appertaining to war, as stipulated in the treaty of truce made three years ago with the duke of Holstein, some articles of which bearing on this point are also here subjoined.*

It would again be advisable to stipulate that in the event of the King leaving after him more than one son, and that the one now living succeeds to the crown of England, the second of those sons shall occupy the throne of Denmark and Norway, as the perpetual union of the latter kingdoms to the crown of England might prove a rather dangerous coalition for these Low Countries, and is more to be dreaded than that which the duke of Cleves is now trying to effect of the duchy of Ghelders to those of Cleves and Jullers (Julièrs), Berghe and La Marche.

It would also seem expedient to stipulate that should the king of England come to treat with the duke of Holstein respecting the Austral Towns, or other principalities bordering on Denmark, he (the King) should not be empowered to treat, grant or consent to anything likely to turn out to the detriment and injury of these Low Countries. Otherwise the King, who, as may be presumed, is only asking for the said kingdoms of Denmark and Norway for the purpose of monopolizing the trade of those countries—which is in reality the principal profit he can get from them—might easily enter into a treaty with the duke of Holstein, and make over to him his right to the crown of Denmark and Norway, on condition that all merchandize coming from Oost and passing through Denmark should be landed there, and then put on board of English or Danish vessels to be conveyed to England, by doing which the Low Countries would be deprived of the direct trade with those kingdoms, and their shipping interest would suffer materially, for all merchandize coming from the West and from France are there distributed so as to answer for that coming from Oost. The greatest attention should be given to this last point.

Nor is it unworthy of consideration that after the alliance and confederacy thus made with the king of England—which cannot always remain secret—the duke of Holstein, at present holder of the kingdoms of Denmark and Norway, being made aware of this or any other alliance, will naturally suspect that the treaty has been framed to his detriment, and will try by all means in his power to fortify himself against His Imperial Majesty and these Low Countries, to whom he will attribute all the inconveniences of his situation, and will readily ally himself closely with the first Lutherans he may come across, and even with the electors of Saxony, the landgraf of Hessen, and the duke of Cleves, with whose assistance he can very easily make invasions in these Low Countries. To meet such a danger as this it would be advisable to stipulate, or at least to enter into

* As above said (*see* above, p. 59, note) none of the documents here alluded to is in the bundle.

1538.

some sort of agreement with the king of England, that in case of his marrying the dowager duchess of Milan, the Queen, his wife, may negociate with the said duke of Holstein, usurper of the kingdoms of Denmark and Norway, and make peace or truce with him as may best suit, provided matters relating to the security and preservation of the Low Countries are alone treated of, not those which might turn to the detriment of the King, her husband.

This present advice (*avertissement*) is tendered by the good pleasure of Her Majesty (the queen of Hungary) and under the correction of the lords, who will intervene in the negociations for the treaty.*

French. Entirely ciphered. pp. 11.

Wien., Imp. Arch., *Rep.*P.C.*Fasc.*231, ff. 77–82.

25. MEMORANDUM† respecting the PROPOSED MARRIAGE of the KING OF ENGLAND with the DOWAGER DUCHESS OF MILAN.

Respecting the marriage in contemplation between the king of England and the dowager duchess of Milan, and that of the princess of England (Mary) with the Infante Dom Luyz of Portugal, the Emperor's wish is: 1stly, that his ambassadors in England do grant nothing against Holy Mother Church, or against the authority of the Holy Apostolic See.

Also that nothing be granted by them against the rights of the Princess to the succession.

That the Infante of Portugal and the said Princess may not be compelled to sign any statutes or articles against the Church or the Apostolic See.

To ascertain what are the King's intentions and views with regard to the marriage between the Infante of Portugal and the Princess his daughter, and what dowry he purposes to give to the latter.

That the king of Portugal [Dom Joaõ III.] is ready, owing to the affection he bears to his brother, to allot him property or revenue in his own kingdom sufficiently large to allow him to keep up a princely state, and that at all events the king of England ought rather to look to the personal qualities, merits and age of the personage than to his material wealth.

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* The deputies appointed by the Queen Regent, as will be seen hereafter, were the duke of Aarschot (Philippe de Croy), the viscount of Lombecke (Jean Hannaërt, sieur de Likerke), and Dr. Schore, the chancellor of Brabant. The document is undated, and entirely ciphered. It is addressed to the Emperor, and may be the work of Granvelle (Antoine), at that time secretary of the Council, and therefore in possession of one of the ciphers used by Imperial ambassadors and ministers.

† Most likely by Don Diego de Mendoza after his return from England. *See* above, No. 12, p. 40.

1538.

That the Emperor engages that any promises made by the Infante Dom Luyz, and by the king of Portugal shall be fulfilled.

That whilst giving his consent to the above marriage, the Emperor will be glad to enter into a defensive and offensive league of the respective states of both parties.*

That the king of the Romans (Ferdinand) will also intervene and join the said league.

Should the king of England speak of ratifying the last treaty the ambassadors will decline any conversation on the subject, on the plea that in those treaties are contained many points and articles, with which they themselves are not acquainted, which articles have nothing in common with the proposed marriage, and in nowise concern the king of Portugal or the king of the Romans.

Again, should the king of England hint at a new league and confederacy between the Emperor and himself, the ambassadors are to listen to the conditions of that league without admitting or rejecting the terms altogether, however hard they may appear to them.

Not to grant anything respecting the old confederacies with Scotland.

To take good care of the succession to the throne of England, in the event of the King's death without male and legitimate children, going to the Princess.

To procure that the King assigns to the Princess, his daughter, the largest dower possible on some estate or country the revenue of which she herself may enjoy, besides a considerable sum of money as dowry.

It will be wise and convenient to have the said dower properly estimated and valued, so that in the event of the King's death during the life of the Princess, should the King's successor on the throne wish to curtail some of it, the Princess or her representatives may know what sums they are to claim.

The ambassadors are particularly charged to keep in mind the following points:—

1st. That the king of England will be glad to make a league against the Turk and declare against him, provided His Imperial Majesty on his side will declare against the Pope.

That the King refuses to declare the legitimacy of the Princess, and, therefore, that in point of fact she is to him neither a legitimate nor a bastard daughter.

That he will, nevertheless, declare her heiress to his throne should he die without legitimate children, male or female, of his late marriage, and that in any case she is to be preferred to the daughter of Anne de Boullant (Anne Boleyn), the beheaded queen.

* "Pour les estatz de eulx deulx."

1538.

That he did offer to give her 100,000 crs. at once, and 20,000 more every year as dower, though since then his ministers have considerably reduced that sum by the suppression of the yearly revenue.* And that the Imperial ambassadors said that for every 100,000 crs. the King would bestow on his daughter, the Infante of Portugal, Dom Luyz, engaged to give the Princess 5,000 as marriage portion. It must, however, be observed that no definitive agreement was taken on that point; the annual revenue, which the Princess in the first instance was to have, was not definitely fixed; besides which, as the ambassadors know, the King's consignment was originally made upon the property of the suppressed abbeys and monasteries, not in ready money. On the other hand, the King's conditions were that the Emperor should defend him against the Pope. Also that the General Council was not to be held at Cambray. In addition to that the Emperor was to promise that wherever the Council met nothing would be treated therein to his detriment.

It must likewise be borne in mind, that the ambassadors had tacitly owned that the Emperor intended giving the duchy of Milan to the Infante Dom Luyz, which declaration was so much to the King's taste that he had immediately offered money to defend him [the Infante] against all enemies, and also to declare against the Turk. The King, nevertheless, requested that the investiture of Milan should be delayed until the conclusion of the marriages.

Since then the Emperor had actually offered the state of Milan to the King on condition of his making a league, defensive and offensive with him against all enemies, and of both attending conjointly to the defence of their respective dominions. Which proposition, however, the English declined to accept, excusing themselves on the plea of the heavy expense they would have to sustain, the Emperor having so many enemies that it would be impossible for them, as they said, to bear such a strain on their treasury.

The King's Marriage with the Dowager Duchess of Milan.

Cromwell was the first to bring it forward in conversation with the Imperial ambassador in London (Eustace Chapuys), saying that it would be advisable to treat of such a marriage, and at the same time conclude that of the prince of England (Edward) and the Emperor's daughter (Maria); of the King's daughter by Anne Boleyn (Elizabeth) with the son of the duke of Savoy [Charles III.], or with the son of the king of the Romans (Ferdinand).

* "Donneroit avecq la princesse cent mille escus une fois et xx^m escus de rente, mais depuis ses ministres se retrancherent et arresterent a cent M. escus comme [une] fois."

1538.

The proposal being renewed in more explicit terms, the Imperial ambassadors (Chapuys and D. Diego) declined to treat of such marriages on the plea that the parties were by far too young, and of such unsuitable ages that contracts now made could hardly be kept; and, moreover, that the Emperor did not know what the intentions of the king of the Romans or of the duke of Savoy might be with regard to that. But if the king of England wished to treat of his own marriage with the dowager duchess of Milan, the Emperor would be glad to grant her hand with a dowry of 100,000 crs., besides an allowance of 15,000 crs. annually, together with such rights as the Duchess might have to her mother's inheritance. In addition to that, the Emperor would endeavour that the Countess Palatine*, her sister, renounced in her favour her right to the succession to the crowns of Denmark and Norway, and would even promise, if necessary, his help and assistance for the conquest of those kingdoms.

Upon which the King had asked for an increase of the Duchess' dower and marriage portion, and desired that both should be consigned upon the Flanders Treasury, alleging that the consignment on Milan was not secure, and that he did not care for the rights the Duchess might have to the kingdom of Denmark. Which reply was met by the Imperial ambassadors with the rejoinder that the dowry assigned was quite sufficient, and that the King ought to be satisfied and not insist on such trifles.

It was also offered by the Imperial ambassadors that every effort should be made by the Emperor to mediate between the Pope and the King, so as to make them friends on honourable conditions suitable to the King's reputation. But this the King would not hear of, refusing to enter into any sort of agreement with His Holiness.

Then after that the King asked the investiture of Milan for his daughter, saying that the Emperor was in a situation to grant that. The ambassadors' answer was that His Imperial Majesty could not then dispose of the duchy of Milan without the consent of the Italian powers; and, moreover, that the King had nothing to fear in that quarter, since in the agreement entered into with king Francis there was no clause whatever to his detriment.

In a despatch addressed by Don Diego de Mendoza to the queen regent of Flanders, that ambassador says that in treating of the marriage between the princess of England (Mary) and the Infante of Portugal (Dom Luyz) great care should be taken that she be declared legitimate and lawful heiress to the Crown in view of failure of legitimate male heirs. Should the King not agree to that, no mention at all of his refusal was to be made in the marriage contract for fear of injuring her rights to the succession. To insist,

* "That is Dorothea, married to the count Palatine Frederic."

1538.

however, upon the largest possible and most secure dower for the Princess, bearing in mind that she is the daughter of queen Katharine, who had one amounting to 200,000 ducats.

That it would be fit and expedient to draw out a secret protest to this effect: that in treating of the Princess' marriage it must be well understood that her rights to the succession are in nowise impaired thereby.

The Emperor writes that on the two points brought forward by the king of England and his ministers, firstly: that he (the Emperor) is not to consent to the celebration of the General Council, lest something be said or done there to his prejudice; and secondly, that he himself, is unwilling to declare the legitimacy of his daughter, the Imperial ambassadors' answer at the time was fit and proper. With regard to the first point they replied that the Emperor could not make such a promise, and that even if he made it, he could not keep his engagement, for it was one against God and reason; and with regard to the second, that if the King refused to acknowledge and proclaim the legitimacy of the Princess, his daughter, he was at least bound to reserve her right to the succession in case he himself died without other children.*

In a letter of the 28 July 1538, the Emperor writes that the English ambassador at his Court had requested him in his master's name to urge on the two said marriages, and that even in the case of that of the Princess with Dom Luyz of Portugal not taking place immediately, his wish was that his own with the dowager duchess of Milan should be proceeded with. So that, although formerly the King insisted upon the two marriages taking place at the same time, his ambassador seemed now to put off that of the Princess and Dom Luyz, and advocate solely and exclusively that of his master with the dowager duchess of Milan; making no objection to the Emperor's voluntary disposal of that state, and offering besides, in his master's name, to contribute to the defence of that duchy, provided full powers were sent to queen Mary, the regent of the Low Countries, to treat of his own marriage with the Duchess.

The Emperor's intention, however, is that the Queen, his sister, endeavour to make out what the king of England means by this new proposal, and treat of the two marriages as above. But in order not to afford a cause of displeasure to the king of France, she (the Queen) is to conclude nothing without letting the Emperor know of it first, much less arrange an interview with the King at Calais or elsewhere—a thing which the English ambassador seems most anxious for—nor enter into any definitive agreement whatever with respect to Milan itself. For this is the most important point in the negociation, and the French have not yet lost all hope of getting

* Son droit de succession en cas quil ne laissa aultres enffans [masles ?].

1538.

possession of it somehow. Should, therefore, the king of England or his ministers make any mention of it, let the Imperial commissioners' reply be that as the King's answer to the Imperial ambassadors on that particular point had been both cold and unmeaning, nay, far from corresponding to the warm overtures proffered by the said ambassadors, it was necessary that the King should make a fresh and formal declaration of his views within a fixed period of time according to the present state of affairs, not forgetting to state that the Milan question is nowadays open to many considerations.

The English ambassador at the Imperial Court has complained of his master, the King, not having been comprised in the truce of Nyce (Nizza), except in general terms, and as one of the Christian princes. He could not possibly assert that by that omission his master would be prejudiced in his treaties with the Emperor, but he feared he might be so hereafter. The answer has been that the King was duly comprised in it, though in general terms, and that nothing had therein been discussed or meant to his detriment. Upon which the English ambassador observed: "Perhaps by not mentioning my master in the treaty of Nizza* the object was to show that he is not a Christian king, since he has denied obedience to the Church of Rome?"

The said ambassador again, in his master's name, requested that the Emperor should engage, in case of the General Council meeting, that no matter should therein be discussed to his detriment, although he himself were not present, for certainly he did not intend to attend it. The answer was that the King's request was unreasonable, and that the Emperor could in nowise comply with it.

Another request of the English ambassador is that particular instructions be forwarded to the Queen Regent respecting the dowry and the rights of the dowager duchess of Milan, besides the cession which the Palatine Duchess [her sister] is to make of her own rights to the crown of Denmark. This has been granted, and a promise made to that effect.

The ambassador has also spoken about the defence of Milan, and the answer has been in general terms that the assistance proffered is now subject to other considerations, since the circumstances have greatly changed. The ambassador was also told that if his master wished for the negociation of the two above-mentioned marriages to be resumed and go on, he must proceed in it more seriously and effectively than hitherto.

The Emperor's resident ambassador in England (Chapuys), in his despatch of the last day of August 1538, advises, among other things: That the king of England objected to

* There was no treaty at Nizza; at least the interview ended without the Emperor and Francis coming to a definite agreement. The truce was not concluded until their meeting at Aigues-Mortes.

1538.

the powers sent to the Queen on the ground that they were insufficient to treat of the marriage between the Infante Dom Luyz and the Princess, which was the principal point of the two. That the Emperor did not know yet what personal property and estates the Infante had to offer as security for the Princess' dower. Neither had he (the Emperor) received from the Infante sufficient powers, without which it was impossible to proceed with the negociations, and that in addition to that he (the King) wished the negociations to be carried on in England through the medium of the queen of Hungary. The Emperor's answer to such objections was that the English ambassador residing at his Court had seen the powers, and that Dom Luyz himself would not contradict any statement made by the Emperor.

The same Imperial ambassador in England remarks that by the King saying that the Princess' marriage was the principal and most important of the two, it is clearly demonstrated that his sole aim was, and is still, the state of Milan, in order to create jealousy and suspicion between the Emperor and the king Francis.

Cromwell must have said somewhere that a marriage between the dowager duchess of Milan with the young duke of Clèves was in contemplation, and that it was a disreputable transaction for his master, the King, to be refused for a duke, or be accepted after him. Also, that once in possession of Milan, his master's affairs would go on prosperously, and all the rest be settled to his satisfaction. In addition to which the King said once to the French ambassador that he would have Milan in spite of any other prince who wished for it, and that the Emperor had actually offered it to him, even after the interview at Aigues Mortes.*

Indorsed: "Instructions respecting the king of England's marriage with the dowager duchess of Milan."

French. Original minute. pp. 10.

Nov. **26.** Report of the Imperial Deputies of their Negociations with the English Ambassadors.

Wien. Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.* 231. ff. 87–102.

At Brussels, on the 16th day of November 1538, the English ambassadors were the first to make an "exposé" of their commission. They said that the Emperor, through his ambassadors in England, properly accredited for the purpose, had made once certain overtures in view of renewing, re-establishing and re-binding together the alliance, confederacy and defensive league between him and England, the above-named Imperial ambassadors having proposed in

* Most likely by D. Diego de Mendoza, who, on his return from his embassy, was frequently consulted on the subject by the Queen Regent's ministers.

1538.

His Majesty's name a marriage between Dom Loys (Luyz), Infante of Portugal, and Mme. Maria, daughter of the king of England, which proposal, made, as aforesaid, by the Imperial ambassadors, had been taken into consideration and discussed between them as to the conditions of the said marriage and so forth. That simultaneously, and in a like manner, there had been a question of a matrimonial alliance between the King, their master, and Mme. Crestien (Christine), dowager duchess of Milan, but that all negociations on that score had remained without effect or conclusion, owing to the Imperial ambassadors not having received sufficient powers and instructions to treat thereof, though lately, and whilst he himself was at Barcelona, the Emperor had declared to the ambassadors of the King, their master, resident at his court, as well as through his own ambassadors in England, that he was ready to send, and would send to the Queen, his sister, regent in these Low Countries, full powers and instructions to treat of and conclude the said matrimonial alliances and confederations.

After this above exposition of the charge entrusted to them by their master, the English commissioners and ambassadors stated that before proceeding to business it was requisite and necessary that the powers granted by each of the parties should be examined and inspected, asking to see and have in their hands a copy of those of the Emperor to the Queen Regent, his sister, and offering likewise to exhibit their own, both of which were then and there read.

After which the English ambassadors asked to see and inspect the tenour of the commission given by the Queen Regent to her deputies, to which the latter answered that the Queen herself could, in virtue of her powers, conclude any treaty on that score whenever the negociations had come to a close, and a settlement had been made; yet, that, if the English ambassadors entertained any doubt about her having substituted the Emperor's powers for her own, that doubt would disappear on the approval and ratification by herself of all settlements agreed to by her deputies.

This the English ambassadors contradicted and impugned, replying that the Queen's powers were insufficient and too general, and insisting upon having a copy of it to forward to the King, their master, and to his Privy Council, to be examined and inspected in England, in order to see whether the powers were sufficient or not.

The Queen's deputies then replied that, if there was any flaw or mistake in the powers, it was for the English ambassadors to point it out, as they themselves could not discover in them anything incorrect or defective, but on the contrary found them good and sufficient. Upon which the ambassadors retorted that they left that for their master, the King, and for his Privy Council to decide, and declare whether they considered the powers sufficient or not.

1538.

18 Nov. **27.** Second Report of the Imperial Deputies.

Wien. Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.* 231. f. 122.

On the xviii. of the said month of November the English ambassadors, after hearing the Queen's answer to their application in the first instance, and when they made verbally the exposé of the mission on which they were sent, replied that they thought it very strange that a copy of the powers granted to her by the Emperor to treat with them the question of inter-marriages and closer alliance should have been denied to them, considering that they themselves had offered to exhibit their own.

With regard to the state of Milan, they were the more astonished (*esbahis*) at the difficulty now raised that the proposal had come directly from the Emperor, who had always offered to give that duchy to Dom Loys (Luyz) in consideration of his marriage with his daughter, which offer had since been confirmed, even after the interview at Aigues Mortes, the Emperor having then and there declared that he was ready and willing to resume and continue the negociations for that marriage in the terms and with the conditions previously stipulated, without retrenching anything on the points upon which there was an agreement on both sides. The English ambassadors fully expected that the Emperor, who was a man of his word, would observe what he had so often promised and keep his engagements.

The English ambassadors went on to say that perceiving that the Queen's deputies avoided giving an answer, they had proceeded to the second point in their commission, which was the succession of Dame Mary. That succession, they said, had already been settled and established by the laws of the kingdom, which the King, their master, could not and would not alter, since they had been sworn to by his subjects.

Respecting the third point in their (the English ambassadors') charge, namely, that Dom Loys (Luyz) was to swear to the statutes and laws of England, the Infante ought to make no difficulty whatever, since those very statutes and laws were greatly beneficial to him, who, by taking his oath to comply strictly with them, would naturally ensure and confirm the eventual succession of Dame Mary to the Crown (according and in pursuance of the nomination made by the King, her father), and would thereby make himself agreeable to and loved by the English. And that although it was not customary to introduce such clauses as that in the marriage contract of princes, yet the King insisted upon it, since it was not in anywise injurious to the Infante of Portugal, who ought to offer no opposition, considering that the King, their master, who was a wise and prudent monarch, intended it as a safeguard against the inconvenience, that might hereafter arise in his kingdom with regard to the succession.

The ambassadors ended by saying that considering that the Queen's commissioners would like to answer separately each of the above three points, should there be any difficulty

1538.

in the answer, or should the whole or part of their propositions be contested, they would be glad to have the answer in writing, that they may inform the King, their master, thereof—at the same time that the Queen's deputies informed the Emperor—and that during that time the negociation for other conditions respecting the said inter-marriages and alliances might be proceeded with, on all which points they hoped to get an answer in six days' time.

The Queen's deputies then took upon themselves to inform the Queen and her Council, which has been done, the resolution taken being that the English ambassadors may write to the King, their master, as desired.

French. Minute. pp.* 2.

P. Neg. & Pap. de Sim. L. 1484. No. 51.

28. What the ADMIRAL OF FRANCE said to the QUEEN REGENT, and what her answer was.

In the first place the Admiral said to the Queen that he had charge to offer his most cordial and affectionate commendations on the part of the queen of France (Eleonor), to which the Queen Regent replied that she thanked him extremely for having taken the trouble of coming as far as Cambray, accompanied by 'princes and princesses of the Royal blood of France, to visit her. That (she said) had been for her a great source of satisfaction; she was ready to do, in favor of Eleonor, and of the Most Christian King, her husband all that might be in her power.

The Admiral next went on to say that he had also a special charge from his master, which was to assure her (the Queen) that not only did he desire to preserve the existing friendship and peace, but wished to establish fresh and closer bonds of union between the two countries. Much had been said on either side, but no definitive agreement had yet been come to. One of the parties had perhaps asked too much, the other had offered too little; nothing had been settled or concluded, and yet both being closely united much time and money might have been spared. For the Most Christian King being the Emperor's brother-in-law, married to his sister, and king Francis being equally the Emperor's brother, nothing would be easier for them than to come to an agreement on all points. The Most Christian King (he said) might help and assist the Emperor in all his undertakings, whilst the latter, who had plenty of land to dispose of, could easily part with a comparatively small territory in Italy, which evidently belongs to him and to his descendants, though at present usurped, and which, if ceded to him, he would assist to conquer.

* This draft or minute has no date, and seems to be unfinished, for immediately after the last paragraph follow three lines in the same handwriting, which are crossed over, "Mons^{r} j'ai en brief reprins la communication de aujourdhuy, la quelle je vous prye de veoir et corriger a vostre bon plesir (*sic*) pour apres la faire escripre (copier?) avecq lautre verbal proces."

1538.

On the other hand should the Emperor meet with a reverse in his encounter with the Infidels, the Most Christian King would all the same do all he could for him, and go on negociating for a closer friendship; for he holds the Emperor to be so high-minded a prince, and so noble-hearted, that no victory of his own, however great and decisive, would ever deter him from his firm purpose of helping his brother in every way.

The Queen's answer was that she knew His Imperial Majesty's condition to be such that no victory or good success of his own could ever make him change his opinion respecting his friends. They would find him better inclined than before to establish good intelligence with the king of France with regard to the universal redressing of Christendom, without innovating in any thing, but keeping to the letter of former treaties and stipulations.

The Admiral replied that past treaties had been made in times of pressure; the Most Christian King asked nothing from the Emperor, save that by way of a new friendship to be established between the two powers, without involving any obligation on the part of the Emperor, he would graciously grant the King's request, or even prayer, if necessary. Should the Emperor refuse to give what was asked of him, the Most Christian King would remain peaceably within his kingdom, enjoying himself, trying to gain friends, and fortifying his frontier towns, not indeed with a view to molest the Emperor, but in order to defend himself afterwards in case of need. "As soon as the King, my master, (continued the Admiral) enters into closer friendship and confederacy of this sort, all his friends and allies will naturally desert him; the Emperor's power will increase, and my master's diminish in consequence. For that reason it is not prudent for the king of France to take any engagement of that sort without knowing first whether the Emperor intends or not doing any thing for him, granting his request or giving him some equivalent. The King, nevertheless, would be glad to negociate upon all and each of the above-mentioned points, provided something be done for him, or if he has the assurance that a portion at least of his demands will be complied with presently or at a future time. It was for the Emperor to answer these overtures, since he (Francis) had always been the first to speak, make explanations (*aclaraciones*) on the subject, propose means, and so forth."

With respect to the common weal of Christendom, which also concerns the Emperor most particularly as head of it, there is nothing to be said, save to declare and propound the means of carrying into effect so meritorious a work. The Most Christian King will then show to the world that he has as much desire and will towards it as any other Catholic prince, provided care be taken to make him participate in the honor and glory of such an enterprise, and he be acquainted beforehand of the means to be employed to attain such an end. As his

1538.

predecessors, the kings of France have always been, the Most Christian is ready to stake his person and kingdom for the service of God and Christendom against the Infidels, as he has already offered to do many a time.

The Queen's answer to the above was that the Emperor, her brother, was particularly observant of the treaties he had with other princes, and, therefore, that it was out of the question to demand from him things which he could not do owing to former engagements. Those treaties the Emperor could neither alter nor revoke without the consent of the contracting parties. Yet, should the negociations turn upon matters tending to promote the weal of Christendom at large, that might become an excuse for altering for the King's benefit some of the stipulations which could not otherwise be changed. She was sure that the Emperor would do for him and for his sons anything he could honestly do, indeed, as much as he would for his own.

The Admiral replied: "If on his return from this African expedition, the Emperor does nothing for my master, the Most Christian king of France, all hope must be abandoned of matters being satisfactorily settled, and the King, my master, will then fall into despair. It is to you, as the Emperor's sister, whose good judgment and inclination to peace are well known, that I address myself on this occasion, begging you to tell the Emperor, that my master, the King, prefers you to any other channel for the conveyance of his prayers and wants."

Upon which the Queen replied, that knowing very well what might possibly happen, as well as the affinity and parentage which united her to both parties, she would be inhuman were she not to nourish a similar hope and desire. There was nothing she wished more in this life, nothing for which she might be so much tempted to forget her duties, as to see perpetual peace established between them for the good of Christendom at large.

After this the Queen, by way of device, made the Admiral understand that on king Francis' part negociations had been for some time on foot between him and the German princes, likely to result to the Emperor's and the king of the Romans' prejudice. The practices still continued, and, although no harm had actually come to the Emperor or to his brother (Ferdinand) through them, whoever wished for a lasting peace and its preservation must needs avoid and, if possible, remove all occasions of impairing that peace. "In fact (added the Queen) if you (the French people) will put aside the intrigues I allude to, that will be a cause for our forgetting the past, and the means of arriving more easily at an understanding in other matters."

The Queen also hinted to the Admiral that much had been done by them in the Ghelder's business, which was not justifiable at all, and that by acting as they had done, future annoyances and molestations might supervene. The Admiral answered that there was nothing in which his master would

1538.

not do the Emperor's pleasure, provided he himself was pleased and accommodated with a small portion of his demands. The King (he said) had always forbidden the duke of Ghelders to make a stir against the Emperor or his dominions; "should he do anything in that way, it will be entirely against my master's will and without his help and favor."

With regard to the Council the Admiral expressed himself in these or like terms: He said that its celebration was certainly good and necessary, and that the king of England feared nothing short of that.* Were the Emperor and the King to agree in other matters, there would be no difficulty about its meeting, and the Most Christian would at once consent to any place or time designated by the Emperor for its celebration.

The Admiral went also so far as to hint that the king of England's behaviour respecting his marriages, and consequent estrangement from the Church, had certainly given displeasure to many a prince; and therefore that he richly deserved the Papal censures, and to be excommunicated from the rest of Christians; meaning thereby to imply, as it would seem, that were a new understanding entered into between the Emperor and the king of France, he of England would soon be compelled, by reason or otherwise, to pay obedience to the Church, or else to incur the pain of deprivation of his kingdom.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 5.

14 Dec. **29.** SCEPPERUS to the EMPEROR.

P. Ar. Neg. et Pap. de Simancas, K. 1,484, No. 77. B. M. 28,590, f. 302.

This very morning the constable of France (Montmorency) declared to me his master's immense satisfaction at hearing from Mr. de Tarbes (Castelnau), his ambassador at that Imperial Court, how much Your Majesty's affection and friendship for him has increased of late, as well as your own answer to the importunate solicitations of king Henry of England respecting alliances, giving you *carte blanche* for the fulfilment of your wishes,† offering to help you in future with all his power, and assist you in all your undertakings, whatever they may be. The King (said the Constable) was well aware of Your Majesty's answer to the English King's overtures on the occasion; you had persisted in the declaration once made by you to Mr. de Brissach‡—and later on, and more openly, to king Henry's own ambassadors—that it was useless to insist upon that point, and that the agreement entered into between Your Imperial Majesty and the Most Christian King could never be altered or changed. That your intention, on the contrary, was to go on with the truce, and gain all possible

* "Y que el Rey de Inglaterra no tenia (temia ?) otra cosa."

† "Presentandole la carte blanca para entera declaracion de su desseo."

‡ Charles de Cossé-Brissac, marshal of France, who, after the interview of Aigues-Mortes, was sent by Francis on a mission to the Empress. *See* Part II., p. 566.

1538.

ground until a lasting peace was established, sure, as you were, that the Most Christian King will do the same on his side.

Your Majesty's answer to the English ambassadors has made such an impression on this King, and so confirmed him in his high opinion of Your Majesty, that it is impossible to wish for more. The Constable, himself, in the kindest manner possible, has assured me that such were his master's sentiments, begging me to write home accordingly, and say that he (the Constable), as a man of honor, can vouchsafe for the truth of his statement. Indeed, I am in duty bound to say that ever since I took possession of this office* I have not heard or met with anything contrary to the above professions, but have always found in him a strong desire of promoting that friendship, and whatever else may render it more firm and indissoluble. In proof of which assertion, I must say that the King is now sending his powers to Mr. de Tarbes (Castelnau) to treat with Your Majesty to the effect that neither on your side nor on his is an alliance with England to be made through marriages, confederacies, or otherwise, as Your Majesty has already declared to Mr. de Tarbes, and that the King himself is shortly to make a similar declaration. Indeed, the High Constable has assured me that his master is willing to declare that he will not treat in future with kings, princes, or potentates, unless Your Majesty thinks fit and convenient. In short, that whatever Your Majesty may wish for in this matter of alliances with kings, princes and potentates, he (the King) at once approves of and is ready to grant.

After all such increase of trust and confidence in Your Majesty, and such words in this King's lips, acknowledge no other origin than the declaration once made by your Imperial Majesty to Mr. de Tarbes, because, as I have learnt from the High Constable himself, that ambassador wrote that he had heard Your Majesty say that you intended to prefer this King's friendship to that of any other prince or potentate in the world, not excluding even your own brother, the king of the Romans, if necessary. Words, indeed, so eloquent and effective that they cannot be sufficiently valued, especially coming from the lips of a prince like Your Majesty, incapable of tergiversation or change. The truth is that these words have been received here as true and sincere, and that the Constable has supplemented them, persuading the King, his master, to believe in them, and doing his best to maintain good intelligence with Your Majesty, for as the Grand Master says: "Let me introduce but one finger and I am sure to get my hand in."† For this reason I recommend your Majesty's ministers to write to the

* Scepper seems to have replaced Hannaërt, for a time at least, in the French embassy in September. *See* above, p. 6.

† "Y como el dize si se le dará (diera?) medio para meter un dedo, materá una ana." Instead of *ana*, which is the French *aulne* or *aune* (the English yard), the original might well read mano (hand), as I have translated. Indeed, the Spanish proverb is: *Dejale meter el dedo y meterá la mano hasta el codo.*

1538.

Grand Master often, as well as to Monseigneur the cardinal of Lorraine, urging them to contribute to the meritorious work we have in hand.

I tried to see the King before closing this despatch, in order to compare the High Constable's words to me with what he himself might say on the subject; but it was some time before supper, and the King was then asleep. I could not delay this despatch, because the High Constable tells me that he wishes to send it on to-morrow along with the letters of intelligence he himself has received from the Court of the Grand Turk, from England, Italy, and other countries, which he says he intends to forward in future as soon as they come to hand.

Such are the abominable cruelties which the king of England is practising daily with the churches, as well as the principal persons of his kingdom, that the Most Christian King, and all those who hear of his acts, are quite shocked thereat. The High Constable has again told me that the King, his master, is only waiting for Your Majesty's opinion in the matter to conform entirely with your views, and gives the very same answer to the Holy Father, when called upon to help and assist the Church against that King's disobedience and rebellion. Your Majesty will be pleased to send me instructions as to how I am to answer when interrogated on this point.

In the middle of these assurances of friendship for the future there has occasionally been a question as to the means to be employed to gain time and avoid a rupture, for although at present, thank God, there is no appearance of that, yet it is prudent to try and foresee all untoward events, in order to meet them with God's help and favor. In short, it has been agreed that neither Your Imperial Majesty nor the king of France ought to listen to those would-be troublers of peace (sufficiently well known to both of you), who, under color of service, and pretending to make you more powerful and greater than you are—but in reality looking only to their own private interest, which is what stimulates them on—are suggesting far-away and costly, not to say unprofitable undertakings, as some of the past have proved to be. For if the matter be well considered it will be found that, whilst the promoters of such undertakings might have gained through them, Your two Majesties had all the danger to encounter, all the expenses to defray, besides the annoyance, displeasure, and passionate feelings caused by your familiar enemies.* On this particular point the High Constable tells me that there are not a few in that Court who would daily cause a division if they could.† But, as I said before, it has been decided to bar the road to such people, and listen to no living soul speaking of this matter,

* "Las guerras pasadas que no han sido utiles syno á aquellos que han sido causa de las mover, y vosotros dos havido el peligro daño y desplazer y los sentimientos y passiones de spiritu causadas por vuestros enemigos familiares."

† "Y sobre este puncto me dize el Condestable que hay hartos en aquella Corte que cada dia querrian procurar la division."

1538.

for, certainly, there are many here for whom peace is a greater evil than war. I am almost sure that Cesare Fragoso stirs up as much mischief as the rest, though I must say that he is no longer so well received at this court as he was when I came to this embassy.

The young duke of Witemberg * has arrived here, for what purpose I was at first unable to learn. I know very well that some time before Your Imperial Majesty resolved to send me here, the said Duke had been residing at Plombiers (Plombières), a town on the frontier of the county of Burgundy, belonging to Your Majesty, and that he was not on good terms then with his father, the Duke. I have since ascertained that the young Duke comes straight from Bavaria, whose Duke,† as far as I can gather, has lately been warmly solicited to enter into a league with the princes and towns of Germany that have separated from the Faith. If effected, the league would be an awful blow, for few princes and towns of Germany keep to their old faith now, whilst the Separatists, being in the majority, may one of these days out-vote the former in the Diets, to the great injury of Your Majesty's rights, as well as those of your brother, the king of the Romans. I must, however, say that the current rumour here is that for all that the Catholic princes above-mentioned do not intend for the present to forsake the faith of their fathers. For this reason I make bold to say that it would be wise to gain over some of them by good means and sweet words, so as to render them secure and confident under Your Majesty's just and benevolent rule —if they are not already so—for they are in fear of the Separatists, who are strong, rich, well armed, and equally determined to do something, as men who are in despair, and begin to fear that the present peace, if consolidated, may become the cause of their ruin. It would, therefore, be advisable, now that the opportunity seems favorable, that Your Majesty at once inform the Most Christian King as to the best means and form of breaking up the said factions, and recalling the Separatists to their duty, since the Most Christian King himself has declared that he is willing to help in that undertaking, as I had the honor to state in my despatches of 22nd ult. and third inst.‡

I cannot pass over in silence the praise and commendation which the queen of France (Eleanor) justly deserves for her strenuous efforts for the amplification and increase of the friendship now existing between Your Majesty and the King, her husband. She is indefatigable in her exertions, and ready to

* This young duke of Würtenberg must be Christopher, the Pacific, son and successor of Ulric, who in 1534 was restored to his estate, of which he had been deprived by Charles. Christopher succeeded his father Ulric in 1550, and lived until 1568.

† By "the *dukes* of Bavaria," says the original, but duke in the singular is more correct, that is, William, from 1508 to 1550.

‡ The despatches here mentioned are not in Bergenroth's collection.

1538.

promote any scheme that may be agreeable to Your Majesty. She is, however, still intent upon the marriage of her daughter, the princess Mary of Portugal. Should that of the duke of Orleans with the princess Infanta of Spain, of which there has been a talk, not take place,* she wishes her to marry the above Duke. She is continually speaking to me about that, and is anxiously waiting for the return of Mr. de Lordres.—Paris, 14 Dec. 1538.

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

7–13 Dec. Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.* 231, f. 103–144.

30. The REPORT of the DUKE OF AARSCHOT, the SIEUR DE LICKERKE, and Dr. LOYS SCHORE, of THEIR CONFERENCES with the AMBASSADORS of the KING OF ENGLAND.

The Queen finds it no less strange that the English ambassadors should think the Emperor capable of changing his words. It is the English, who never would answer within the period fixed the overtures once made about Milan. That period having elapsed, and the Emperor's circumstances with regard to that duchy having changed, owing to engagements between the Emperor and the king of France, of course the situation is different.†

The English ambassadors said that the King, their master, having heard by their letters the answer made on the first instance by the Queen's deputies, had found it rather strange that so much difficulty should now be raised for the delivery of the duchy of Milan, the investiture of which the Emperor had been the first to offer in favor of the Infante of Portugal, Dom Luyz, upon his marriage with Madame Mary, his daughter, which offer had since been renewed at Barcelona, after the interview of Aigues-Mortez.

The Queen maintains that the Emperor's powers to her are quite sufficient, and that she is well acquainted with the Emperor's intentions, as well as with what his ambassadors in England and ministers in Spain have hitherto negociated with those of the king of England.

They also said that the King, their master, found it equally strange that after His Imperial Majesty's declaration to the English ambassadors residing at his Court, that he (the Emperor) was about to send to the Queen Regent, his

* About these marriages, none of which took effect, *see* above, p. 65.

† This marginal paragraph, and the rest of them to the end of the paper, are in a different hand, most likely that of the president of the Queen Regent's Council, being no doubt intended as the final answer to the overtures made by the English ambassadors. Of the report itself no less than three different drafts or minutes are preserved in the Imperial Archives of Vienna, and of those three I have abstracted the present (ff. 103–7), which, besides being the fullest of all, has at the end a few lines addressed by the duke of Aarschot (?) to secretary Nicholas Granvelle, thus worded: "*Monsr. le Secretaire Nicolas; faictes subitement escripre au net ceste minute jusque aux deux longues rayes, sans rien escripre des responses qui sont apres les deux rayes* || *et apportez le tout a iii heures aprez midy, que la royne veult sur ce tenir conseil comme sçavez.*"

The document is thus headed: "Copie de la copie de ce que s'est traicte entre les ambassadeurs de l'Empereur et les ministres du roi d'Angleterre au sujet d'une plus etroite alliance et du mariage de l'infant de Portugal avec la fille du roi, et du marriage du roi avec la duchesse de Millan."

1538.

sister, full powers and sufficient instructions to treat of the said marriage, as well as of closer alliance and confederation, that same Lady and her Privy Council should not have been more plainly informed and instructed of the overtures made and conditions proposed by His Imperial Majesty.

The King found it likewise strange that the Queen should have refused to give a copy of the powers she had received to that effect.

On the receipt of the first communication from the King, it was stated by the Queen's ministers that it was not customary among princes to furnish copies of such documents, but merely to have them read at the beginning of the negociations. The negociations at an end, just before the conclusion of a treaty, the parties gave each other copies of their powers, for if the treaty was not concluded there was no need of exhibiting the powers.

The Queen cannot persuade herself that the Emperor's ambassadors in London could possibly have done so; for Don Diego de Mendoza's report, and the memoranda of the discussion with the King and Privy Councillors respecting that point say nothing about it, at least, she (the Queen) never heard that they had. Both Don Diego and Chapuys are so wise and cautious, as well as sensible of their duty, that they would never have failed in advising her, had they done so.

The English ambassadors also stated that those of the Emperor in England had fully consented to the marriage of Madame Mary, the King's daughter, in the position and rank which she then held, according to the statutes and laws of England, Dom Loys (Luyz) of Portugal swearing to observe those very statutes and laws.

That the King, their master, seeing the coldness and indifference with which the affair was treated on this side, had every reason to suspect, and even believe, that there was more readiness and desire to communicate with his ambassadors and talk the matter over than of doing any real work or coming to a conclusion.

This may be answered with the last sentence of the preceding apostille.

The English ambassadors went on hinting that the Queen might write to the Emperor, informing him of the communications that had already passed between them and the commissioners, as well as of the answers made by the latter, together with their own reply. In the meantime, and whilst the

On these points no reply was made, considering that the preceding notes were sufficient for all purposes.

1538.

answer was coming from Spain—as well as the Emperor's assent to the desire expressed by their master, namely, that the Infante of Portugal should accept the hand of of his daughter, as determined by the statutes and laws of England, which he (the Infante) would promise to observe—the negociations for the King's marriage with the dowager duchess of Milan might be proceeded with.

The ambassadors ended by declaring openly that they had express charge from their master not to communicate any further or go beyond the above statements with regard to the matrimonial alliances and other matters connected with them until an answer came, and there was agreement on the two following points:—

1st. As the Queen, by virtue of the powers granted to her, cannot substitute another person in her place, let her give to the English ambassadors letters under her signature and seal, detailing and explaining the overtures once made by the Emperor concerning the duchy of Milan, as well as the offers of matrimonial alliance and closer friendship and confederacy. This, of course, to be on the understanding that she is first to request the Emperor to allow her to substitute another person or persons to treat of and negociate on the said alliances, promising, also, to agree to whatever decision the King's ambassadors and her own commissioners may come to, and confirming the said agreement in virtue of her own full powers.

As the Queen has no power to appoint a substitute, and considering that it is not customary for queens and ladies to attend meetings and assemblies where matters of this kind are discussed and debated, she has, in order to prove that what her deputies are doing emanates from her, given them, in writing, commission to negociate and treat, in her name, of the affairs above mentioned, on condition that they report on the progress of the negociations. When those have reached the end, the Queen intends, in virtue of her powers, to ratify whatever may have been agreed to between the King's ambassadors and her own deputies; for to give the English ambassadors the letters they demand, as specified in the article, would be an unnecessary innovation, since the Queen herself is on the spot, in the very town where the negociations are being carried on, and she can immediately approve whatever agreement is made.

Besides which the insistence of the English ambassadors to have the said letters of substitution would arouse the suspicion that, instead of pressing on the negociation, what they want is to delay it as long as possible, for, after all, the demand which they make is not at all essential to the proceedings on the principal matter.

1538.

The Queen knows very well that the Emperor considers the king of England to possess all the qualities they, the ambassadors, give him; so does she herself; yet no less respect and consideration is due to his Imperial Majesty's honor and reputation, and if the same is acknowledged respectively, there is no difficulty whatever in the matter.

2ndly. That in due consideration for the honor of the King, their master, who is a wise and much experienced prince, it should be openly declared at once whether on the part of the Emperor, or of the Queen Regent, his sister, there is any desire or inclination to proceed sincerely and openly with the aforesaid negociation.

[By which second point the ambassadors seemed to intimate that were we to proceed otherwise on our side inconvenience and difficulties might spring up.]

Besides the above, the Queen's deputies have verbally declared to the English ambassadors that the Emperor's intention, and the Queen's also, in virtue of her powers, is to proceed in this affair openly and sincerely, provided there be correspondence on the other side. That for her own part she wishes to remain as she has hitherto been—the good neighbour, friend, and ally of the king of England, as well as of his subjects and kingdom, telling the King's ambassadors openly and freely that it is not the Emperor's intention that one marriage be effected without the other.

Not satisfied with this answer, such as it is, the English ambassadors still insisted upon having the letter above alluded to from the Queen, saying that they had express mandate from their King, as appears from the instructions which they then and there exhibited, not to prosecute the negociation unless they held in their hand the aforesaid letter of engagement. This was reported to the Queen, who caused the following answer to be made to the English ambassadors:—

"The Queen Regent is very much astonished at the English ambassadors demanding from her the obligatory letter in question, and asking that she should engage beforehand to approve of negociations that have not yet begun, a thing which is quite unreasonable, which she herself cannot do, and which ought in nowise to be demanded from her. The ambassadors ought to trust in the Emperor's powers sent to her, which after proper reading and minute inspection have been found clear, precise, and sufficient. His Imperial Majesty is not a prince to abuse the powers he grants; he is, on the contrary, in the habit of always proceeding honorably and with sincerity in all treaties like the present—intended for closer friendship and alliance, especially when he meets with a corresponding wish on the other side. Indeed His Imperial Majesty has hitherto been so generous and so magnanimous in all his dealings with other princes, and so universally recognised as such, that there can be no scruple or fear of any sort on that score.

1538.

If, nevertheless, the English ambassadors insist upon the said obligatory letter and engagement being made out beforehand, the Queen Regent sees no other way to surmount that difficulty than to write to the Emperor and enquire what his will and pleasure are; though she is pretty sure, and, indeed, does not hesitate to say, that he wishes as much as ever to preserve the old amicable relations and alliances with the king of England, his kingdom and subjects, trusting and taking it for granted that in a like manner the king of England does and will do the same."

To the above answer of the deputies the English ambassadors replied: That they thought it strange that so reasonable, and at the same time so unimportant, a request as theirs should be refused to the King, their master, after the honor he had conferred on the Queen Regent by sending his ambassadors to treat of affairs,* which would eventually turn out rather to the profit of the inhabitants of the Low Countries, than to those of his own kingdom. The King, their master, was not a prince to seek his own profit in his negociations†, and whilst he was looking out for the means of ensuring good neighbourhood and friendly intercourse with the Low Countries, he thought it very strange that the Queen Regent should insist on refusing so reasonable a demand. Nor was it fit and just (they said) that, whilst they, the ambassadors of the king of England, came there to Brussels, and exhibited their own full powers, they should begin to treat with the Queen Regent's deputies, who had no powers at all, and were besides more advantageously placed than they themselves, inasmuch as were they inadvertently to say or propose anything to the prejudice of the King, their master, the Queen's deputies would at once snatch at it as a measure highly convenient for the Emperor's interests; whilst if, on the other hand, the proposition was in any way favorable to their King and likely to be carried, the Queen's deputies would have to refer home for fuller powers to treat and conclude. That having received instructions from their King not to proceed further with the negociation, unless they could complete it, they absolutely declined to take further steps in the matter. Then after reading aloud the article of their instructions relating thereto—although the Queen's deputies told them that they did not want to hear them again—they declared that the conference was at an end.

The deputies then replied that the Queen Regent had not the faculty of transferring her powers to others, as had been stated from the first, and, therefore, that the affair ended with herself. She could not furnish the obligatory letter they asked for, nor in any way engage to approve beforehand all

* "Veu mesme l'honneur quil avoit faict á la royne de envoyer vers elle pour traicter des affaires."

† "Dont les pays de par deça pourroient avoir grandz prouffitz, et non le dit roy, que ne serchoit son prouffit."

1538.

that the ambassadors and deputies conjointly should agree to. She had, however, given such a mandate and commission in writing, as ought reasonably to be considered sufficient to empower her deputies to communicate with the English ambassadors and report on the result of their deliberations. This she herself might ratify in the Emperor's name according to the powers she held from him.

Thereupon the English ambassadors said that although they were positively instructed to ask for a copy of the Queen's mandate to her deputies, besides her own engagement in writing to ratify what should be concluded by them, yet they would take on themselves the responsibility of the article, and be satisfied with a copy of the instructions which the Queen herself had given to her deputies. This the deputies refused, on the plea that they could not do it without express orders from the Queen Regent. Then the English ambassadors suggested that if the original commission was not exhibited to them, they ought at any rate to be furnished with an attested copy, signed by one of the Queen's secretaries, without which, they maintained, they could not possibly proceed any further in the negociation, unless it were with the Queen Regent herself. This the deputies offered to represent to the Queen, all the time remarking that it was a very hard thing for the Queen to have to intervene and take part in communications of that sort, and to debate and discuss personally with the English ambassadors on the conditions of the affair; that was not customary between high princes.

Upon which the Queen again ordered her deputies to declare to the English ambassadors that she had deputed trusty persons to treat with them, and that they ought in reason to be satisfied with that, without insisting upon holding in their hands the document they asked for; which document it was not customary to ask for or give when the prince, who appoints deputies, is present in the town where the meeting is to take place. This very thing happened lately when the Queen herself was in France; her deputies met and communicated with those of the king of France on matters relating to the execution of the truce of Nyce (Nizza), without asking for (no more did the French) any particular commission in writing. When the meeting was over, and the treaty of truce was concluded, the king of France and the queen regent of the Low Countries ratified the whole. The Queen, therefore, is quite ready to do the same whenever, and each time that, one of the articles discussed happens to be agreed upon and settled, or whenever the English ambassadors may so require it. She thinks that they (the ambassadors) ought to be satisfied with that, and yet, if they wished to communicate personally with her—which, considering the great many and important affairs she has in hand, would be exceedingly difficult—the Queen Regent would have no objection, for the honor of the king of England, and for his sake personally, to

1538.

enter into communication with the English ambassadors as often as they might wish to explain the points of their charge.

On the 11th of December the deputies communicated to the English ambassadors the Queen's answer, and the ambassadors stated, and repeated again, that they could not, if they were to follow strictly the instructions received from their master, hold any sort of communication unless they had first cognizance of the aforesaid document. That they would be glad to attend on the Queen whenever she was pleased to send for them; but as to declaring at once what their charge was, that they could not do, for they had been sent by their master, the king of England, to hear from her own lips what she herself had to say in the Emperor's name respecting the negociations of the Imperial ambassadors in England for the marriages and alliances in question, and what the Emperor himself had proposed through them; and although they themselves, at the request of the Queen's deputies, had put forward certain conditions for the marriage of the Infante of Portugal (Dom Luyz) with the daughter of their King, yet no answer had been returned, and the whole had been referred to the Emperor, as though the Queen herself had no instructions whatever to guide her in the affair.

The answer on the part of the Queen's deputies was that since they had been sent for, and were fully accredited at her Court, they could not do less than declare what their commission was respecting the proposed marriage of the King's daughter, as well as respecting that of himself with the dowager duchess of Milan. They ought to be the first to speak; for if they had well understood, and remembered what the answer had been at the time, they would have to speak conjointly of the two marriages, not of one of them only. If the whole affair had been referred to the Emperor, it was because they (the ambassadors) had been unsatisfied with the answer given to them. As to their saying that no answer had been returned respecting the duchy of Milan, the deputies' argument was the same as before, &c.

The ambassadors replied that at Barcelona, on his return from Aigues Mortes, and just about the time of his dispatching the powers to the Queen Regent, the Emperor had positively agreed to give that state to the Infante Dom Luyz [of Portugal]. This last statement on the part of the English the deputies contradicted at once, saying that they could not conceive how the English ambassador, then residing at Your Majesty's Court,* could possibly have announced what in reality had never taken place. After that the ambassadors said that if there was any difficulty about the marriage of Dame Mary to the Infante Dom Luyz, they were willing to waive it, and treat first of that of the King, their master, with the dowager duchess of Milan; which proposition was met by the

* Sir Thomas Whyatt.

1538.

deputies with the objection that the Queen Regent was not empowered to treat of one marriage only, but of the two conjointly. The ambassadors then replied that they had no objection to begin to treat of a closer alliance and friendship, and the deputies, having assented to that, took upon themselves to inform the Queen Regent thereof, who, they said, would let them know the day and hour at which she would receive them.

On the 13th of December the English ambassadors, having appeared before the Queen Regent, formally declared that their instructions were not to communicate or treat with her deputies unless they were furnished with a copy of her commission to them, which had been refused. They were, therefore, obliged to communicate with her personally, and as they had received no answer on the conditions proposed by them for the marriage of the Infante (Dom Luyz) with Dame Mary of England, they would be contented with treating exclusively of the point of closer alliance and friendship. Upon which the Queen Regent said that she would be glad to treat with them personally, and whenever the affairs of the Regency allowed her to do so, provided they (the ambassadors) were willing to declare the whole of their commission, or charge, at once, and that being done, she would then answer them upon the whole.

As to their saying that they had received no answer on the conditions proposed by them, the Queen Regent said that as they must have heard and understood the reply of her deputies, she did not think that it was needful to repeat it. Neither did she see the necessity of treating just now of closer alliance and friendship between the Emperor and England, inasmuch as the old alliances and friendships between the two Crowns were so good and perfect that they could not be improved. Nevertheless, should the king of England wish those alliances to be still more closely binding and also amplified and extended; should he declare through his ambassadors what his conditions were, he would find the Emperor, and herself personally, as much inclined as possible to respond to that wish in a manner that would give them complete satisfaction.

As to their allegation that the closer alliance and friendship had first been put forward by the Emperor, and that the King, their master, had sent expressly to ask them what were the conditions of that new alliance, the Queen Regent observed that the Emperor had always wished to preserve the old ones, and, if possible, render them closer and more binding through the double marriage proposed, considering that double union the best and most efficacious means of increasing the friendship between the two Crowns. If, however, the king of England desired different conditions to render that friendship and alliance still closer and more effective, he (the King) had only to declare what those conditions were, and

1538.

he would find that on the Emperor's side the proposal would be received, as above stated, with pleasure, and answered in a satisfactory manner.

After hearing which from the Queen Regent's lips, the English ambassadors thanked her, and said that they would forthwith advise their master, the King, thereof; they thought he would be satisfied with her answer, and at the same time requested her to inform the Emperor of it. As soon as they heard from England they would not fail to apprise the Queen Regent of their master's determination.

French. Minute. pp. .

Dec. **31.** DELIBERATIONS in the EMPEROR'S COUNCIL OF STATE.

S. E., L. 1460, ff. 53–5. B. M. 28,590, f. 290.

The Councillors are requested to deliberate and report on the following points:—

I.

With respect to the armada (fleet) now in the Levant, and the letters from Francisco Duarte to the viceroy of Naples (marquis de Villafranca) and to the High Commander of Leon (Cobos.)

1. The Councillors have read Duarte's letters, and are in possession of the last news from the Levant.

II.

The taking of Castilnovo and its two castles, the disorder and confusion between the captains and soldiers, on land as well as at sea, and the discontent produced in their ranks.

2. Since the thing is done, and no remedy is possible, and at present there is no appearance of similar disorders recurring, the Councillors are of opinion that it will suffice to write to the captains and officers in command of the Imperial forces to take care that in future nothing of the sort take place, for it might endanger the expedition against the Turk.

III.

Viceroy Gonzaga's pretensions to the ordnance [taken at Castilnovo], what has become of it, and what provisions have since been made for the future. It is said there were no less than 15 heavy pieces, of which Don Fernando* took two, and the lighter ones were stolen by the men.

3. His Imperial Majesty has long ago declared what his will is in such matters; it is very important that his orders be obeyed in every case, and he trusts so much in viceroy Gonzaga's affection for his service, that he is sure he will never allow, for so trifling a matter, a dangerous novelty to be introduced. It is, therefore, necessary that the two pieces of ordnance should at once be restored, or their estimated value recovered from the Viceroy. As to those stolen by the men, an inquiry must be instituted.

* Ferrante Gonzaga, count of Guastalla and duke of Molfetta, son of Francesco II., marquis de Mantua, and brother of Frederico, the first duke, was at this time viceroy of Sicily.

1538.

IV.

The garrison appointed for the defence of Castilnovo, and what provisions of food, ordnance, and ammunition were made for it, considering that the force amounts to 4,000 men, under the command of Field-Masters Juan de Vargas, and Francisco Sarmiento.

4. It seems as if the provisions already stored were sufficient for the purpose, and such as may be wanted in any case. There is nothing more to be said about this.

V.

What resolution has been taken for this present winter, respecting the quartering of the men, and where are the galleys of the League to anchor during the winter-months and until the expedition is decided upon?

5. His Imperial Majesty may be sure that if the reports of the viceroy of Naples, and of the marquis de Aguilar, drawn up with His Holiness' participation, and the express consent of the Venetian ambassador in Rome, have reached their destination in time,* as may be rightly supposed, an agreement has probably been already entered into as to the winter quarters, both for the army and for the fleet. No doubt, by this time measures have been taken for the common weal of the League and of the undertaking, as well as for the convenience and security of the Venetians, whose ambassador at this Court has not ceased making repeated applications to that effect.

VI.

The amount of money and provisions asked from the viceroy of Naples for the pay and support of the forces of the League.

6. The viceroys of Naples and Sicily are to be written to with regard to this, telling them that the Venetian ambassador has made, and is making here, repeated and most urgent applications for provisions from the above two kingdoms, not only for next year's undertaking, but for the support of their Levant fleet during this winter, as well as for their castles and fortresses in Candia and Napoli di Romania. It has been promised to them that for the sake of the League, and considering this year's bad harvest, His Majesty will do all he can that way; but that they, themselves, must look out elsewhere for such provisions if they can be obtained.

VII.

Prince Doria's determination to pass the winter at Melfi,† and what Francisco Duarte writes about it,

7. Taking for granted that the Prince has maturely weighed the advantages of wintering at Melfi, the opinion of the Coun-

* A sidenote in a different hand has the following: "We hear by letters from Rome that the opinions have been received since."

† Melfi or Melphi is for Amalfi, in Naples, a seaport town on the coast of Salerno.

1538.

cillors is that the thing must be entirely left to his discretion; but he must inform us of his final determination, that we may communicate with him, and send him the news of these parts, as he will no doubt let us have his, wherever he may be for the rest of the winter.

hinting that the former ought to winter at Genoa for the reasons explained in his letters.

VIII.

8. Let the Papal galleys be put in order, as many as possible, because the more numerous the fleet, the better, as Francisco Duarte writes.

With regard to the Papal galleys, they are in such bad order and so scantily provided, that it would be far better that His Holiness helped with money than with his galleys, such as they are, under an admiral, too, quite unfit for the command.

IX.

9. The thing seems difficult in itself, considering the many occupations of the Portuguese navy in the Eastern seas and elsewhere, especially now that the season is so far advanced.

The opinion of the Council respecting the forty or fifty caravels of Portugal.

X.

10. When His Imperial Majesty has carefully examined both opinions, that of viceroy Gonzaga, and that of Prince Doria, he will signify his pleasure and will thereupon. Meanwhile the Councillors adhere to the preconcerted plan, as in their answer to Francisco Duarte's paper on the subject.

The paper by D. Fernando [Gonzaga], proposing a land attack, and Prince Doria's contrary opinion that it should be made by sea.

XI.

11. His Imperial Majesty is referred to what has been done on this point.

The bishop of Castilnovo.

Besides the above, and in order to complement all the points relating to the Armada and next year's undertaking, the following information, received from various parts, will be of use and help in the deliberations of the Council:—

XII.

12. Since the resolution on this matter has already become public at Rome, it is important to take good care that the measure be carried into execution, and that what His Majesty has written to his ambassador in that city, announcing his determination to command the expedition in person, be read over again.

The resolution taken concerning the provisioning of the fleet and army destined for next year's expedition against Turkey, has already been made public at Rome; His Majesty * has declared his intention to go thither in person, though he has distinctly pointed out the difficulty of the undertaking, as well as

* Here, by a *lapsus calami*, the scribe wrote *Su Santidad* instead of *Su Mag^d*. I have altered it.

1538.

his own want of means for carrying out his project, unless he be helped by the League.

XIII.

13. The same answer as above.

The Venetians persist in the undertaking.

XIV.

14. Let it be so if they do insist upon it; but let them declare in time the name of the person, in order that there may be no failure or delay in the enlisting of the German levies.

Yet they wish to have a colonel of their own, German born, although up to this hour they have not yet declared whom they wish to appoint.

XV.

15. Right; but let them make the appointment as soon as possible, though, in the Councillors' opinion, if means could be found of preventing such an appointment it would be far better.

Neither have they yet made up their mind as to whom they will choose in place of the Duke of Urbino, in case of the latter not being appointed to the command of the infantry.

XVI.

16. They (the Venetians) must be referred to the orders sent to the viceroys of Naples and Sicily on the subject, as well as to the marquis de Aguilar, and the marquis del Gasto must be written to in the same sense, approving at the same time Lope de Soria's advice.

The urgent applications of the said Venetians to be provided with corn and food from Your Majesty's dominions, and Don Lope's letter to the marquis del Gasto as regards the provisions from Milan.

XVII.

17. It would appear that the Venetians demand Castilnovo in virtue of one of the articles of the League. The affair might be referred to the prince of Melfi (Doria), and to Don Fernando Gonzaga, for them to decide what had better be done, having regard to the security of the League, and reduction of expenditure, and especially to the good issue of the future undertaking. Indeed, it would seem as if for the above consideration it would be better to leave matters as they are for the present until we see the result of the expedition, all the time assuring the Venetians that the restitution of Castilnovo will without fail be made to them.

That the same Venetians claim to have possession of Castilnovo, in virtue of one of the articles of the League.

1538.

XVIII.

What Don Lope de Soria writes about Barbarrossa's secret negociations with the Venetians, wishing them to make their peace with the Grand Turk.

18. Let him procure as much reliable information on this point as he can, though without raising the suspicions of the Venetians, and let us and the marquis de Aguilar hear from him as often as possible.

XIX.

The conversation which the French ambassador had with His Holiness respecting his master's help against the Turk, even in the case of the present truce with him coming to an end.

19. Those words are only generalities, on which no great reliance can be placed. What we have written to the marquis de Aguilar on the subject will be sufficient to probe the king of France's purpose.

XX.

The secret understanding which, according to the same Lope de Soria, the king of France continues to keep with the Grand Turk.

20. Let the ambassador procure reliable information on this point, but without raising suspicion.

XXI.

The queen of France's letter touching the galleys.

21. Let the Imperial ambassador in France employ the same means as heretofore, and use the same manner of negociating.

Besides the above points relating to the fleet and enterprize, the following may be of use:—

XXIV.*

The Duchess' entry into Rome; the solemn notification of her marriage to Ottavio Farnese; the gifts and presents she received; the delivery by the Pope of the 300,000 ducats of her dower; the news from Florence, and the repeated and pressing requests for the consummation of the marriage.

24. To write in conformity with previous letters, showing pleasure and contentment at what has happened on the Duchess' entry into Rome, and her reception there; the ratification of the marriage contract; the delivery of the 300,000 ducats, and so forth; taking care that all the legal actions and rights of the Duchess be acknowledged and treated amicably.

XXV.

The overtures made by Cafarello† in the name of the duke and duchess of Castro for the marriage of their daughter with the son of Mr. de Vendome, and the marquis de Aguilar's opinion on that affair.

25. To maintain what the marquis de Aguilar has been written to on this subject. Let that ambassador show apparent conformity with the plan, though without making the French suspect that we want to prevent the marriage in question.

* Nos. 22 and 23 are not in Bergenroth's copy; whether by oversight of the copyist, or otherwise, I cannot determine. They most likely related to the affairs of England.

† In the copy before me Casarello, which I have unhesitatingly altered into Cafarello.

1538.

26. Since the Marquis has not been instructed to speak about those marriages, he must forbear entering into the question at all. He must, however, report about that of the daughter* of the viceroy of Naples [with Cosmo de Medici].

XXVI.

What the marquis [de Aguilar] has heard concerning the projected marriage of the Pope's niece to the Duke of Florence (Cosmo) or to the son of Ascanio Colonna.

27. The Papal Nuncio here has been expressly told to request His Holiness not to undertake anything against the duke of Urbino. The marquis de Aguilar has also received instructions to that effect, and been ordered to do his best to prevent any attack on the part of pope Paul, for the reasons and considerations laid down in our last memorandum, and which the Marquis knows well. But since the Marquis has written that His Holiness was still intent upon attacking the place, and had alluded to it in his speech to the ambassadors, it becomes urgent to speak again to the Nuncio, and write to His Holiness, reminding this latter of his promise to the Emperor and to his ministers, never to cause a stir in Italy without first letting him know of it and waiting for his answer. The Emperor might write a holograph letter to His Holiness about this, and at the same time instructions should be sent to all the Imperial ministers [in Italy], that every one and each of them individually might try to divert him from that purpose. The Marquis, moreover, might speak to Alessandro Vitelli, and do what else he can to prevent the proposed undertaking against Camarino and the duke of Urbino.

XXVII.

That the Pope has sent for Alessandro Vitelli, to consult him concerning the enterprise of Camarino.

28. Besides the instructions already given to Lope de Soria upon this particular affair, let that ambassador try to ascertain how far the thing be true, without approving or disapproving of the appointment, but showing the best goodwill for and trust in the person of Alessandro Vitelli. Should, however, the Signory press the matter further, let the ambassador report at once, in order that measures may be taken here, since other persons besides him are also candidates for the post.

XXVIII.

What the said marquis de Aguilar had heard of Alessandro Vitelli being probably appointed governor of the Venetian armada instead of the duke of Urbino, which intelligence agrees with that sent by Lope de Soria.

* Doña Leonor de Toledo.

1538.

XXIX.

29. The viceroy's answer to Colonna's letter was very wise. As to the latter's letter to the High Commander, begging to be excused if the galleys cannot be sent, and announcing his visit, ambassador Figueroa ought to be written to and have credentials for Ascanio, so that he may by honest means prevent him from coming here [to Spain], and, at the same time, from taking the command of the expedition against Camarino and the Duke.

The letter of Ascanio Colonna to the Viceroy [of Naples] on the recovery by force of the duchy of Urbino, and another to the High Commander (Cobos) announcing his journey to Spain.

FRANCE.

XXX.

30. The articles must be examined again and reported upon.

The articles sent in by the French ambassador and signed by the King, his master, in which the latter replies to the objections contained in the answer to Mr. de Brissach's proposals.

XXXI.

31. To persist in what has already been written on the subject to the king of the Romans, instructing the Imperial ambassador in France to represent, whenever he finds the opportunity, the difficulty there is of the two Kings meeting, owing to the late season and the many engagements of the latter.

The proposed interview of king Francis with the king of the Romans (Ferdinand).

XXXII.

32. To persist in the contents of the last letter to the king of the Romans, excusing the Emperor on the ground of honesty, &c.

The pressing application which the Most Christian queen of France is making for the marriage of her daughter [Mary of Portugal], and the mission entrusted to Mr. de Lordres for the king of the Romans.

XXXIII.

33. That would be indeed a meritorious work, provided the person appointed were one of some authority, an honest and worthy man, from whom good offices might be expected. One would think that the cardinal of Tournon,* or the bishop of Soissons,† might be apt for that

What passed between the Imperial ambassador and the Constable of France on the subject of the reduction of the German Separatists, and the Most Christian King's determination to send thither some one to tell them that he

* The cardinal of Tournon, that is François II. de Tournon. *See* Vol. V., Part II., p. 555 *n*.

† As to the archbishop of Lunden in Sweden, his name was Tornbern-Bilde. *See* above, p. 3 *n*.

1538.

task, but the surest way will be to write to the ambassador (Scepperus), and tell him to entertain the matter and gain time until news come from the archbishop of Lumsden. This latter must, therefore, be written to, and told to send to the ambassador his written opinion on the affair, as well as that of the king of the Romans, and in the meantime some final resolution will be taken concerning the expedition to the Levant. It will then be seen what the king of France proposes to do, and then it will be time for the Imperial ambassador in France to press the matter or set it aside.

(the King) is determined to cooperate with His Imperial Majesty to that end.

XXXIV.

34. That the person alluded to here* will be spoken to according to the Emperor's resolution on that point. Then we will write to the Imperial ambassador to act in concert with the Queen and the High Constable, but let a great show of confidence be made, and whatever else may be considered convenient or opportune in the affair, since, after all, the proposition and advice come evidently from the King himself, and Mr. de Therbes (Tarbes) here has spoken about it. In short, the queen of Navarre is to be said not to dispose of her daughter's hand finally without His Imperial Majesty being acquainted with it.

The dissatisfaction of the so-called queen of Navarre, and the advice given by queen (Eleonor) to the Imperial ambassador to go on keeping up her hopes in that quarter.

FLANDERS.

XXXV.

35. Letters will be written in conformity with what the Emperor said lately to the English ambassador. However this may be, it seems advisable to persist in what was lately written to the queen of France, and wait for news as well as for an answer to the Royal overtures here made to Mr. de Brissach.

The conferences between the queen dowager of Hungary and the English commissioners seem to have turned on three principal points, which the latter insist upon with all their force, namely: 1st On the Emperor giving away the duchy of Milan. 2nd On the king of England considering the princess, his daughter, a bastard. 3rd On the Infante, Dom Luyz, swearing to the statutes of the kingdom.

* As to the person alluded to here, no doubt some agent of Margaret of France, sister of Francis, married to Henri II. d'Albret, is meant.

1538.

XXXVI.

36. This much depends from what will be resolved respecting the points brought forward by the English ambassador.

The letter of the Imperial ambassador in England, and his account of the various conversations he had with the King's ministers respecting the proposed two marriages, setting aside the state of Milan, and suggesting if those marriages cannot be effected, that treaties of closer and more binding friendship and alliance ought to be made.

XXXVII.

37. The ambassador should, and will be, recommended to send information about the state of England.

The news from that country.

XXXVIII.

38. It is hardly to be supposed that king Henry can push matters to such extremities. However, if the ambassador who is there in England considers it probable, let him go to Flanders whenever he thinks it most fit.

The danger which the Imperial ambassador in England is afraid of must also be taken into account, and requires consideration.

*Spanish. Original draft.** *pp.* 23.

Dec. **32.** POINTS of the TREATY with ENGLAND, respecting which the QUEEN OF HUNGARY would like to receive INSTRUCTIONS.

Wien., Imp. Arch., *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 231, ff. 152–3.

Whereas the English ambassadors, after various conferences held with the Queen's deputies, have stated that, in order to remove certain difficulties standing in the way of the projected marriage of Dom Luyz of Portugal with Dame Mary of England, they should be glad to treat first, and before all things, of closer friendship and confederacy between the Emperor and the King, their master, their kingdoms, &c., and also to know from her (the queen of Hungary) what are to be the conditions for the said friendship and confederation, which they said and maintained had been first proposed by the Emperor's ministers, the Queen has answered: That the old friendship and confederacy between the two princes (the Emperor and the King) were so perfect and binding that they could not be improved and strengthened except through marriage alliances, such as the Emperor himself had brought forward for the confirmation of the same. Those treaties of friendship and confederacy the Emperor always intended to observe and keep, having no doubt whatever that the king of England, on his part, was disposed to do the same. Never-

* No date whatever to the paper, but as the events recorded, or negociations alluded to, took place within the year 1538, I have not hesitated to insert it at the end of December.

1538.

theless, if the King's wish was that she (the Queen) should declare to his ambassadors what were His Imperial Majesty's conditions for the treaty of closer friendship and confederacy, she was quite ready to reply to their questions in such a manner as would, no doubt, give them complete satisfaction.

The English ambassadors then said that they would report to their master, and requested the Queen to inform also the Emperor of the whole, which request was granted without difficulty.

It is, therefore, requested that the Queen be instructed as to what she is to do in the event of the king of England commanding his ambassadors to go on with the negociation for both the marriages, as well as for a closer alliance.

Should the English ambassadors entirely waive or put aside the point of Milan, as well as the other two conditions proposed by them for the marriage of the Princess with the Infante Dom Luyz, namely, that he must take her in her present position and rank, as determined by the statute and law of the kingdom, the Infante himself swearing to such statute and law—and, secondly, that they must know first what property the Infante is to bring in marriage, how is the Queen to answer and act? For most likely, should the English ambassadors desist from the two above-mentioned conditions, it is to be expected that they will the more press the Queen to declare what personal property the Infante has for the support of the Princess, and what his own conditions are as to dower. And they will most likely back this demand of theirs on the ground that the marriage was in the first instance brought forward in the Emperor's name, and that, according to custom, men soliciting women in marriage ought to speak first, so that the ladies' dower may be regulated in proportion.

Should the English insist on this point, the Queen will not know what to reply unless His Imperial Majesty sends her full instructions thereupon.

Again, should the English ambassadors persist in treating of their master's marriage with the dowager duchess of Milan (Christina), and should the King himself show readiness to accept that union with such property, rights, and securities as the Duchess may at present have, besides a good and reasonable dowry, what is the Queen to answer? Is she to grant at once the King's request, or refuse it altogether? And, if so, under what colour or pretext is she to refuse, and how, and in what terms, is she to discuss the Papal dispensation, without which the Emperor cannot possibly consent to the said marriage; whilst, on the other hand, it is to be supposed that the king of England will never condescend to apply for the same at Rome, and receive it from the hands of the Pope.

The Queen wants also to know whether only one of the two marriages proposed is to be discussed, setting the other aside, or whether both are to be brought forward conjointly.

1538.

Also, what is she to do in the event of the English persisting in their demand for closer alliance and fresh confederation besides the two above-mentioned marriages? Is she to propose in the Emperor's name additional conditions, such as assistance against the Turk and other enemies?

Should the King, in order to renew the old alliances with Spain, propose an offensive league, what is the Queen to answer? that being, in our opinion, a most important point, and one in which other princes are also concerned.

Should the King be satisfied with a declaration on our part that the meaning of the alliance is that his (the King's) friendship will be preferred to that of any other prince, as he himself has done in his treaties with France, how is the Queen to meet the request?

It is to be presumed that if the King intends putting forward some conditions for a closer alliance, one of them will be the confirmation and ratification of the treaty of commerce of 1520, or else of that of 1516, both of which are highly detrimental to the interests of the inhabitants of these Low Countries. If so, what is the Queen Regent to do, for those commercial treaties ought certainly to be modified and regulated to the advantage of the Emperor's subjects, who might otherwise suffer considerably.

Indorsed: "Articles on English affairs, on which the Queen begs for a speedy answer."

French. Original draft. pp. 3.

1539.

2 Jan. **33.** The Pope to the Emperor.

S. Sec. de Ga., Mar y Tierra. L. 13.

1. *S. Carissime in Christo fili salutem et apostolicas benedictiones.* Having at heart the cause of England, and being stimulated by zeal for the duties of Our office in Christendom, as well as urged by the nefarious deeds of that most cruel and most abominable tyrant [the king of England], having most strongly urged both Your Majesty and the king of France, to find a remedy for this great scandal and offence against God, We have considered it Our duty to proceed against him with Our spiritual weapons and excommunication, which by Our own and proper messenger is to be affixed in the towns of Flanders and France nearest to England. And inasmuch as Our said spiritual weapons, though most necessary and justifiable, have need of and require your execution, so far, at least, as by forbidding the intercourse of trade between your kingdoms and dominions and those of the English King, and recalling your ambassadors from the court of that impious and heretical tyrant, persecutor of the Holy and true Faith, We, therefore, pray and exhort Your Imperial Majesty, to whom Christendom owes so much, and who is the acknowledged and professed advocate of the Holy Apostolic See—now suffering this horrible persecution for no

1539.

other cause than its having done justice, and preserved, as it was its duty to do, its honor—to help in the execution of Our sentence.

The better to provide for it and at the same time inform Your Imperial Majesty of Our views in this affair, We send to you cardinal Pole in due haste,* to whose words Your Majesty may attach the same faith as if they were Our own, and have him recommended as his very great virtues and piety require.—Rome, 2 January 1539.

Italian. Holograph. pp. 2.

2 Jan. **34.** The Marquis de Aguilar to the Same.

S. E., L. 867, f. 140. B. M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 1.

No answer has yet come from Lope de Soria respecting the business Your Majesty ordered him to transact with the Signory in reference to the enterprize of next year.

I have worked strenuously, and with the assistance of the Venetian ambassador, to stop all proceedings against the duke of Urbino, having at last obtained from the Pope the following declaration:—"If Camarino be delivered to me, with all else that belongs to the Church in that duchy, you (the ambassadors) can assure the Duke that as regards the dowers of the two Duchesses, the old and young one,† I will act with justice, equity, honesty and clemency, and that the Duke shall remain in pacific possession of his paternal estates."

After communicating with the Duke's agent at this court, the ambassador of Venice and I have sent him a paper signed by us both, and we have reason to believe that the affair is already settled. Now we are both working at fixing the sum to be paid by the Pope for the Duchess' dower. The Duke himself asks 100,000 crs., whilst the Pope offers one half. Since then the Duke's claims have been reduced to 80,000, and we believe that the affair will be soon compounded for 70,000, of which sum, however, we do not intend to abate one single farthing. We are daily expecting the Duke's acceptance, which he cannot fail to give, considering he has neither money nor men to carry on war. It is to be hoped that in this manner the affair will be definitively settled.

With regard to the complaints which His Holiness made of duke Cosmo and cardinal Cibo, I have written to them to inquire, and both have answered me that there is no ground whatever for His Holiness' accusation, and I do believe them. *I think it very probable that the disagreement, if any, is grounded upon His Holiness having got scent of your Majesty's determination in the affair of Cosmo's marriage with the daughter of the viceroy of Naples, whom, as generally reported here, he wanted for his own granddaughter.*

* "Con honesta diligentia."

† That is Caterina Cibo, the mother, widow of Giovan Maria Varana, duke of Camarino, and her daughter, Giulia Varana, now married to Guidobaldo della Rovere, duke of Urbino.

1539.

The viceroy of Naples and the duchess of Castro's dower.—His Holiness has sent cardinal Pole to Your Majesty to treat about the affairs of England. He is to go afterwards to the Most Christian King on the same errand. As Your Majesty will hear from him, he took post and departed secretly, owing to the great diligence with which the king of England is trying to compass his death. With regard to these English matters, the French ambassador tells me that the Most Christian is determined to follow in Your Majesty's footsteps, and act as you do, and that he has declared this much to His Holiness.

Miçer Latino has also started for Scotland with a cardinal's hat for the bishop of that country lately raised to the purple. He is to go first to the Most Christian, and talk to him on English affairs, which are every day getting worse; for, as far as I can judge from the letters received this very day from ambassador Eustachio de Chapuys, it appears that the king of England is every day growing more inhuman and cruel.

On the 19th ult. the marriage of the duke of Castro (Ottavio Farnese) was consummated, at which His Holiness was exceedingly pleased and in good spirits, and last night the newly-married couple supped with His Holiness, who presented the Duchess with a jewel worth 3,000 ducats.—Rome, 11 Jan. 1539.

Postcriptum.—Don Francisco de Aste (Este)* has arrived here with a view to closing the agreement of his brother, the Duke, respecting Modena. No objection is made on either side to the clauses and securities of the contract provided His Holiness grant him the investiture of the duchy. As to the 40,000 of Modena, D. Francisco says that his brother, the Duke, is willing to give 24,000, provided the Pope grant him the patronage of certain abbeys, which the latter is not inclined to do. Without these abbeys the Duke offers only 18,000 ducats. The Pope says that a year ago he was offered 30,000, and I really believe he will not take less now.

The Mantuan affair relating to the abbey of Luceria is already settled, and the deeds are being drawn out.

Signed: "El marques de Aguilar."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

11 Jan. **35.** SCEPPER to the EMPEROR.

P. Neg. Pap. de Simancas. L. 1484. B. M. 28,591, f. 5.

The King being absent [from Paris] when Your Majesty's letter came to hand, I could not on the 26th ult. answer it. Since then the King and Constable have returned. I have taken the very first opportunity of speaking to the latter about the contents of those letters, and especially of that of

* Francesco d'Este, marquis della Massa, son of Alphonso I., and brother of Hercole II., duke of Ferrara.

1539.

the 20th of November, where there is a paragraph relating to the Genoese, and another to the French privateers in the West Indies. I said nothing to him concerning the duke of Savoy, because I have not yet received from him instructions as to what he wishes me to do, particularly in this negociation though I am bound to do my best according to Your Majesty's commands.

With regard to the first point, I suggested to the Constable that in case of any ships or vessels from Genoa being by stress of weather obliged to take refuge in the ports of France, there should be introduced into the treaty some declaration to the effect that no measure prejudicial to the persons and goods of the Genoese should take place, provided they did not enter into relations and trade with France. I then called his attention to the fact that at the end of the treaty of truce there was an article stating that in consideration of the friendship between Your Majesty and the king of France, something might be done to the advantage of the Genoese. The Constable's answer was that the King intends the Genoese to enjoy the liberties and privileges of the truce, according to its strict form and tenor, without impediment of any sort. For the better observance of which truce it will be again promulgated in all the ports and towns close to the sea. Indeed, the Constable tells me that he will write to his brother-in-law, the count of Tenda,* to attend to it according to Your Majesty's intentions, and that he himself will send similar orders to his governor of Languedoch. There is, however, no hope at present, as far as I can see, of the said Genoese obtaining greater advantages than other merchants in France; for as the Constable assured me, whilst discussing other affairs, all safe-conducts and trade licences granted to the Genoese nation had been newly revoked owing to the excessive price of silk.

With respect to the letters for the French privateers, who might still be in the West Indies, they were granted at once; but as the names of the privateers themselves are not known, and, therefore, if any of them were inclined to do harm, they might easily conceal or change their names, and then allege that they had not been informed of the truce, general warrants have been drawn out and issued, which is better by far than closed letters.

Your Majesty's letter of the 22nd ulto. enclosing the ratification and approbation, signed and sealed, of the answer you made to Messieurs de Tarbes and Brissach respecting a peace to last during your mutual lives, and the matrimonial alliances of your children, has come to hand. I first communicated it to

* Claude de Savoie, count of Tende, son of René and grandson of Philippe, *Sans Terre*, duke of Savoy, who died in 1525, was then governor of Marseilles. His sister, Madeleine, had been married to Anne de Montmorency, Grand Master and Lord High Constable of France.

1539.

the Constable, explaining the reasons why Your Majesty had made no substantial alteration in the text of your answer, and I said this much in order that the King might accept it at once. The Grand Master himself made no objection. This happened on the 5th. Next day I myself presented the aforesaid ratification to the King, who received it with a most pleasing countenance. True is it that he did not read it; no more had the Constable the day before, but he sent for me, when we read it together carefully, word by word. He entirely approved of it, and although in the memorandum sent to Mr. de Tarbes, after the return of Brissach, the King seemed to insist on the marriage of the duke of Orleans to the princess of Spain, yet the alternative contained in the project of ratification, or proposed marriage of the daughter of the king of the Romans, was not objected to.

The expedition to the Levant and the Venetians.—Duke of Savoy.

With regard to the king of England, I must say that the very same offers of closer friendship that his ambassador is making in Spain, are every day repeated here in France. The same answer, however, is returned to him here as there. It is evident that his only aim is to introduce discord and division between you two; but he finds no sympathy here. Indeed, as Your Majesty will perceive by the Powers sent three weeks ago to Mr. de Tarbes, it is clear that on this side of the Channel no treaty injurious to Your Majesty will be made with England, and if Your Majesty chooses, and your affairs should require it, with no other prince of Christendom. The King will never forget that Your Majesty did him, as he owns, such an honor as no gentleman ever received from another, by coming to him at Aigues Mortes upon the security of his word, and I can certify to Your Majesty, under pain of being reproached as the lowest wretch in the world, that any promise made here will be completely fulfilled.

The Most Christian has again spoken to me, as he is in the habit of doing, of the king of England and of his acts, which he detests. He has told me that the Pope is on the point of fulminating censures against him, and having them publicly declared. The same thing have I heard from the lips of the Papal Nuncio here; but neither this one nor the other* has said a word to me about undertaking a movement against the tyrant. True is it that the Constable told me last week that the French ambassador in London had written home that considering the King's tyrannical rule and his acts against the Church, there would be, he thought, no difficulty in contenting and satisfying His Holiness, Your Majesty, the Most Christian King, the Flemish and Low Countries, and the

* "Pero ni él ni el otro me han hablado sobre emprender ny mover cosa ninguna contra él.". As *él* refers, no doubt, to the Nuncio, I suppose that *el otro* is meant for the other, who left for Rome.

1539.

King of Scotland* pointing out the particular interest that each of those powers would have in his chastizement; beyond that the Constable saidno more, but the Nuncio repeated the statement to me the other day in the very presence of the Constable, after saying something in his ear which I did not hear. As I had no particular instructions from Your Majesty on that point, I got off as well as I could, answering in general terms, without saying a direct "yes" or "no," hinting, however, that if the five above-mentioned powers would make an effort, the partition and distribution of England would not be a difficult task. Should there be again a conversation on this matter, I will conform entirely with Your Majesty's instructions respecting that point.

I cannot, however, pass in silence my conversation with the Nuncio. Talking to him of the intended expedition to the Levant, I gathered from his answer that His Holiness still persists in the enterprize against the Turk, notwithstanding the great expense of the army he is still keeping up against the duke of Urbino (Guidobaldo) for the recovery of Camarino, which consideration no doubt caused this King and the Constable to say to me that it would be difficult for the Pope to provide money and men for two different enterprises. I have delivered Your Majesty's letter to the Most Christian queen of France, who is satisfied with the answer, trusting, as she says, that when the time comes, you will bear in mind her petition. With respect to the doubts here entertained by some courtiers concerning the delivery of Milan, and consummation of the marriages proposed, she (the Queen) seems to have changed her opinion. Indeed, I meet no one really interested in that affair who does not implicitly believe in it, though it must also be said that in lower circles much difference of opinion still prevails.

I trust that either Monsignor the cardinal de Tornon (Tournon) or the bishop of Soissons will willingly accept the charge of going to Germany to persuade the Separatists to return to the Roman Church; especially the former ecclesiastic, who is very heartily inclined to the welfare of Christendom, and who not long ago used to say to the Queen, "I wish the King would order me to accompany the Emperor in his expedition to the Levant." I will, however, say nothing about this journey to Germany until I hear from the archbishop of Lunden. Then, it seems to me, the work of persuading the Separatists may begin; at least, so do this King, the cardinal of Lorraine, and the Constable think, and have always given me full hope of success.

With regard to what Your Majesty writes concerning the bad offices of the gentleman sent to Hungary on a mission to

* "Bien me dixo el Condestable un dia de la semana pasade que el embaxador del Rey Christianissimo que reside en Inglaterra le havia scripto que considerando la tierra (tirania?) y obras dél, le pareocia que seria bien facil de contentar á Su Santidad y á Vuestra Magestad, al dicho Señor rey su amo, á las tierras de Flandes, y al Rey de Escocia, señalando lo que era proprio á cada una de as partes."

1539.

King John, and other German princes, ordering me to speak confidentially to the Constable, I have done so in obedience to Your Majesty's commands. But, considering his affection for us, and his strenuous efforts for the confirmation of the existing friendship, seeing that silence could in no wise be profitable, but, on the contrary, would encourage him and his to continue [in the wrong], I preferred to be quite candid with him. This, however, I did in a manner which has not wounded his feelings in the least, for he has thanked me for the information bestowed, and begged that I would advise him in future of any bad practices of this King's agents abroad, affirming under solemn oaths that whatever the said gentleman may have said or done in Hungary and other countries has been contrary to the King's intention and his; and that he wishes particularly to know what the man has done there that he may have him severely punished. He has, moreover, requested me to write to Your Majesty on this matter, saying that the gentleman's charge was to call first on the king of the Romans and take his orders, go thence to king John, and do what he was told. He had letters for no one else; no orders, no commission for any living creature. True, the Constable owns that when the agent, after his embassy to king John of Hungary, came to report to him, he said that when he expounded his commission to his Royal Majesty [king Ferdinand], the latter seemed to care little for king John, and treated him with contempt; yet he (the agent) had found him to be a wise Prince, well advised in his affairs, and fairly powerful,* since he could raise 40,000 horse—the best troops in the world—to make war on the Turk. The Constable further told me that the gentleman in question had earnestly requested him, in case of another embassy to king John being needed, to choose him for it; but that since he has made himself suspicious to the Emperor he shall not return thither. The Constable has also declared to me what the queen of France had said about the affair, and how she had decided to send a resident ambassador to the king of the Romans, on the terms and conditions of which I wrote to Your Majesty on the 21st ult.† In fact, I hear that it has been resolved to send thither a person of such quality and parts as the court of the king of the Romans requires.

Your Imperial Majesty has done excellent work with the solicitor and agent of Mr. and Mme. de Labrit. About ten days ago the latter spoke at length to me about the affair of Navarre, saying that she has always been a partisan of peace,

* "Bien me ha dicho que el dicho gentilhombre ha referido que Su Magestad Real, platicando del Rey Juan, havia hecho bien poco caso [de él] y no obstante de esto havia hablado (hallado?) que era principe sabio, bien avisado en sus negocios y razonablemente poderoso."

† "Y junctamente me ha declarado lo que la Reyna le habia dicho de aquello que havia deliberado de embiar á residir por embaxador con el S^r Rey de Romanos, de las condiciones de lo qual yo he largamente avisado á V. M^d por mis letras de 21 del mes pasado."

1539.

and had such confidence in Your Majesty's words respecting that kingdom that never, at any time, had she or her husband —though hardly pressed and solicited—thought of stirring in those parts; giving me to understand that owing to their having acted thus, they had encountered suspicion from certain people. The Queen further says that she is aware of what importance the said kingdom of Navarre and its fortresses are to Spain, and yet her only aim and wish is (as she says) that Your Majesty, after maturely considering her husband's rights, make him and her adequate compensation for their loss. She is in no hurry at all for that, and will readily wait until an opportunity occurs of doing the thing conveniently for both parties. She prays Your Majesty to think of her.

These are, in my opinion, most moderate words. It might after all be the Queen's wish that the Most Christian should make a direct application, but the fact is, that when I presented to him the ratification of the truce to sign, he spoke to me on the matter of Navarre, though not, as I think, so warmly as Mme. de Labrit would wish, for he only said he wished Your Majesty to think of the Queen and her husband in time, and content them with a pension, of which he himself would willingly pay a portion. He further said: "I cannot but pray the Emperor, at the solicitation of my sister, to attend to this business, for although I am not bound by her marriage contract to Mr. de Labrit (Albret) to help in, or procure, the recovery of any portion of the territory which once belonged to the family, and there is, besides, no reason for their applying to me, yet I cannot forget that she is my sister," thus clearly showing by his language that if he made an application (*instancias*) it was in consequence of their importunities. It would not be amiss that Your Majesty wrote to me what I am to answer should the subject be discussed again, and, if need be, a letter which I may show to the King, as well as to Mr. and Mme. de Labrit. This will help to keep the principal affair in good train. Such is Queen Leonor's advice; since then Mme. herself has spoken to me, and after her the King; before I had not said a word about it.

The Queen has not spoken again about Cardinal de Lorraine (Jean de Guise) and his appointment. Should his name be mentioned to me, I will make excuses according to Your Majesty's instructions.*

Postcriptum.—The King is willing to make an arrangement by which the Emperor's letters will be conveyed through his dominions as far as Bayonne, Peronne, and Piedmont, whilst the Emperor, on his side, will command his postmasters in Spain, Italy, and Flanders to do the same with French letters and despatches.

* "Offreciendose de hablarse en ello, yo me excusaré segun que V. M^{d} me lo manda."

1539.

The Most Christian has charged me to write that some Italians are trying to persuade him to mistrust Your Majesty, saying that you are at the present moment dissembling and suspending the delivery of Milan until your expedition to the Levant be ended, and your power increased thereby. The same people have since tried to rouse his suspicion by saying that Mr. de Praët is actually in Milan. The King's answer has been that he trusts implicitly in Your Majesty's words, and that as regards Milan, it is too small a concern to be compared with the mighty things that may be expected from you. As to Mr. de Praët, he (the King) is very glad to hear that he is at Milan, for since his arrival in that city he has, to his great contentment, succeeded in putting down some differences between Your Majesty's servants and his own.

The King has likewise told me that he has been solicited openly to take under his protection, or at least to help secretly, the duke of Clèves, who has occupied the duchy of Gueldres (Ghelders), giving him to understand that the Duke had means at his disposal to carry on war for two years, not longer. He (the King) had answered resolutely that he would do nothing of the sort, nor would he listen to such proposals. "In short (says the King), this same language I am determined to hold to all those who may come to me with similar requests, and I shall not fail from time to time to inform you that you may report to the Emperor."

Besides the above, he has told me that news had reached him that Your Majesty had upon one occasion boasted in public that if you chose he (king Francis) would make with the Turk a truce to last ten years. His (the King's) answer had been that if Your Majesty had really said so, he was ready to ratify and approve it, and would do all he could to accomplish that truce. I cannot guess what the King's object was in thus coupling together these two affairs (Gueldres and the Turk), all I can say is that he spoke to me in those terms, and that on this, as well as on previous occasions, he always showed great confidence in Your Majesty, and a marvellous desire of your friendship.

I will not omit to mention that he has this very day sent me a message by the Constable to say that he is very much pleased with all Your Majesty's ambassadors, and especially with the marquis de Augilar [at Rome] who, he says, is working admirably for the common cause, as his own ambassador writes. The bishop of Montpelier is to go soon to Venice in the place of Mr. de Rhodez, who is returning.—Paris, 10 Jan. 1539.

After writing the above, intelligence reached me that the Pope has at last proceeded against the king of England, and decreed his deprivation. I cannot believe the truth of the report, but, if true, Your Majesty will hear of it through the marquis de Aguilar.

Spanish. Original. pp. 18.

1539.

13 Jan. Wien. Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.* 232, f. 1.

36. PHILIP, LANDGRAVE OF HESSEN, to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Letter of credence in favor of Dr. G. Sifriden-Louenburg. Wirhaven (Cassel), 13 Jan. 1539.

German. Original.

19 Jan. S. E., Se. d Ga. Mar y Ta., L. 5. B. M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 14.

37. The MARQUIS DE AGUILAR to the SAME.

Since my despatch of the 9th ult., no letter has come from Your Majesty. Prince Doria entered this city on the 16th inst., and called on His Holiness, to whom he gave an account of the operations of the confederated fleet, from the day of its setting sail to his (Doria's) departure from Castilnovo. The plan for the future campaign was then discussed, His Holiness inquiring, firstly: whether the Emperor had or had not decided to command the expedition in person, and, secondly: whether the preparations were sufficiently advanced to insure the departure of the expedition in the spring. It was likewise most important to know (said the Pope) if the Emperor's shoulders were guarded, inasmuch as the breaking off of the truce with France, the stir the Lutherans might make, as well as the king of England, who, owing to his many sins, manifold errors, and great cruelties, could well be considered a fiercer enemy than the Turk, were points well worthy of consideration under the circumstances, and especially on the eve of an attack upon the Infidel. The king of England (said the Pope), perceiving that all his arts and double dealings are powerless to introduce jealousy between Your Majesty and the king of France, and that his game is understood; fearing, moreover, the stress in which he will be placed should the intercourse of trade between England and the other countries be interdicted, has now decided to ally himself with the German Lutherans, and try to unite one sect with another. Already, in England, the Sacrament has been done away with, whilst other errors of the Lutheran sect are fully admitted. Nothing could be more true than the apprehensions of His Holiness on this particular point, for they write from England that the King intends to help and assist the Lutherans with the very money he has robbed from the monasteries and churches of his kingdom, which money is to be employed in promoting troubles and revolutions, which have already begun in Germany, as Your Majesty must know. Indeed, a courier of the duke of Bavaria, who came in six days from Monico (Munich), has apprised His Holiness of the fact, and, for that reason, it was worth considering (he said) what might happen if the German Lutherans were to undertake anything to the detriment of Christendom whilst Your Majesty was absent, and employed in the said undertaking. This the Lutherans might the sooner attempt, if they thought that the Christian cause, for one reason or other, should be less prosperous than was anticipated and desired.

1539.

"The above observations (said the Pope to Doria) are intended solely for the Emperor's consideration, not in any wise to raise difficulties against the enterprize, as far as I am concerned, for I am ready to fulfil my engagements, &c."

Prince Doria, after praising the good intentions and wishes of His Holiness, assured him that it would be no fault of the Emperor's if the land and sea forces were not ready for the future campaign in the spring. The Turk was now much weakened by his losses in Moldavia, amounting to upwards of 40,000 men, and by the wreck of part of his fleet, whilst Your Majesty had on the enemy's frontier no less than 10,000 Spanish infantry, which, with the levies now being made in Italy, and the men Your Majesty has for your own personal escort, will make a total of 15,000.

With regard to England and the Lutherans (said Doria), it was natural to believe that if they make any stir, it will be for the purpose of preventing, if possible, the enterprise. Once executed, as Your Majesty is all-powerful, they will most likely keep quiet. Were it not so, Your Majesty will be strong enough to remedy the evil. In short, his opinion was that the undertaking could not be abandoned.

His Holiness, at the end of his conference with Doria, attempted to excuse and explain the absence of his fleet in the last affair; he himself had no experience at all of maritime affairs, but promised not to be in fault next spring. The patriarch of Aquileia, general of the Papal galleys, who was there present, then declared openly that His Holiness had neither the means nor the power of arming the galleys and ships (*naos*) which he was bound to fit up. It would be much better and more expedient if the Signory of Venice and prince Andrea Doria would arm them, and then call on His Holiness for the expenses. The plan seemed to the Prince acceptable; the Signory is to be consulted thereupon.

The Prince has stayed here five days; he leaves to-morrow for Genoa, and hopes to meet on the road thither Captain Juan Doria.* His opinion is that until he hears what news that captain brings [from Spain?], I ought not to write to Flanders respecting Your Majesty's late orders to me.

On the 16th inst. Camarino was formally delivered to the Papal commissioner.

To terminate the Ferrara agreement it was deemed necessary to consult the Duke concerning an article therein inserted, namely, that His Holiness shall not in any way, nor under any pretence whatever, impose [on the people of Modena] more taxes than those payable at present. His Holiness' answer has been: "I should be much pleased to be able to grant that were the circumstances the same as when the

* Ioannetino or Iuanetino Doria, as he is called by the writers of that time; he was Andrea's nephew.

1539.

preliminaries of the agreement were settled; but now times have changed, and I can no longer acquiesce in it."

Such were the Pope's words to the Ferrarese agent, and I (Aguilar) cannot help thinking that reason is on the Pope's side, because the article in question implies no help or assistance at all against the Turk, whereas His Holiness expects such help from all his subjects and vassals.

Very desirous to hear that the Sicilian mutineers * have returned to their duty. The Prince told me that the captains of the force were in a great measure the cause of it, owing to their ill-treatment of the soldiers during the last expedition. It is, therefore, important for Your Majesty to know well those who are to command the Spanish infantry in the spring.

After my letter to Your Majesty, His Holiness, perceiving that I took no notice of the various hints thrown out to me respecting the proposed marriage of Octavio's sister to the duke Cosmo, has at last spoken clearly, and said to me that being now free from Bandome (Vendôme), he thought he was bound to communicate his plans respecting his grand daughter. She was Octavio's only sister, and consequently sister-in-law of the illustrious Madame Margaret. He loved her tenderly, and would very much like to have her near his person. He had, therefore, thought of marrying her in Italy, and as the duke Cosmo ruled over Tuscany, where Octavio and Madame had a good portion of their fortune, he had fixed upon him as the fittest husband for his grand daughter. Not having been officially informed of the reported marriage of the Duke with one of the daughters of the viceroy of Naples, I have answered in general terms, telling the Pope how pleased your Majesty will be in forwarding this or any other of his wishes.—Rome, 19 Jan. 1538.

Signed: "El Marques de Aguilar."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 10.

7–21 Feb. **38.** Luis Sarmiento de Mendoza to the Same.

S.E., Port, Leg. 371, f. 288.
B.M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 21.

Is in receipt of the Emperor's letters ordering him to levy the embargo on merchant ships and store-ships (*urcas*) belonging to Biscay, and allow them to go free; which has been done, having first taken security from two of them [of 300 tons] that they shall be at Cadiz towards the middle of March.†

* Alluding, no doubt, to the mutiny of the Spanish infantry at Palermo and other towns. *See* Vol. V., Part I., p. 559.

† To be used as transports for the intended expedition to Algiers.

1539.

At the entrance of the port of Lisbon upwards of XX. English and seven or eight French merchant vessels were anchored. Their crews happening to land they quarrelled, and came to blows; the English being the more numerous got the better of the French, upon which the latter began to cry at the top of their voices, "Empire! Empire!" Then the Biscayans joined them and fought the English, many of whom were wounded. The King's officials having interfered and put an end to the quarrel, each nation returned to their ships, though the English were not allowed to sail until three days after, when the Biscayan and French had left.

He did right to inform Us of the event, and try to set them at peace.

Dom Aleixo, the ambassador, has been recalled, and is to be succeeded at the Imperial Court by Dom Francisco Lobo, the same person who accompanied the Infante Dom Luyz to Barcelona.

A most abominable event has occurred here. In three churches of this city placards have been affixed, containing the most detestable heresies that could be imagined. To judge from the scandalous allegations against the Church, the author of the placards must have been a literary Jew. A most strict inquiry has been made, the King (Joaõ III.) having promised a reward of XV. thousand ducats to whoever should give information respecting the writer. Notwithstanding that, and the imprisonment of a number of newly converted Christians, fresh placards appeared the other morning in the markets and other public spots of this city, with a quatrain under them stating that all inquiries would be vain and fruitless, as the placards were the work, not of a Castillian, French, Italian or Portuguese subject, but of an Englishman. The placard, however, has given such great offence

1539.

In future, whenever the matter is important, the ambassadors' letters should be ciphered.

to the inhabitants of this city, that had not the King been here (at Lisbon), certainly there would have been a massacre of the new Christians,* like that under the reign of Dom Manoel for a lesser cause. All this proceeds from there not being in Portugal a Holy Inquisition. It is not the King's fault; but His Holiness has granted so many breves in favor of the new Christians, and especially the one lately issued, that the King's hands are tied and he can do nothing.

By letters of the 10th of February the arrival of a ship from New Spain is announced, bringing home some gold. The merchants to whom her cargo was consigned have asked him (Sarmiento) to procure that they may not be obliged to pay the tithe upon the gold, alleging that the ship was originally bound for Seville, but was compelled to put into Lisbon by stress of weather and by a storm that caught them at sea. That is their excuse; but in his (Sarmiento's) opinion the reason is, that besides the registered gold on which a tithe is due, they have on board a quantity of the same precious metal. Will ask the King's permission to allow the owners to send the gold to Seville by land.

News has come that the Empress (Isabella) had been dangerously ill; she was better then, but had not entirely recovered. The King is writing to his ambassador to visit her in his name.

The King asked him (Sarmiento) if he knew anything of a message which it was reported the queen of France (Eleanor) had sent to the Emperor, proposing the marriage of her daughter (Maria) to the eldest son of the queen of the Romans. Suspecting that some of his

* That is Mohammedans and Jews newly converted to Christianity.

1539.

late despatches had been opened, he [Sarmiento] thought it better to speak the truth on the subject. He, therefore, owned having lately received a letter from the Emperor, in which it was announced that a marriage of that sort had really been proposed by the Most Christian queen of France; and that both she (the Queen) and the king of the Romans (Ferdinand) had requested him (the Emperor) to promote it with all his might. But that, although the latter considered that marriage fitting and beneficial to the parties concerned, yet he would do nothing in the matter until he knew his (the King's) will. That when the Most Christian Queen again proposed the marriage of her daughter (Maria) with the duke of Orleans (Charles), the Emperor had flatly refused his consent.

The King's answer was that he knew of that by letters from France; the Infanta, his daughter, was already a grown woman, and it was quite natural to look out for a dowry and a husband for her. His own sister, besides, was not so old that she could not wait four or five years more. If, however, she were to be married now, it would be better for her and for all parties that the duke of Orleans should be her husband, especially after the late events and his own relations with France.*

The queen (Catalina) spoke to him (Sarmiento) in the same mood,

* "Que la Infanta, su hija, estaba ya tan muger que era mejor entender en [a]llegarla su axuar y casamiento, y que más cerca estaba la camisa que la sabana; quanto más que la Infanta, su hermana, no era tan vieja que no pudiesse esperar quatro ó cinco años, y que quando se hubiera de casar agora por las cosas que han passado entrél y et rey de Francia, le estuviera mejor casarla con el Duque de Orliens." Dom Joaõ's daughter (Doña Maria) was born at Coimbra on the 15th of October 1527, and therefore was not yet 12 years old at the date of this letter. She became, in 1543, Philip the Second's first wife, and died in 1568. As to the Infanta Doña Maria, Eleanor's daughter, she eventually married Maximilian, king of Bohemia and Hungary (afterwards Emperor), at whose death she withdrew to Spain, and died in 1602.

1539.

and in almost similar words; in fact, most probably she was instructed by her husband, the King, to do so, adding that her interest in the matter was evident; she would be justified in procuring a husband for her own daughter, already a woman, rather than for the King's sister.* His [Sarmiento's] argument was the difference of ages, the Infanta Maria being already a woman (*muger*), whereas the other is but a girl. Thinks, on the whole, that the King will put off the Infanta's marriage as long as he can, to avoid having to pay the money of her dower.—Feb. 1539.

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

13 Feb. **39.** The Marquis de Aguilar to the Same.

S. E., L. 868, f. 1. B. M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 41.

Wrote on the 19th ult. reporting the arrival of prince Andrea Doria, and his conversation with the Pope on the future campaign against the Turk. On the 24th, and after the Prince's departure for Genoa, Capt. Juan Doria arrived with despatches from the Emperor, who went immediately to call on His Holiness, and confirmed in full all that the Prince and I myself had previously told him respecting the military preparations for the enterprise, &c. His Holiness seemed perfectly satisfied with the Emperor's conduct in the affair, and yet could not help feeling certain scruples and apprehensions concerning the attitude of England and of the Lutherans, and principally of king Francis himself, whose wavering and inconstant humour could not be depended upon; "For (said he to Capt. Doria) it is worth considering that the very moment the king of England and the Lutherans had knowledge of what had been done at Nizza, and afterwards at Aigues Mortes, fearing lest a peace between the Empire and France should be concluded, he and they were terribly frightened at it, and the latter, without being asked or solicited, made through the elector marquis of Brandanburque (Brandenburg) certain overtures indicative of their wish to come to some agreement on matters of faith with the king of the Romans; whereas nowadays not only do they refuse to be spoken to respecting that, as cardinal Brusino,† the Legate, and my Nuncio in Germany write, but are

* "Que las necessidades que tenia eran tan grandes que la convenia mas allegar el casamiento para su hija, pues era ya muger que no para su hermana."

† Thus in the original, but it must be an error for Brundusino, or the Bishop of Brundusium, *i.e.* Brindisi.

1539.

actually stirring and making levies of men, and I am certain that the king of England is helping them with money."*

His Holiness further thinks that this last would not be a sufficient reason for the English Lutherans to help the German, were it not for some old understanding with France, which, though suspended for a time, is now going on again, upon which they (the German Lutherans) no doubt found their chief design. King Francis not wishing to help in the expedition against the Turk, which he would otherwise be obliged to attend as the Most Christian, will naturally do his best to prevent the same, knowing very well that all the personal reputation and glory to be gained by the Emperor will result in detriment to his own estimation and honor, and in greater and more anxious fear of *His Imperial Majesty's power.*

Venice.—Comendador Giron.—Lope de Soria.

The bishop of Transylvania, ambassador of king John,† has called upon him [the Marquis] with the assurance that his master is not only willing to observe the truce with the king of the Romans, but has particularly commanded him to communicate to him his business at Rome and elsewhere, consult him, and follow his advice in every respect. He says he came by way of Venice for the purpose of exhorting and persuading the Signory to continue in the Holy League, and of asking their help for the war which the two kings, Ferdinand and he, intend carrying on against the Turk in Hungary. He (the Bishop) comes also for the purpose of procuring the confirmation of several of his own colleagues in Hungary, alleging that should His Holiness refuse his master's application, it might perhaps become an excuse for the introduction of the sect of Luther into those parts. A cardinal's hat for the archbishop of Collocia‡ is also one of the ambassador's charges; but to judge from his words the Archbishop and he cannot be great friends.

Three days ago a nephew of Mr. de Velly, the ambassador, arrived here from France. He came immediately to inform me of the purpose of his mission. It is to ask for a cardinal's hat for the archbishop of Orleans,§ a relative of Mme. de Tampas (Etampes), and he is prepared to say, in his master's name, according to a memorandum he has with him, and which he showed to me, that he [king Francis] expected to be treated in this particular as other Christian princes have been. Xalon's‖ hat ought not to be set to his

* "Y aunque sabe cierto que el Rey de Inglaterra ayuda con dineros para los dichos movimientos, no paresce á Su Sant[d] que sea esto bastante fundamento para los Luteranos de Inglaterra sino interviniese alguna platica vieja de Francia."

† Joannes II. Statilius, 1538–42.

‡ Colloccza or Kolotscha, or Klausenburg in Hungary. The bishop was Francesco II., Frangipani, from 1530 to 1543.

§ Anton Sanguin, from 1535 to 1550.

‖ Xalon is here meant for the bishop of Chalons.

1539.

account, inasmuch as the Pope himself had promised it to the cardinal and duke of Lorraine, both persons in favor of whom His Holiness was bound to do something. Neither was that of the archbishop of Milan,* for that hat was granted not at his request, but in virtue of the agreement made with the Duke, his brother, a person of quality and merits well deserving of such dignity. If His Holiness did not do him that favor, he could not do less than resent it. The Pope's answer was, by way of excuse, that the Emperor had once noticed the great number of hats given to France. Hearing this I could not but start and say: "I wonder much that His Holiness can make an assertion of that sort, because neither during the last war, much less since the truce, have I spoken to His Holiness about it, nor have I received instructions from the Emperor to that effect" . . . .

On the 10th His Holiness had an answer from Miçer Latino, his chamberlain, respecting the affairs he had negociated in France.

Enclosed is a copy of the report which ambassador Rincon is said to have sent to the archbishop of Ragusa† concerning the armaments of the Turk for this present year. It was forwarded to the Pope by cardinal Trivalzio, brother of the bishop of Ragusa. But it seems as if the faith to be attached to the report ought to be measured by the intentions of the writer and those of the Cardinal who forwarded it to His Holiness, both of whom have hitherto shown themselves more Turks than those of Anatolia.

Signora Costanza Trenes has often applied to me to remind the Emperor of a petition of her's. She wants the bishopric of Pamplona for her son, the bishop and camarlengo of the Pope.—Rome, 13 Feb. 1539.

Signed: "El marques de Aguilar."

Spanish. Original. Partly ciphered. pp. 6.

15 Feb. S. E. L. 806, f. 81. B. M. 28,591, f. 41.

40. The ANSWER to the ENGLISH AMBASSADOR concerning the proposed Marriage alliances.

The Emperor, willing to attend to the pressing requests which the English ambassadors have made, and are now making, both to His Imperial Majesty and to the dowager queen of Hungary in Flanders, that a definitive answer be given respecting the closer friendship and alliance between the said Emperor and King, as well as respecting the marriage of the above-mentioned king of England and the illustrious dowager duchess of Milan, the Emperor's answer is as follows:

With regard to the closer alliance and friendship it would seem as if the treaties existing between the said king of

* Ippolito d'Este. † Philippo Trivulzi, from 1521 to 1543.

1539.

England and His Imperial Majesty were so good, efficient, and well established for both parties as to require no innovation or change, especially now that the circumstances under which the negociations began have materially changed, owing to the indissoluble friendship since made between His Imperial Majesty and the Most Christian king of France, in which friendship and peace both monarchs wish the king of England to participate.

Respecting the proposed marriage, His Imperial Majesty has always wished, and would still wish, that it could be effected with sufficient security. Such is, for instance, the Papal dispensation for the marriage, owing to the close affinity and relationship between the king of England and the lady in question, without which dispensation the marriage, as the king of England knows full well, would not be legitimate or lawful.

The King ought also to consider the gravity and importance of the case, for although it has been put forward that, owing to the ecclesiastical superiority now recognized in England, the King himself might dispense, it stands to reason that such a dispensation could satisfy neither the Duchess, nor her parents and allies; for even in the event of her trusting entirely in the honesty and good faith of the King, and believing that no difficulty would arise during the King's lifetime, yet a thing so important ought to be made permanently secure, not only as regards the scruples arising from the very signature of the treaty, but owing also to the many inconveniences likely to result for the Duchess, and the children of her marriage especially, should the king of England die before her.

Should the above-mentioned difficulty be removed, as required by the above considerations, and as being indeed well worthy of attention, then, in that case, the affair might at once be proceeded with, and all minor points settled, provided, however, the King himself became more tractable, and His Imperial Majesty were to respond with sincerity. The latter begs to be excused if—in duty bound towards the said Duchess, and her allies, and desirous also of the King's welfare, fearing the contentions and disputes that might arise should not the marriage in question be effected and secured, as is fit and proper—he has felt himself obliged to make the preceding statement.—Toledo, 15 Feb. 1539.

Spanish. Original corrected draft. p. 1½.*

* A note on the dosse has the following: "Let this be copied literally with all corrections and emendations"; and immediately under it: "It has been copied fair, according to orders." And so it is, for in Bergenroth's collection (Vol. XX., p. 43) there is another fair copy of the same document, in which a few words have been changed and others suppressed, as for instance, "como tampoco le dañará al dicho Señor Rey y á los suyos la que se truxere de Roma," meaning, no doubt, that the Papal dispensation, if procured at Rome, might contain injurious terms of the King and the English.

1539.

25 Feb. **41.** LOPE DE SORIA to the EMPEROR.

S. E., L. 1314, ff. 144–7. B.M. 28,591, f. 45.

Relates his negociations with the Signory accompanied by Commander Giron. Is sorry to hear that the latter, who took his despatches of the 3rd inst., had not yet quitted Genoa, but had given them in charge to Camillo Colonna. Had the Commander embarked at Genoa, as proposed, he might have given a more detailed account of the Signory's excuses for not proceeding with the armament of her galleys, and so forth, as briskly as they promised and as it was expected they would do.

The Signory has appointed another captain-general of the sea, one Giovan Moro, who is at present governor of Candia, and is, as they say, a brave man. The cause of his appointment is that Vicencio Capelo, who formerly held that charge, has returned here [to Venice] so weakened by disease that he cannot do good service. *He (Capelo) has lately spoken very disparagingly of prince Doria, adding that the captain could not possibly have acted so badly as he did [in the affair of Castilnovo] unless it were with the consent and will of the Emperor. The Signory for many reasons has given orders that Capelo's report should be kept secret; but that general before coming here had already spoken his mind to so many persons that the precautions taken will be useless. Some who hate the Prince for no other reason than his being a Genoese, believe in the accusation. Has done all he could in defence of the Prince, and will continue to do so.*

The duke of Urbino (Guidobaldo della Rovere) has sent here two ambassadors to negociate with the Signory for the charge of captain-general; but he (Soria) hears that the Signory has no intention at present to appoint him or any other person to that office. They have, nevertheless, offered him a *condotta* of men-at-arms and light horse if he will accept it, of which they have some doubt, knowing that the Duke has sent a gentleman to His Imperial Majesty, begging to be taken into his service. Has told those who have come to him on the Duke's behalf that he ought to accept the "condotta" of these people, for the Emperor has no post to give him at present.

The dowager marchioness of Mantua died on the 14th.

On the 3rd the archbishop of Colocia* arrived here and remained until the 17th, suffering from gout. He left this for the court of the king of the Romans, and will thence return to his master [king John of Hungary]. He professes to be a good servant of the Empire, and has begged him [Soria] to recommend him for a cardinal's hat, besides speaking to him of his master, of the kingdom of Hungary, and of three more affairs of which he spoke to him at Milan. The hat, he fancies, the Emperor is actually obliged to procure for him; he has naturally exaggerated the importance of Hungary, which he says ought to be defended against the Turk; but has said nothing about the particulars of the peace between his master and the king of the Romans.

* *See* above p. 113 *n.*

1539.

Lorenzo Gritti, the bastard son of the late duke Andrea Gritti, left for Constantinople secretly at the beginning of this month, some say for the purpose of recovering the property left by his two brothers Luigi and Giorgo deceased; others for fear of being sent to gaol, because, whilst his father Andrea was living, they found his own wife hung in a room of his palace, and her parents would not pardon him. This departure of Lorenzo for Constantinople is differently talked of by others, who maintain that he has secret orders from the Signory to treat of peace or truce with the Turk, and as this might reach the Emperor's ears, he (Soria) has thought it fit to inform him. It must, however, be observed that the Dux himself and some of the Dicci have assured him that there is no truth in the report, and that Lorenzo is going to Constantinople exclusively for his own private affairs.

Nevertheless he (Soria) has been told by a trustworthy person that Lorenzo Gritti bears a commission from the Signory and Council of the Ten to negociate with Ayás Bassá, and if vox Populi *be* Vox Dei, *as is generally understood, it must be said that peace is likely to be concluded somehow between this Republic and the Turk. Yet it must be observed that the rumour has its origin in the desire all here have of peace, and in the departure of Lorenzo Gritti for Constantinople at this present juncture, rather than in any overtures that may have been made in certain quarters. Wishing to ascertain the fact, I myself called the other day on the Doge and asked him on what business Lorenzo had gone to Constantinople, telling him at the same time of the rumours that were afloat. The Doge answered as above—Lorenzo had no commission whatever from him or from the Council of the Ten; he had gone to Constantinople exclusively for his own affairs, &c.*

Taxes imposed by the Signory to defray the expenses of the armament against the Turk, &c.

Cannot guess how the report has originated, and taken deep root here, that Your Majesty, in connexion with the king of France, with His Holiness' consent and will, is about to take charge of the undertaking against England, and bestow that kingdom on the duke of Orleans after having him married either to the daughter of the king of the Romans (Ferdinand) or to the princess [Mary] of England. That the Most Christian King and his sons are to renounce their titles to the duchy of Milan, whilst Your Majesty will take possession of the rest of Italy beyond the Alps. Is continually asked what he knows about these matters. His answer is that he knows nothing, and, although he does not say so to them, he fancies that Your Majesty would not like to aggrandize France more than it is. The rumour, he believes, has originated in the departure of cardinal Pole, who has gone to Your Majesty on a mission from His Holiness, and many think that owing to that the undertaking against the Turk will not take place this year. Has considered it his duty

1539.

to say this much, for ambassadors are in *duty bound to report all they hear and learn.*

Received Your Majesty's letter of the 24th, to which no answer is needed. Both commander Giron and he (Soria) called on the Doge, and communicated to him Your Majesty's wise and prudent remarks. His answer was in general terms that the Signory will not be in fault when required.

With regard to the Papal Nuncio and his formal declaration of His Holiness' fears that the undertaking against the Turk could not be carried out this year owing to several causes, and therefore, that it was fit to look out for the means of obtaining a suspension of arms or a truce with the Infidel through the intervention of France, he (Soria) answered that he wondered at such a proposal, and wished to know from whom it came. Having consulted Aguilar as to this, he writes that His Holiness is as well disposed as ever he was, and that no consideration, not even that of an attack on England, will prevail on him to propose the suspension of the expedition against the Turk. This is what Aguilar writes; but he (Soria) knows for certain that the Pope has written to this Signory that it will be impossible to carry out the enterprise this year, even in case of Your Majesty attending it personally, and as these Venetians are aware of His Holiness' wish that the enterprise against England be carried out before all things, the common belief is that Your Majesty will not go thither in person, nor will the expedition take place; whilst the hatred, which they know the Pope bears the English King, makes them suspect that something or other will be done against the latter. He has not deemed it prudent to say anything respecting a truce with the Turk, much less what the Papal Nuncio is reported to have said to Your Majesty on the subject for fear these people should catch hold of it as a pretence. Nevertheless, whenever he speaks to them on the subject, they keep saying in general terms that they will not be in fault at the appointed time, &c. His (Soria's) impression, however, is that, notwithstanding their asseverations, they are only waiting for the Turk's answer to their proposals, or Lorenzo Gritti's report of what he may have negociated respecting the peace; when that comes they will speak out openly.

Letters from Vienna of the 14th inst. announce that on the ensuing day the marriage of king John [of Hungary]* with the daughter of the king of Poland was to take place at Buda, whither the king of the Romans had sent count Salm with a numerous suite and some fine presents for king John and his wife: namely, one gold cup of 23 marks, two silver-gilt cups of 20 marks each, one silver casket of 110 marks, two balasses (*balaxes*) of 500 florins each, a horse trapping embroidered with pearls valued 1500 florins, &c.

* Son of the Waywode of Transylvania, who had died a few months before. *See* above p. 103.

1539.

Geronimo Lascher* had arrived two days before in Vienna; but no one knew what his mission could be, except to say that the Grand Turk was at Constantinople making military preparations on a large scale to come down next summer upon Transylvania and Hungary. That on the first week of Lent a diet of Hungarians, subjects of the king of the Romans, as well as of king John, would be held at Possonia.

Canon Gomaga offers his services to Your Majesty, and would like to be employed anywhere.—Venice, 25 Feb. 1539.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 15.

7 March. **42.** The MARQUIS DE AGUILAR to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. L. Sa., de Ga. Mar y Tierra, L. 15. B. M, *Add.* 28,591, f. 60.

Wrote to the Emperor by Martin Alonso de los Rios. Since then he (Aguilar) has received His Majesty's letter of the 23rd January. Has again spoken to His Holiness about the projected expedition, assuring him that, as far as he (the Emperor) is concerned, it will decidedly take place this spring. His Holiness replied as usual, but expressed the same fears as on former occasions; his arguments amounted in substance to this: *He (the Pope) still suspects the sincerity of France, and fears the course of events in Germany and England, should anything happen there whilst the Emperor is absent. Yet, on the other hand, he considers His Majesty's presence in Italy as necessary to bring a certain pressure to bear on the Venetians, who might otherwise make some agreement with the Turk.*

With all this his [Aguilar's] impression is that *His Holiness, as well as the Venetians, is only waiting to see whether the Emperor really intends to come over and take the command of the expedition, thinking that without such a certainty it would not do for them to spend their money. So, notwithstanding the Emperor's letters, and the repeated assurances of his ministers and ambassadors [in Italy], they still doubt of his coming, and show letters received from Spain announcing that he (the Emperor) will not come. This is quite enough under the circumstances to make them suspend all armaments, and indeed all other military preparations. Whence it is quite clear that His Holiness, as well as the Venetians, is more inclined to a peace or truce with the Turk than to the expedition against the Turk, that being the reason why the latter exaggerate the difficulty of procuring provisions, and say that unless the Emperor orders wheat from Naples or Sicily, they cannot possibly procure it elsewhere.*

* Lasco, about whom *see* Vol. IV., Part II., and Vol. V., Part I., p. 272.

1539.

Lope de Soria writes from Venice that the Signory has granted to Lorenzo Gritti, son of the deceased Doge, permission to go to Constantinople to take possession of the property left by his brothers. *But the same ambassador suspects that he bears a commission from the Signory to ascertain whether the Grand Turk will* feel disposed to treat of peace or truce. Having inquired from the Venetian ambassador here what he knew about this, he scarcely denies the fact, and advocates the conveniency of knowing, before taking action against the Turk, how far the latter may be inclined to treat of a general peace or truce.

The viceroy of Naples must already have written home respecting the great armaments the Turk is making by sea and land to march on Castilnovo.

Creation of Cardinals.—The Pope gives as an excuse for not acceding to the Emperor's wishes in this particular, that on the last occasion he created no less than three on the Emperor's recommendation, and would have made a fourth, had not the news of the death of the bishop of Geneva arrived in the meantime,* and had he not, at the king of Scotland's request, appointed a Scotch ecclesiastic. For some time past had king James applied for a cardinal's hat for one of his subjects, a person of great authority in those parts; and His Holiness could not do less than grant it him, especially in the state in which things are now in England. That of Xalon (Chalon) he had made at the pressing instances of king Francis.

Commander Marradas was present at his [Aguilar's] conversation with His Holiness on the subject of cardinals. Nothing, however, could be achieved, one of the causes of the delay being, as it would appear, the very pressing request interposed by the king of France that a cardinal's hat should be given to the archbishop of Orleans, a relative of Mme. de Tampas (Etampes), adding that he would be much offended if the application was denied.

With regard to the Council His Holiness is undoing that which had been done, for he says that according to the state of politics, and the course of events, he will choose what may seem to him the most convenient and best course for the welfare of Christendom, after communicating with the Emperor on the subject, and being, of course, sure of his arrival in Italy, without which he is not willing at present to take any steps in the matter.

The Lutherans, according to late advices, continue making preparations and raising men against the Christians. Here, at Rome, all seem to think that the only remedy for such a state of things is that proposed by cardinal Brundusino.†

* Petrus IV., de la Baume, cardinal and bishop of Besançon (1523), and afterwards of Geneva, where he died, according to Gams, in 1544. He was appointed cardinal in 1539.

† Gian Pietro Caraffa, called Il Brundusino from his being a native of Brindisi (Brundusium). He was made cardinal in 1536, and in 1555, at the age of 79, became Pope under the name of Paul IV. *See* above p. 112 *n*.

1539.

From the archbishop of Lunsden no news has come; he had gone to the diet of the Catholics in Bohemia, and thence he was to go to that of the Lutherans.

England.—*Respecting the English, His Holiness still insists on the Emperor forbidding their commercial intercourse with his dominions, alleging that king Francis is ready to do the same, provided he be asked to act in that way. By which words His Holiness seems to imply that it would not do for king Francis to monopolise that honor, which by right belongs to the Emperor. He (Aguilar) replied to His Holiness that the Emperor is not wanting in good will and zeal for the cause, but that his action must necessarily be guided by the resolution taken with regard to the enterprise against the Turk and the provision in matters of faith against the Lutherans.*

Will strictly obey orders respecting the offers of marriage of Mr. de Vendôme, and will also keep the thing secret.

Affairs of Sena, and Miçer Sebastiano, secretary to the duke of Castro—

The Camarino agreement has not yet been signed. His Holiness has agreed to pay the 84,000 crs., and restore the *Casale* and houses at Rome, which all put together will amount to about 100,000 crs., or the sum which the Venetian ambassador and he (Aguilar) agreed should be paid by the Pope to the Duke. But since then the latter's agents, wishing no doubt to get better terms for their master, have started the objection that the Duke and Duchess ought not to make a cession of their rights to Camarino. Has written to the Duke about it. Fancies that he has been ill advised, for had he accepted at once the terms proposed he might already have received his money; whereas now, if the agreement has not taken place, there is no knowing what the consequences may be; for cardinal Bologna, who left the French Court before the agreement was ratified, has just arrived, and says he thinks that the Papal army might take possession of the duchy of Urbino on account of the Duke's rebellion, and apply it to the Holy See. The Cardinal, as a near relation of the Dauphin's wife, came with a mission from king Francis to attend and answer for her right. His Holiness could not tell him [Aguilar] whether the Cardinal's desire of coming to Rome was so much owing to the fulfilment of his mission as to his wish of settling the suit and residing here, and therefore there is every reason to suspect that the King had chosen the said negociation as a pretence for the Cardinal to come to Rome. It is even said, though he [Aguilar] does not dare affirm it, that the Cardinal had charge from his master to offer the Pope to defray all the expense he might incur for the recovery of Urbino and Camarino. The French ambassador, however, has told him nothing about the Cardinal's arrival in Rome or the object of his *mission*.

His Holiness has spoken to Ercole Varana in the presence of these cardinals. He will be glad (he said) to give him

1539.

Camarino for life according to the deed of investiture, on condition of his paying over to the Apostolic See 160,000 crs., which had been spent in war and in an indemnity to the Duke.* Varana answered that he had nothing to say to that except to invoke Papal faith in the fulfilment of promises. Upon which His Holiness replied that his offer was in accordance with his promise. The fact is, that the Pope himself purposes going to Camarino after the Octaves (*ochavas*), and taking with him five or six cardinals of his own household, whom he may possibly consult as to the investiture of the Duchy, and then decide whether it is to be given to Varana, according to his promise, or to Horazio, the brother of Octavio. Though this is a mere conjecture of my own and of others, who profess to know well His Holiness' craving for the aggrandizement of his family, yet His Majesty must be told of it, that steps may be taken with the Pope or elsewhere to *prevent* the spoliation of Ercole.

The Papal dispensation for the commanders of the military Orders of Calatrava and Alcantara to marry has not yet been obtained. His Holiness, taking the advice of cardinals Simonetta and Ginuccis, has decided that for many respects the resolution should be delayed forty days, because in the meanwhile it will be seen whether it be convenient or not to assemble the General Council. It would not do (say the cardinals above alluded to) for His Holiness to grant such a dispensation to the commanders of the Orders and others entering a rule in which marriage is forbidden, which is what the Lutherans are asking for, just at the time of the meeting of the Council.

Lope Hurtado, &c.—

His Holiness wishes Ottavio Farnese to go to Spain, and in the meantime, during this Lent, has sent him to his own estates. The Duchess, his wife, has already taken possession, by judicial sentence, of the palace at Rome, and other houses in the neighbourhood renting about 400 ducats yearly, and will soon do the same with the castle of Santangelo.†

Cruzada—Cardinal Siguenza.—Francisco Duarte recommended.

Auditor Aragonia is dead, leaving a vacancy in his bishopric of Bossa in Sardinia, worth about 600 ducats. There no longer remains in the Rota a Spanish auditor except Dr. Mohedano, whom he (Aguilar) recommends for that bishopric, or else Capisuchiis,‡ the vicar of the same Tribunal. This last, besides being a worthy and learned man, did once, as is

* That is to Guidobaldo, duke of Urbino, who, by his marriage to Giulia Varana, cousin of Ercole, pretended to have a claim, and actually took possession of the duchy.

† "Madama tiene ya por sentencia la possession de las casas de Roma, con otras que estan alrededor della, que rentan CCCC. ducados, y presto la tendra del castillo de Santangelo."

‡ Paolo Capisucci, auditor at the Rota. *See* Vol. V., Part I., pp. 8 and 226.

1539.

well known, good service in the Queen's matrimonial suit, and still continues ready to promote the Emperor's interests in this Roman capital. As to Dr. Juan Luis, whose services were once so great as to deserve the bestowal of a bishopric on his brother [Nicolas], now deceased, he hardly needs commendation on his part, and the Emperor might grant him a pension on the bishopric of Bossa.

Is at a loss how to refrain from alluding to Lope Hurtado and his wife, Da. Margarita, for he knows very well that the subject is one, as the Emperor has justly remarked, quite unfit for his personal duties and authority; but the matter is of such gravity that were he to be silent about it, he (Aguilar) would not be doing his duty towards His Majesty, or vindicating his own honor, as he is bound to do. It would appear that the duke of Castro (Pier Luigi Farnese) and his wife, the Duchess, called the other day on Madame Margaret, and spoke to her in His Holiness' name of two things. One was that he (the Pope) and they themselves could not but resent the behaviour of Lope Hurtado and his wife; for appointed, as they had been, by the Emperor to remedy by their dexterity and good services any fault which their grandson, Ottavio, through his youth and inexperience of matrimonial life might commit, not only had they neglected the duties of their office, but on the contrary had told their mistress (Margaret) things calculated to lower him (Ottavio) in her estimation, and make her forget the love she is bound to entertain for him. The other was that Her Excellency, having by her discretion and tact, as well as by her amiable disposition won the hearts of all those who spoke to her--this being more requisite in Rome than anywhere else—they (Hurtado and his wife) had put into her head certain punctilious and rather unreasonable ideas, with a view to estrange her from, and place her on bad terms with, her relatives,* and principally with Signora Costanza† and other ladies, who were only thinking how they could serve her best and give her most satisfaction. This (the Duke and Duchess maintained) was purposely done by Hurtado and his wife, that they both might exclusively enjoy the favor of their mistress, Da. Margarita, whose intimacy and familiarity with them was naturally the greater, owing to their being the principal instrument of the said estrangement, &c.

The Duke and Duchess ended their admonition by saying that since His Holiness loved her so much, and was continually thinking of what might be agreeable to her, they could not but resent such conduct on the part of her bad counsellors.

* "La otra que haviendo su Ex^{a} siempre con su discrecion y humanidad atrahido á todos los que la conversaban á amarla y dessearla servir, y siendo esto mas necessario en Roma que en otra parte, la ponian en ciertas cosas y pundonores fuera de razon para hazerla estrañar y pouerla mal con sus deudos."

† The Pope's daughter, and a sister of Pier Luigi, duke of Castro.

1539.

Hearing which Her Excellency sent for the cardinal archbishop of Santiago (Sarmiento) who happened to be in the house at the time, and all four had a conversation together on the subject. On that very day Her Excellency went to visit the Pope, and on leaving asked his permission for the Cardinal (Sarmiento) to go and speak to him alone. It would take too much time to relate here what passed between His Holiness and the Cardinal at the audience; the upshot of it was that Her Excellency said she was exceedingly sorry that, owing to the enmity existing between Lope Hurtado and him (Aguilar), she should have to suffer—hinting that it was entirely the fault of the latter, who, in order to revenge himself from pretended injuries on the part of Hurtado, was now trying to prejudice her with His Holiness. All this he (Aguilar) knows from the Pope's lips, and, although he fully promised then not to report it, yet, implicated as he is in the affair, he cannot help informing the Emperor of the whole and clearing himself from such an unjust accusation; a minister capable of doing such things would be an unloyal wretch, deserving severe punishment, and he (Aguilar) can only say that always, on every occasion, he has tried as much as was in his power to compound matters between Madame and His Holiness' family, and to mend the faults which owing to the bad management of Lope Hurtado and his wife have occurred, as His Holiness and they themselves know very well. Meanwhile he (Aguilar) has spoken and given friendly advice to Hurtado respecting the Pope and his complaints. That he (Aguilar) had already done twice in the presence of commander Marradas, and once more having by his side Lope Hurtado, who listened attentively to his statement. And what did that gentleman say on the occasion? Nothing at all; he threw all the blame on Madame, which is very unfair and not to be credited, for after all she is known to be guided entirely by him and his wife, and to do nothing but what they want her to do, as commander Marradas, who has witnessed some of the above scenes, will soon inform His Majesty.

Upwards of two months ago His Holiness told him (Aguilar) that he was determined to send some one to Spain about this affair. Has done all he could to prevent it, but unless matters can be satisfactorily settled in the meantime, he fears that one of these days His Holiness will do some rash act with regard to Lope Hurtado. In the midst of it all, he is exceedingly surprised at His Holiness having been told by someone that he (Aguilar) is on bad terms with Don Lope; the truth of the matter is that such a thing never crossed his mind; between Hurtado and himself there can be no "punctilios" nor cause for quarrel.*

* Aunque no dexo de estar corrido que se haya dicho á Su Sd que yo tengo puntillos con Lope Hurtado, porque en verdad nunca tal me passo por pensamiento; ni los ha habido, ni puede aver (*sic*)."

1539.

The ambassador of the Most Christian called the other day, and showed him a letter from his master, which he read to him from top to bottom, the substance of which is: *that he is to place himself entirely at my disposal, and communicate all his ideas and doings.* That the Most Christian and Your Majesty, for the good issue of their public and private affairs, as well as for the consolidation of the peace they are now enjoying, had settled and agreed that neither Your Majesty nor he (the Most Christian King) could individually, and without the previous knowledge and consent of each other, make any treaties, confederacies, or particular alliances through marriage or otherwise with the king of England; and that, for the ratification of the said agreement, deeds and documents, with each other's signatures and seals, had been duly interchanged. Told the ambassador that his instructions were also to communicate and tell him all his (Aguilar's) affairs with the Pope, but that as to the particular case of England he had no instructions whatever from Your Majesty, nor did he think there could yet be time for an answer to come to the despatch in which he had asked for them. As soon as those instructions came to hand, he would without fault fulfil Your Majesty's orders, which he supposed would be in accordance with those he himself had received; in the meantime he might act as he pleased. It was, therefore, agreed between us to keep the thing secret, and dissemble—even in the event of His Holiness touching on the affair—till instructions came from Your Majesty as to how he was to act. The ambassador himself called afterwards on His Holiness, who, as he informs him, did not touch on the English affair at all, save by talking in general terms about the remedy to be applied to the extravagant cruelties of the English King, as he has done at other times. If the thing passed as the French ambassador tells me, the agreement must be reputed as holy and excellent, and most convenient for the public welfare as well as for Your Majesty's particular and personal interests.—Rome, vii. May 1539.

Signed: "El marques de Aguilar."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. pp. 6.

8 March. *Wien*, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.* 231, f. 2–5.

43. PROCES VERBAL of what passed between the ENGLISH AMBASSADOR and the DEPUTIES of the QUEEN REGENT on the 4th–8th of March.

Among other proposals brought forward by Secretary Vorythesly (Wriothesly) one was, that since the cause for which the Queen had ordered the recall of Eustace Chapuys, the Emperor's ambassador in England, had ceased, the King, his master, wished him to remain in England until news came from the Emperor, and, if not, that another ambassador

1539.

should be sent in his room, lest people should judge that measure to be a sign that the old friendship and confederacy existing between the King, his master, and His Imperial Majesty was waxing weaker every day.

To this request of the ambassador, the Queen replied that she was ready to send to reside in England, in place of Messire Eustace Chapuys, another person; and that, in order to remove all cause for suspicion, she had already appointed the dean of Cambray, her chief almoner—a learned and middle-aged personage, and the only one she could at first think of—as better qualified for the charge of representing the Emperor in England until his pleasure should be known. Messire Thomas was immediately apprized of this resolution, and was glad to hear of the Dean's appointment.

The Queen, perceiving the sudden change in English politics—indicated by the recall of Messire Thomas, and that the two other colleagues of that ambassador had taken the road to Ghelders, for the purpose, as they said, of visiting that country as travellers; and that, in addition to that, there was no news at all of Chapuys' return; doubting, moreover, whether the Imperial ambassador had not been prevented from coming, determined to amuse the English ambassador with fine words and dilatory expedients, without, however, granting or refusing him leave to go away, in the hope that during that time news might come of Chapuys, so that, if forcibly detained in London, the same might be done with the English ambassador here until Chapuys be released and allowed to depart.

During the delay thus intentionally procured, the English ambassador kept applying urgently for permission to leave and return to England, openly declaring that he could wait no longer, and that, with the Queen's leave or without, he would quit the Low Countries and return home in obedience to his master's commands. He (the ambassador) knew for certain that Chapuys had also applied for leave, and that his application had not been refused, only that the King had begged him to remain in England until the arrival of his successor. Should Chapuys decline the King's offer, he would nevertheless be allowed to depart, and not be hindered in the least. That, however, was no reason, added Messire Thomas, for his being detained in this country, for, even if Chapuys were forcibly kept in England, there was residing at the Emperor's court, as his master's ambassador, a gentleman of birth, not inferior to Chapuys in any respect, besides which it was improper to retain two for one.*

Upon which, and in order to gain time and proceed as courteously and mildly as possible with the said English

* Who was Chapuys' colleague at the time—a gentleman of birth—does not appear from this correspondence. It could certainly not be Don Diego de Mendoza—closely related to one of the noblest families in Spain—for he had left England months ago, and as to Majoris, who eventually replaced him, as will be said hereafter, he only landed at Dover on the 15th of March.

1539.

ambassador, the Queen Regent sent him a deputation composed of the duke of Aarschot,* the count of Hoochstraste, and the Sieur de Liedekercke (Jean Hannaërt), to induce him to remain. On three or four different occasions did the Queen's deputies try, though in vain, to persuade him (Sir Thomas) that the delay in granting his application was in nowise owing to any mistrust or suspicion entertained about him, but with a good end and purpose, and for a few days only, until another ambassador had come from England to replace him, whilst the Emperor appointed Chapuys' successor to the Imperial embassy. That for the reasons he himself had very properly alleged, should there be no mutual ambassadors in both countries, people might say that the political relations between England and the Empire were no longer on the footing they were before. The Queen's deputies, moreover, assured the ambassador that the Emperor's wish was to observe strictly the letter of his treaties with England, and they ended by requesting Messire Thomas to delay at least his departure until news came from the King, his master, or from Chapuys himself, to both of whom the Queen would immediately write, as she has done since, trusting that the king would not take in bad part the detention of his ambassador, but would, on the contrary, be glad of it, as done for the sake of the existing friendship, and to do away with scruples on either side.

Notwithstanding which reasoning on the part of the Queen's deputies, the English ambassador persisted in his determination to take leave, unless the Queen commanded him positively to remain, for (said he) "I know very well that if I am forbidden, I cannot depart without leave, and yet that very order in writing will be my excuse with the King, my master." To make the thing work more smoothly, the Queen sent again to request him to remain [in Brussels] a few days, until she received an answer to her letters. Upon which the ambassador again declared that he would not heed any prayers, but would disobey her commands unless they were in writing. Then the Queen replied that it was not fitting to address commands to the ambassador of a prince such as he represented; that she could not do, but she begged him to grant her prayer, as his master's friend, and the ambassador at last consented to stay until he heard from his master.

All these mysterious dealings have been deemed necessary in consequence of Messire Chapuys having three days ago dispatched one of his own servants with an insignificant letter, it is true, but with a verbal message to say that, having asked an audience from the King, he was referred to the Privy Council, and that, having gone thither, he had declared that he had received letters from the Queen commanding him to come over to transact certain business of the Emperor's, and that, as

* Philippe de Croy.

1539.

he had also some of his own to attend to, he intended to apply for the King's leave. The councillors' answer was that he (Chapuys) was well justified in asking leave, since, after eight or nine years' residence in England as Imperial ambassador, he must certainly need to attend to his own private affairs, and that they would let the King know.

Two days after this one of Cromwell's secretaries came to him and said that the King thought he ought to delay his departure until he had news from the Emperor, or his successor in the embassy had arrived. Upon which Messire Chapuys, fearing the rash acts (*follyes*) of the country wherein he resides, and wishing to avoid all dangers, has prayed the Queen to retain the said Messire Thomas Wriothesly by some plausible means until he himself should come back, which is the principal cause which has moved the Queen to retain the said Messire Thomas in the manner above mentioned.

Chapuys' messenger has also related that all the ports and passages of England are closed and shut up, and that it was with great difficulty that he himself managed to cross over. He had heard that all merchants and skippers, the Emperor's subjects, residing in England, had been arrested without their knowing the cause of it, which report, if true, seems so strange that it would have been of itself a sufficient cause for the detention of the English ambassador, who, being interrogated on the subject, said that he knows nothing about the arrest of those merchants, which, after all, might have been caused by the complaint of the English when they heard that their ships would not be allowed to quit the ports and harbours of the Low Countries.*

Let it be understood that, in order to supply the ships that were being prepared and fitted out for His Imperial Majesty's contemplated expedition against the Turk with proper crews, it was deemed necessary some time ago to issue an ordinance for merchant vessels of all nations not to leave the ports of Flanders and the Low Countries until the Government had selected those wanted for the ships of this country. Had the Queen not ordered this, the seamen and mariners would have gone away, and it would have been almost impossible to procure able crews. It is indeed with the greatest difficulty that a sufficient number of men has thus been procured, for seamen in general, and most particularly those who frequent these seas, prefer serving elsewhere in the most remote regions to braving the perilous navigation of war-time. 'Tis true that this English ambassador, when he heard of that prohibition, complained to the Queen, saying that by our commercial treaties

* "Ce que pareillement s'est trouve estrange et donné tant plus d'occasion de faire demeurer icelluy ambassadeur, au quel s'est demande sil sçavoit des ditz arretz; il s'est certifie que non, mais disoit-il estoit advenu quil povoit proceder sur l'exclamation que les subjects dengleterre auroyent fait de la deffense de ne laisser partir leurs bateaulx hors des pays de par decha."

1539.

with England we could not directly or indirectly prevent or impede the merchants of that nation in their trade, nor could they ours, without warning and notifying each other six months in advance, and requesting that all English ships should be allowed to proceed on their navigation without impediment of any sort. To this request of the English ambassador the Queen has immediately acceded, in order to remove all causes of dispute and mistrust, thus showing that her wish is to satisfy the English in all respects before any other nation. Yet this has been done under the solemn declaration that the prohibition was exclusively due to the necessity of providing the Emperor's ships with seamen for such a just and holy enterprise as the war against the Infidel, undertaken for the safety and welfare of Christendom. Measures of this sort were under the circumstances imperative and preferable to all others, and it could not be presumed that the embargo laid on the vessels had had its origin in any other sentiment than the above—the defence of Christendom—not a desire to contravene the treaties of alliance and commerce between the Emperor's subjects and the English.

Indorsed: "Procès verbal of what passed between Messire Thomas Wriothesly, secretaire and ambassador of the king of England and the Queen's deputies."

French. Original draft. pp. 5½.

10 March. **44.** QUEEN MARY of HUNGARY to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.* C. 231, f. 6.

I lately wrote to you that as the Emperor wishes to employ you in certain affairs of his service in these Low Countries, you were to come here to me, in order to hear what His Imperial Majesty's commands may be with regard to your person, telling you at the same time that you were to take gracious leave of the king of England, my good brother, and maternal uncle. I am astonished at not having yet heard of your departure from that country, and, therefore, write again, ordering you, in the Emperor's name, to hasten your departure, and return to this country as soon as possible. And in order that during your absence the Emperor's affairs in that country may not suffer, and that the good intelligence and amicable relations, as well as alliances and confederacies with that King, may continue not only without change or interruption of any sort, but on the contrary, may increase mutually, thus affording to the World a manifest proof of the Emperor's wishes in that respect, as well as removing any scruples which your retirement might cause, I now send the dean of Cambray,* my first almoner, to fill your post and discharge the duties of ambassador at that court. He (the Dean) will leave in a day or two at the latest, and I inform you of this that you may the more hasten on your journey and return.

* In the original *Cambrer*; his name was Maioris.

1539.

But I must inform you that in order to prevent and stop the continual emigration of sailors and seamen natives of these Low Countries, who, in order to escape serving on board the vessels His Imperial Majesty has ordered to be equipped in Zeeland and Holland, were daily quitting these ports, I some time ago decreed a general embargo to be laid on all ships and vessels, as well as crews, of whatever nation they might be, until the number of sailors and mariners wanted for the Imperial transports could be provided. And yet, notwithstanding that, at the request of Messire Thomas Wriestheby* (Wriothesly), one of that King's ambassadors, I did immediately order the said embargo to be raised as far as it might affect the trade and shipping interest of English subjects.

Since then, however, having heard that the Emperor's official purveyors had at last been able to procure through those means a sufficient number of sailors, the general embargo has been levied, and, therefore, should this Our letter reach you before your departure from England, you are requested to inform the King thereof, and tell him how matters stand here; at the same time assuring him that neither in this nor in any other affair has there been the least intention on my part to go against the sincere good friendship, old alliance, and perfect understanding between the two countries, as I more openly and in detail declare to the King myself in my letter of this day. Also requesting him that if, as I hear from merchants and shipowners, subjects of His Imperial Majesty, he has ordered a similar embargo on their ships and crews, to have the same raised at once, so that there may be equality on both sides. This request of mine you are directed to forward as soon as possible, and push it on with all diligence.

Messire Thomas Wriothesly represented to me some days ago that in obedience to his master's commands—which he said he had received—it was his intention to go back to England; but as a step of this kind might engender suspicion and mistrust among the people of both countries, who, generally speaking, judge differently from, and often misconstrue the intentions of princes; as, on the other hand, that ambassador's colleagues have already taken their departure for Ghelders, at present a suspected country, for these reasons, and for no other, have I requested the said English ambassador, as earnestly as I could, to continue here, and delay his departure for some days, until I hear of your arrival and receive the King's answer to my letter. Though at first Messire Thomas showed great reluctance to grant my request, alleging that his master's orders were peremptory, and that he was bound to obey them, yet, in the end, on the security I gave him that the King, his master, will not be displeased, but glad of his acceding to my pressing prayer and request, he has at

* The name of this ambassador is variously written, *Writesby, Vrotesly, Vuristely*, &c.

1539.

last condescended, on the above-mentioned considerations, to remain here a few more days. I have likewise written to the King on the subject, begging him to take the whole in good part, and with that sincerity which characterizes all his acts* allow his ambassador to stay. It is, therefore, incumbent upon you to make the King and the members of his Privy Council take in good part and approve the temporary stay of Messire Thomas Wriothesly, according to my request, which, as aforesaid, is entirely owing to my good and honest intentions, and in no wise dictated by mistrust or suspicion of any sort, assuring them, on my part, that the friendship, alliances, confederacies, and understandings between the two nations do remain on this side as complete and perfect as ever.—Brussels, x. March 1539.†

Indorsed: "Copy of the Queen's letters to the ambassador in England, 1538."

French. pp. 3.

17 March. **45.** The EMPEROR to the MARQUIS DE AGUILAR.

S. E. Roma, L. 868, f. 116.
B. M. *Add.* 28,591.

After writing to you on the 13th ult. your letters of the 9th and 19th have been received, in reply to which there is nothing to say, save that, having sent to Venice both Commander Giron and Martin Alonso de los Rios, We had every reason to believe that some categorical answer from the Republic might have come by this time. Since then, as Lope de Soria informs Us, a new Dux has been appointed,‡ and, therefore, there is no longer an excuse, and We confidently expect that the said answer is already on the road.

Respecting the marriage of the sister of Octavio Farnese § with the son of Cosmo de Medici, of which His Holiness spoke to you, We wish that it could have been effected; but by this time the Duke himself has, of his own accord, contracted a marriage with the daughter of Our viceroy of Naples (marquis de Villafranca). ‖ You will tell the Pope that We regret not to be able to serve him in this particular, but if at any other time he should hear of any advantageous match for his granddaughter, We shall be glad to assist and help him.

* "Luy pryant la tout prendre de bonne part, et de la mesme sincerite dont [avecq la quelle?] il procede."

† The date, as in the indorsement, is "De Bruxelles, le x^e de Mars 1538," according to the old style still used in the Low Countries, in England, &c. In writing to the Emperor, Chapuys, as it has been observed, complies with the new style already adopted in Spain, though in corresponding with the Queen Regent of the Low Countries (*les pays d'enbas*), he follows at times the old and at others the new rule.

‡ Pietro Lando.

§ Vittoria Farnese, who was ultimately married to Guidobaldo della Rovere, duke of Urbino.

‖ Leonor de Toledo, daughter of D^a Maria Pimentel Ossorio, marchioness of Villafranca, and D. Pedro de Toledo.

1539.

If the agreement with the duke of Ferrara (Ercole d'Este) is not yet concluded, do promote the conclusion of it according to the Duke's wishes.

Francisco Hurtado brother of the Duchess' chamberlain* will be the bearer of the deed for the consignation of her dowry in Naples, according to the marriage contract and orders sent to Our viceroy of Naples.

Cardinal Pole has arrived. The enclosed copy of Our letter to the ambassador in France (Scepper) will inform you of what passed between him and the King, and what answer We have given to this latter's request. Accordingly, you will speak to the Pope in conformity with Our said answer, and the considerations therein contained; and let Us hear as soon as possible what the Pope thinks of the whole.

Ottavio Farnese and the Duchess's dowry—Roche Guillerma and other lands of the duke of Aarshot.—The duke Cosmo, as heir of duke Alessandro de Medici, is the person bound to pay the mortgage upon it.† We Ourselves have nothing to do with it.—Toledo, 17 March 1539.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

17 March. **46.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. Roma, L. 867, f. 117.
B. M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 75.

After drawing up the instruction whereof Andalot‡ is bearer, the Venetian ambassador called again, and begged Us to declare and explain to him certain passages of Our late conversation respecting which he had doubts. He first inquired what We meant by saying that His "Holiness had proposed to occupy himself exclusively with matters of Faith, and the subjection (*reduction*) of Germany, as well as with proceedings against England, and that for that reason he (the Pope) had excused himself from contributing his share of the ships and galleys, and had offered money instead. Such a declaration on the part of His Holiness (continued the Venetian) made the Signory suspect that either from the causes alleged, or for other plans and designs he might have respecting his authority, he (the Pope) might perhaps wish to desert the League, in which case the war against the Turk would remain entirely in the hands of the Signory. Such being the case, it was expedient to invite the Most Christian and other princes to join the League. By "other princes," as We conjecture, the Venetian ambassador means, no doubt, the king of England, for just now great intimacy exists between the two ambassadors, that of the Signory and that of the English king.

* I presume that the word *hermano* or *hijo* have been left out, for otherwise the chamberlain's name was *Lope*.

† The duke Alessandro had mortgaged his estate in Flanders to the Philippe de Croy, duke of Aarschot.

‡ Jean d'Andelot, the Emperor's squire.

1539.

The Venetian ambassador spoke again about provisions, and the want they were in of them, saying that the Signory could not possibly provision the fleet sufficiently unless corn was sent to them from Sicily. Our answer was a short but true account of what happened after the expedition to the Prevesa,* adding that what We had said to him and to the Papal Nuncio on the occasion was not meant to inculpate any one, but merely to induce them to consider, by the experience of the past, what had better be done in the present emergency. Neither were Our observations to His Holiness to be imputed to mistrust, suspicion, or fear of his deserting at any time the League. On the contrary, We had always recognized in him the sincere wish that the undertaking should be carried out, as he himself had said to prince Doria, and his Nuncio at Our Court had repeatedly assured Us. What His Holiness had said and declared respecting matters of Faith, and respecting England, was merely intended to feel, as it were, his ground, bearing in mind the season that was so far advanced, the great difficulty of the offensive expedition, and, above all, that it was doubtful whether the effect would correspond to the magnitude and cost of the military preparations. His Holiness had then written to Us, saying that he had strongly solicited king Francis to enter the League, and that he (the King) had returned a hopeful answer to his solicitations; in short, that means could and might be found for that negotiation without touching on the affair of Milan, &c.

The Venetian seemed satisfied with Our answer. It is now for you, Lope de Soria, to guide your movements accordingly. However, let no reference be made to Our promises and declarations to the Venetian ambassador, as above stated; only in case of his writing home, as if he still had scruples and doubted Our statements, will you make use of the information here contained, for We are aware of his intimacy with the English ambassador, whose lodgings he frequents, We know that he is besides very suspicious and quick to apprehend though not so experienced in State affairs as he ought to be, and but slightly inclined to Papal authority. Of this last remark of Ours respecting the Venetian ambassador, no mention should be made at all by you unless it came first from another quarter.

As to Castilnovo, considering the perilous state of the garrison if not promptly relieved, the difficulty of provisioning it—which could not be effected except by means of a considerable fleet—and last, not least, the loss of reputation We should incur were the place to be taken by the Turk, as happened with Coron some years ago, We should be glad for the Venetians to take charge of its defence. We have written to Doria in this sense; should, however, the Venetians refuse our offer, We would then consult the Pope and them as to

* Prevesa in Albania, at the entrance of the gulf of Arta.

1539.

what had better be done, declaring at the same time that on no account will We bear the burden any longer; and that should the Venetians and the Pope refuse to take charge of Castilnovo, or defray the expenses of the garrison and relieving force out of the funds of the League, We are determined to send orders for its immediate evacuation and dismantlement. If Doria, however, is of opinion that Castilnovo ought to be kept a little longer in order to treat more advantageously with the Turk, he will let you (Soria), as well as Aguilar at Rome, know what is to be done with it.—Toledo, 17 March 1539.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 6.

17 March. **47.** The EMPEROR to the POPE.

S. E. Roma, L. 868, f. 118.
B. M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 178.

Your Holiness' letter brought by the Most Reverend cardinal Pole* came duly to hand. I gave him audience and talked long with him respecting the business for which he came, as he himself must have written, and the marquis de Aguilar cannot fail to have explained in my name.

Since perusing the reports brought by Alonso de los Rios of the provisions actually stored in Naples and Sicily, I have written fully to Aguilar, my ambassador, respecting the resolution I have taken in the affairs of the League. I beg your Holiness to listen to him, and give entire credence to his words, as if they came from my own lips, all the time assuring Your Holiness that I shall not fail in my duties towards religion and the welfare of Christendom, your own authority, and that of the Apostolic See.

I also beg Your Holiness to be so kind as to order the dispatch, as offered, of the bull granting the ecclesiastical half-fruits to defray the expenses already made, now making, or which will ultimately be incurred by the war against the Turk and other infidels; and may Your Holiness be pleased to expedite the said bull in the form and manner that my said ambassador will explain, so that no one escape paying, as otherwise the concession would be insufficient to cover the immense cost I am now sustaining.—Toledo, 17 March 1539 —Humble Son of Your Holiness—I, the King.

Spanish. Original holograph. Minute very much corrected. pp. 1½.

19 March. **48.** MAIORIS† to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.* C. 231, ff. 9–10.

To inform Your Majesty of my journey, I will say that on Sunday last I arrived in this town of Calais, where, out of respect for the Emperor and for Your Majesty, I was most kindly received and honourably entertained by Mr. Le Debitis‡

* *See* above, No. 33, p. 97.

† Dean of Cambray and the Queen's first almoner, as in Queen Mary's letter to Chapuys, No. 44, p. 129.

‡ The chief or head of the Customs.

1539.

and other great officials of the place. I counted upon embarking on Monday last, but the wind being contrary I remained on land. On Wednesday, at midnight, I was already on board, ready to set sail and depart, when a letter of Messire Eustace Chapuys was put into my hands, begging me to remain at Calais until his arrival, as he had to make me certain important declarations concerning Your Majesty's affairs. I accordingly caused my luggage and traps to be taken out of the vessel, and I am now waiting for that ambassador's arrival, which I hope will take place to day, and, after hearing what he may have to say, will again undertake the voyage which Your Majesty has ordered me to make.

The news here is that the king of England has ordered his grand esquire (*grand escuyer*), governor of the castle of Rochafort, near Calais, to be beheaded, on the charge of being in connivance with the French to deliver up that place to them.

Millour Camberlen, governor of Guyennes (Guisnes), arrived here last Sunday. On the ensuing Monday, at his entrance into Guisnes, he was received with salvoes of artillery, and preparations were made just as in time of war, thus showing that the English think it will break out soon. As soon as I get more reliable information on this point, I shall not fail to advise.—Calais, 19 March 1539.

Signed: "Maioris."

French. Original. p. 1.

19 March. **49.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.* C. 231, f. 11.

Since my last of this very morning, Messire Eustace Chapuys has arrived in this port. I have conferred with him respecting the many affairs committed to his charge, and about which he tells me he has already written by post to Your Majesty; in the present state of which Messire Chapuys has been of opinion that I myself should not leave this port for England until I receive Your Majesty's orders thereupon. I have accordingly despatched the express messenger bearer of this letter, in order to know Your Majesty's pleasure. Am I to prosecute my journey, or return immediately? In either case I beg to be informed as soon as possible, in order to do the one or the other without loss of time.—Calais, 19 March 1538 [Old style].

French. Original. p. 1.

22 March. **50.** INSTRUCTION for ESQUIRE WYNACOURT, Provost of Mons.

B. Neg. d'Ang., f. 89.

Esquire Wynacourt, provost of Mons, shall go post haste to Dunkerke, and there try to ascertain whether the English ambassadors, who left Brussels lately, have passed through that town or not. Should they not have passed, he will address

1539.

himself to the lieutenant-governor of Dunkerke, and put into his hands the ordinance of which he (Wynacourt) will be the bearer, enjoining him expressly, on the arrival of the English ambassadors, to inquire secretly and in the best manner possible whether they intend, on their return to England, to follow any other route but the direct one to Gravelinges (Gravelines).

Should they purpose taking another route, the lieutenant-governor [of Dunkerke] shall go to secretary Vuersle (Wriothesley), principal chief of the said embassy, and remonstrate with and tell him, in the mildest possible terms, how after the English embassy had left Brussels, she, the queen of Hungary had received intelligence of the king of England, his master, having ordered Messire Eustache Chappuys (*sic*), the Imperial ambassador in England, to remain at Calais as long as he (the secretary) had not reached the port of Gravelines, and that she (the Queen) was given to understand that the King had decided that the said Chappuis * and he (the secretary) were to leave and enter simultaneously his dominions. The lieutenant-governor is to request the English secretary on that account to continue his journey to Gravelinges.

Should, however, the ambassador refuse to take that road, the lieutenant-governor will inform him expressly that his orders are not to let him pass on, and show him Her Majesty's ordinance to that effect.

After recommending the lieutenant-governor to keep good watch, and not allow the English embassy to take any other route than that of Gravelinges, or else in case of the English ambassadors not having already passed Dunkerke; in either case esquire Wynacourt will proceed on his journey without mentioning to the lieutenant-governor or to any one else the subject of his charge. He is to do exactly the same thing in case of the embassy not having reached Dunkerke yet. He will start for Gravelinges, and wait there for the English ambassadors, and immediately after apprize Messire Eustache Chappuys of their arrival in that port. On the arrival of the ambassadors at Gravelinges the esquire will inquire from the English ambassadors whether they wish to go on and leave Belgium before the arrival of the said Chappuis at Gravelinges, in which case he is to call on the said Vuersele (Wriothesly), chief of the embassy, giving him to understand most graciously that he cannot leave the country, and requesting him to accommodate himself to his master's commands, and not proceed on his way as long as the said Messire Eustache Chapuys continues in his dominions. Should the ambassador take no notice of this warning, and prepare to depart, then, in that case, esquire Wynacourt will show him his orders, and tell him that he will be arrested by the lieutenant-governor of Gravelinges.

* As will be observed, the name of the Imperial ambassador in England is here differently spelt in the same document.

1539.

If, however, the English embassy had by chance reached Gravelinges and embarked for England before the arrival of esquire Wynacourt in that port, the latter will return to Brussels without doing anything else, always keeping the object of his charge secret without communicating it to any one.—Brussels, 22 March* 1539.

23 March. **51.** MAIORIS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Rep. P. *Fasc.* 231, f. 11.

Your Majesty's letter of the 22nd inst. has come to hand, and, in obedience to the order conveyed in it, I will embark for England with the first fair wind.

Secretary Voiselay (Wriothesley),† the king of England's ambassador to your Majesty, arrived yesterday in Calais. Messire Eustace Chapuys and myself have accompanied him to dinner to day on the invitation of Monsieur le Debitis.‡ We have not heard him complain of any molestation or ill-treatment, and, therefore, there will be no need of excuses on our part, besides which Messire Eustace Chapuys tells me that his own letters have been misunderstood in reference to that ambassador's (Voyselay's) affair, and that he himself will explain what he meant when in Your Majesty's presence.—Calais, 23 Mars, 1538 [Old style].

French. Original. p. 1.

April. **52.** CONSULTATIONS at TOLEDO for writing DESPATCHES to ITALY.

S. E., L. 15.
B. M. Add. 28,591, f. 83.

Although the marquis de Aguilar writes that His Holiness is ready to fulfil his engagements with regard to the enterprise against the Turk, yet it is evident that he keeps aloof, making use of such arguments as the want of provisions and means, inefficient maritime force (his own galleys being, as he says, few and badly manned), insecurity on the part of France, and bad prospects on the side of Germany and England. The fact of the matter is that neither His Holiness nor the Venetians seem ready and willing to fulfil their engagements, but are looking out for means of postponing the enterprise or putting it off indefinitely. As on this point Andalot, the equerry, has already taken to Italy despatches and instructions both for the Marquis and for Lope de Soria in Venice, and Figueroa in Geneva, there remains nothing more for us (the councillors) to do than speak openly to the Papal Nuncio here, and, if possible, convince him that His Imperial Majesty is quite in earnest.

* The letter is evidently dated according to the old style,—Brussels, the XXII. of March XV.^c^XXXVIII. before Easter,—but, like others in this collection, the Editor has considered himself bound to calendar them in the chronological order already adopted.

† He had been Cromwell's secretary for some time.

‡ Chief of the Customs or Staples ?

1539.

With regard to Lorenço Gritti's journey to Constantinople, there is nothing to observe, save that it is in our opinion a further proof that Venice is trying to make its peace with the Turk. That agrees well with Giovan Joachino's ciphered letters, which the marquis del Gasto has forwarded, from which it would appear that Venice is actually in treaty with the Turk, though in case of a truce being concluded they will try to make it general.

The General Council and matters of Faith.—Nothing more to be done in this particular than to persist in what has been lately resolved, namely: to advise the departure of Dr. Mathias for Germany, as well as the provision he takes with him to communicate the answer made to the two dukes of Bavaria,* as well as the conversation with the Nuncio here; to write to Rome for the Pope to send in any case 50,000 ducats, so that they (the Germans) may join the defensive league as offered, and favor the Catholics; it being worthy of remark that the marquis de Aguilar tells us nothing of the Pope's answer to the overtures of the dukes of Bavaria made through their agent at Rome.

Cardinals.—It seems to us as if His Holiness' attempt to excuse himself with His Imperial Majesty for not raising to the purple the bishop of Orleans (Sanguin), as well as his not giving a cardinal's hat to the bishop of Geneva (La Baume), besides his not answering in plain terms who are the two other prelates he has reserved "*in pectore*," has proved unsuccessful, for no one here believes that the motives alleged by him are the real ones.

The Duchess (Margaret) and the cardinal of Santiago [Sarmiento].—The Marquis [de Aguilar] and Lope Hurtado are to try and arrange that the Duchess goes straight to Gaeta or to some other town in the estate of the duke of Castro (Farnese), and thence to Naples, grounding her journey to those parts on the necessity of appeasing or calming for a time the envy and growing enmity of the Farnese family, and also on His Holiness' avowed determination of sending to His Imperial Majesty as ambassador—the prefect of Rome.†

Respecting Camarino and the marquis of Aguilar's consultation, that ambassador must be written to, and instructed to do all he can for a speedy termination of the affair, on conditions most favorable for the duke of Urbino (Guidobaldo). As to the duchy itself, and its present claimant,

* There were at this time two dukes of Bavaria, William and Lewis, who held conjointly the ducal throne from 1508 to 1550.

† Sea para ir derecho á Gaeta, ó á algunas tierras del estado del duque de Castro para passar de alli á Napoles, fundando que con esto se sancaria mejor el enojo ó invidia que tienen los de la Casa Fernesia, y tambien por lo que el papa dize que quiere embiar á V. M^{d} el prefecto de Roma.

1539.

His Imperial Majesty has nothing to do with that. The Marquis, however, might be instructed, should he find an opportunity, to tell the Pope in the mildest possible terms that in the Emperor's opinion it would be dishonorable to retain Camarino, even for the Church, having so many times declared that he would never lay hands on it unless to do justice, which justice, however, must not be at this petitioner's expense, but at his (the Pope's) own.

With regard to Ascanio Colonna, the marquis de Aguilar ought to be told that since he (Colonna) persists in placing the arrangement of his differences in His Majesty's hands, he (Aguilar) must speak to the prince of Sulmona, making him understand in a confidential manner how awkward it would be for him to throw himself into the hands of the Pope in a case of that sort. As to the marriage of his (Colonna's) son with the daughter of the duke of Castro (Vittoria Farnese) the Pope must not in any manner suspect that His Imperial Majesty wishes to prevent it. Most likely as the engagement was made years ago, the matter may soon cool down*; besides which, as Ascanio's son is already out of his father's power, the latter could not counsel or enforce the match, and we might in the meantime think of bringing him to Spain, as was his mother's and prince Doria's wish.

On the marriage of the Duke's daughter with duke Cosmo there is nothing to be added to what has been said on previous occasions.—Rome [April 1539].

P.S.—Sena — Doria — Viceroy of Naples — Marquis del Gasto.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 5.

12 April. **53.** Ambassador Figueroa to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 14.
B. M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 87.

Received the Emperor's letters of the 27th February and 17th March by equerry Andalot†, who landed on the 26th ult., by which letters, as well as verbal information from the said equerry, he (Figueroa) has understood what his commission is with the Prince (Andrea Doria) and the Republic of Venice. The equerry left this for Venice ten days ago, on the 2nd; he went first to the residence of the marquis del Gasto, with whom he had a conference on the 3rd. Thence he went to Venice, but he has not written yet. As soon as an answer comes from the Signory on the two principal points of the equerry's mission, namely, the suspension of the enterprise owing to the season being already so far advanced, and the Venetians undertaking the defence of Castilnovo on the conditions described in the despatches to Lope de Soria, as well as to the viceroys of Naples and Sicily, he (Figueroa) will not fail to apprize the Emperor.

* "La platica resfriará." † *See* above, p. 137.

1539.

The money borrowed from bankers of this city on prince Doria's silver plate, as well as that which came in some time afterwards from the same source, and was handed over to the marquis del Gasto at the time that the king of France invaded Piedmont, has not yet been repaid. The Emperor and the high commander Cobos at Villafranca [di Nizza] last year gave bills on the Casa de Contratacion of Seville for 20,000 gold crowns; the remainder, amounting to 37,720 ducats in bills payable on the October fair at Medina del Campo, are still due, although the bishop of Badajoz* and the members of the Council of Finances were written to. Owing to that the Prince's silver plate is still in pawn, and besides that the Prince and I are responsible in His Majesty's name for the sum unpaid.

Out of the 30,000 ducats in bills on the Centurione, which commander Giron brought the galleys have been paid. Andrea Doria is about to send one of his own to Barcelona, in which Adam Centurione is going on his own private business. Mons. de Prat (Praet), who is expected here to-morrow, will also go in her.

Lorenço Gritti.—The marquis del Gasto has come to visit Andrea Doria; he will return to Milan to-morrow.

Enclosed are letters from Lope de Soria and from the viceroy of Sicily (Gonzaga).—Genoa, 22 April 1539.

Signed: "Gomez Suarez de Figueroa."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

13 April. **54.** The MARQUIS DE AGUILAR to the SAME.

S.E., L. 15.
B. M. *Add.* 28,591, *f.* 90.

Is in receipt of the Imperial despatch brought on the 8th inst. from Genoa by esquire Andalot, who left for Venice the day after.

The bishop of Astorga died in three days.† Signora Costança, who a few months ago petitioned in vain for the bishopric of Pamplona for her son, cardinal Sancta Fiore, has now applied for that vacant See. As the Emperor knows quite well how devoted that lady is to His Imperial service, and what services her sons, the Cardinal and the Count, have rendered to the Imperial cause, besides those which she herself has rendered in the Duchess' business, he (Aguilar) does not hesitate to recommend both her and the Cardinal‡ to His Majesty's attention.

* Don Geronimo Suarez till September 1545.

† Alvaro Osorio, from 1515 to 1539. Gams places his death on the tenth of April.

‡ Bosio Sforza, count of Santa Fiore, had by Costanza Farnese, his wife, four sons—Guy Ascanio, and Alessandro, both of whom became cardinals, Mario and Carlo, who followed the career of arms. The former was *count of Valmontone*, the latter *prior of Lombardy*. Yet there must have been another son of Bosio Sforza and Costanza Farnese, for the author of the *Genealogies Historiques*, Vol. II., p. 227, mentions one Ascanio, count of Santa Fiore, who died in 1575, and was much attached to the Emperor. In this passage the Cardinal must be Guy Ascanio, born in 1518, cardinal 1534, whose death took place in 1565.

1539.

Has been with His Holiness twice since the arrival of Andalot. The principal affairs discussed have been: 1st. The undertaking against the Turk. His Holiness said he was sorry to hear that the Emperor was not coming to Italy, to put himself at the head of his army. He (the Pope) had no doubt, indeed he was almost certain, that the Venetians were actually negociating with the Turk for a truce or peace, and that had His Majesty come to Italy, they would never have dared to do so by themselves; besides which the truce, if obtained, would have been more advantageous and reputable, matters in Germany might have been better adjusted, the peace with king John of Hungary confirmed, and the bad state of England remedied.

With the Emperor's answer to cardinal Pole, which the Pope has heard by his letters, as well as by those of his Nuncio at the Imperial Court, His Holiness is anything but pleased, showing his disappointment upon every occasion. That is why, the other day, talking with him on the subject, he (Aguilar) read to him the copy of the Emperor's letter to his ambassador in France, stating that the resolution of the Papal monition had not been officially communicated to him, and possibly not to the King either. The Pope's reply was that his Nuncio at the Imperial Court had by his order consulted the Emperor about it, the answer being that His Imperial Majesty approved of the whole plan. "Whereas (added the Pope) nowadays my Nuncio writes that the English question is being debated between the Cardinal and him on one side, and the Emperor's Privy Councillors on the other. The latter had owned that it was so; but that the term fixed in the letters of monition had already expired, so that the king of England had no time left him within which he might offer his excuses as His Majesty thought. "But that was not my intention (replied the Pope), nor was there anything about it in my instructions to the Cardinal. The help and assistance which I asked from the Emperor and from the Most Christian king of France for the execution of the letters of monition was not for the purpose of taking up arms immediately against the king of England, but merely depriving him of the intercourse of trade, which I consider of as much importance as a declaration of war, inasmuch as trade once interdicted, his subjects are sure to rise in revolt, expel him from his kingdom, and perhaps also kill him. I know very well that war cannot be made upon England unless a universal peace with the Turk be concluded first, and, therefore, the measure of interdicting trade can in nowise affect the undertaking against the Infidel. Nor could it harm the negociations with the Separatists, either because, in my opinion, were the undertaking to be executed, such*

* By the Cardinal, Alessandro Farnese is here meant, for he was at the time legate in Spain. The Nuncio was still Poggio.

1539.

is the respect which the Germans entertain for the Emperor, and also for his brother, the king of the Romans, that they would not dare join the king of England for the sake only of avoiding the loss of their trade, since the Most Christian himself has many a time written that he will be very glad to forbid trade with England in his dominions provided the Emperor does the same in his, and also to help and proceed against the king of that country in the manner the Emperor thinks most fit and efficient. Now that the king of France is so well disposed I should like the Emperor to help and assist me to prosecute my plans, and not raise difficulties, for otherwise the opportunity will slip and perhaps, too, never appear again."

His (Aguilar's) answer was in conformity with the Emperor's last letter. Told the Pope that he knew well that the Emperor's zeal for the Faith and Christian religion, the honor of the Apostolic See and his holy person, were such that he would never find him in fault. He (the Emperor) was animated with the same sentiments as himself in all that concerned the remedy needed for English affairs; but reason and the present state of things demanded that the most efficacious and surest means should be employed, so that when cutting off the head of the serpent, as His Holiness declared to be necessary, seven other heads should not rise up instead. In short, that after seeing the opinion in writing of the Most Christian respecting the difficulties of the affair itself, His Holiness might be sure that His Imperial Majesty will do his duty in everything touching Apostolic authority and His Holiness' person.

Has heard by the last courier from the queen of Hungary, in Flanders, as well as from the Imperial ambassador in England, that the one who resided there for the King of France had left that court, and that very shortly he himself (Chapuys) would do the same, owing to the queen of Hungary having sent for him. His Holiness had received the same news from other quarters, with the addition that the two ambassadors, *i.e.*, the Imperial and that of the Most Christian, had quitted London together and at the same time, from which His Holiness gathered that the Emperor and the king of France had agreed to suspend trade with England.

With regard to the General Council, three motions were made in the last consistory held before the Holy Week, namely, to open it at once, to prorogue it, or to close it altogether. The majority of the cardinals were in favour of the opening, but since then it appears that most have changed their mind, and voted for the closing. Having heard this much from one of the cardinals, he (Aguilar) went to the Pope and asked His Holiness point blank what had been resolved. Told him at the same time what he knew of Dr. Mathias and another person on the part of the Separatists going to the Emperor, and that he (Aguilar) was daily expecting instructions on

1539.

that point. Spoke to him of the rumour afloat that he (the Pope) had decided for the closure, but that a suspension seemed more expedient and acceptable. His answer was that something of the kind had been already, and would again be, proposed in order to select that which seemed the better course—suspension or closure. The former measure (he said), after so many prorogations, seemed to him a dangerous course to follow, on account of the loss of authority it would entail, and also because people would naturally say that the Council had been initiated and convoked merely " pro forma." *Even if it were to be closed now (added the Pope) there would be no difficulty in re-opening it when convenient. Poggio himself thought so, and had written to him (the Pope) that within ten days he would send him the Emperor's decision thereupon. Nevertheless he (Aguilar) has persisted, and will persist, in the suspension; the more so that the French ambassador tells him that His Holiness has assured him that he intends sending legates to continue or prorogue the Council, and that he himself intends to preside at the opening and then close it. This message he (the Pope) gave the other day for the French ambassador to convey to his master; and, if so, the measure, after all, does not seem so inconvenient as that of closing it altogether, since by one single prelate protesting against it, the Council can be kept open all the time that may be necessary.*

After this His Holiness held a congregation, wherein the prorogation was decided upon. Cardinal Santa Croce having been sent to Vicenza for the purpose of announcing the suspension, Ginuciis (Ghinucci) and Bologna said at the meeting that the legates ought not to be sent until a notice had come from the Emperor and from the Most Christian, both of which notices were expected soon. After the congregation, the former of those cardinals remained behind in order to speak to the Pope on the subject, and the consequence was that the latter changed his opinion, and decided not to send the legates until he actually heard from His Imperial Majesty.

Letters from the Spanish prelates to the Pope urging the expediting of the bull concerning the first fruits—Bull of dispensation [of marriage] for the commanders of the Military Orders—Cardinals' hats—

He (Aguilar) has hitherto been unable to get the cardinal's hat for the bishop of Geneva, though the Pope still promises to appoint him on a future occasion. Neither has he (Aguilar) been able to ascertain the names of those ecclesiastics whom His Holiness reserves *in pectore* for that high dignity of the Church. He affirms and maintains that he never promised, and that if at Genoa any reference was made to a reserved hat, he understood that the ecclesiastic meant was no other than the old man,* which would then make no less than

* Labaume?

1539.

five cardinals' hats for the Emperor's subjects only.* His Holiness complained of his (Aguilar's), saying that had his (the Pope's) answer on this business been faithfully reported, there would have been no such insistence on the part of the Imperial Court. His Holiness further says that his Nuncio, debating this very affair with the Emperor's privy councillors, had distinctly declared to them that His Holiness had never made such a concession.

This last statement was made so passionately, and in such angry words, that there is every reason to suspect that the Pope's ill-humour proceeds from no other cause but his own discontent and annoyance at the result of the last creation. Indeed, His Holiness is not at all satisfied with the issue of certain affairs, like that of Sena, Cosmo's marriage, and others, which have not turned out exactly as he wished. A letter lately received from his Nuncio [in Spain] must also have put him out of humour. Indeed, that ecclesiastic (Poggio) tells him, no doubt with the best intention, that he has had much to do to appease and calm the Emperor in the Camarino affair, and in this one of the hats. *Nor does he seem less disappointed at the turn the English business is taking, a business which he has much at heart, as His Imperial Majesty must know by this time. Talking lately to him on this subject, and on the Emperor's probable inability to come to Italy this year, owing to the advanced season, he (Aguilar) observed that he (the Pope) no longer laid such a stress on the danger of the Emperor's absence, as if he thought this to be a better chance for his own projects against England, which projects, as stated above, seem to occupy all his thoughts just now.*

Lope Hurtado and Duchess Margaret—The five bishops of Hungary—Bishop of Transylvania—Secretary Gabriel Sanchez, Ferdinand's agent at Rome.

Viceroy of Naples and Mme. [Margaret's] affairs. The 300,000 ducats of her dowry to be deposited in Ansaldo Grimaldo's bank. Mme. Margarita to go to her estates in Naples; His Holiness wishes that Ottavio Farnese, her husband, should go also thither, that both may live together under the same roof.

Recommends warmly cardinals Sancta Croce and Symoneta: this latter worked admirably once in the English business, as His Imperial Majesty well knows, and is now doing the same in any other matter of importance that passes through his hands, or those of cardinal Ginuciis (Ghinucci). — Roma, 13 April 1539.

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

* "En fin se refiere á lo que ha dicho, affirmando enteramente que nunca tal concedió á V. M[t] y que si en Genova se le habló en reservado, siempre entendió por el viejo, y que con aquel eran cinco los capelos concedidos á subditos de V. M."

1539.

16 April. **55.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E., L. 15.
B. M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 106.

His Holiness has retained the Nuncio's secretary two days running in the expectation of news from France. Yesterday a secretary of cardinal Ferrara (Ipollito d'Este), who left the court of the Most Christian, arrived here [at Rome] and related in substance what follows:—

He said that on cardinal Pole's arrival at Girona, he suddenly became afraid of the ambushes laid for him by the king of England, especially, through a certain emigrant or exile from England, to whom the King of that country had promised the pardon of all his misdeeds and crimes provided he should slay the Cardinal.† On that account the Cardinal did not journey beyond that town, but sent to an abbot who frequents the court of the Most Christian a report of the audience he had had from the Emperor, as well as of the answer the latter had made him. The abbot had gone to the French court and delivered the Cardinal's report, but he had not yet obtained an answer, owing to the King wishing to wait for the arrival of the cardinal of Scotland,‡ with whom he was to communicate this and other affairs relating to England.*

The Most Christian had assured him that no event, however untoward, would disturb his peace with the Emperor. The bishop of Tarbes had written to a friend of his, who showed the letter to the Nuncio, confirming the King's words, and telling him to consider the peace as most certain. *His Holiness says that although the news seems good and highly acceptable, he cannot cast away from him the suspicion he entertains about the Venetians and also about the French.* Shewed him a letter from Dalmatia, of the 1st inst., advising that as the governor of Clipsa (Clyssa) was laying siege to a town in the Venetian territory called Salona, Lorenço Gritti, who had lately gone from Venice to the Turk, arrived there from Constantinople. Gritti went straight to the captain and told him that he was the bearer of peace between the Grand Turk and the Signory of Venice, and shewed him letters to that effect, which, after being read, were thrown into the fire and committed to the flames. Upon which the Turkish governor withdrew his army from before Salona, peace was proclaimed, and rejoicings took place in consequence. Then both the governor and Lorenço Gritti dined together on board one of the galleys, which the Venetians had there for the protection of that coast.

There is no saying what displeasure and sorrow His Holiness has shown at the receipt of this intelligence. *If the news be true, as is generally believed (says the Pope), this cannot have been done without a certain participation of the king of France. This very afternoon as the two ambassadors of Venice,*

* "La Gironde." † *See* Vol. IV., Part II. ‡ Betoun.

1539.

the old one and the new, and he (Aguilar) were discoursing with His Holiness on the Camarino business, the Pope took out of his pocket the above-mentioned letter of news, and read it in the presence of the Venetian ambassadors, who said they knew nothing about it, upon which he (Aguilar), under pretence that he had business to transact, took leave of His Holiness and retired.

Andalot has not yet returned from Venice. No news from Lope de Soria.

His Holiness has announced his departure on the 22nd or 23rd inst. for Our Lady of Loreto and Camarino, intending to return at Whitsuntide.*

The dowager duchess of Camarino refuses to accept the 16,000 ducats of her dowry, and the Casale (Palace) of Rome in exchange for the cession of her rights to that duchy. The duke of Urbino (Guidobaldo della Rovere) and his wife have written to say that they are glad to make the cession of theirs in the manner preconcerted, and on the payment of 84,000 crs. The Pope has agreed, and issued orders to his Treasury for the payment.

Mme. Margarita has been slightly indisposed with fainting fits, but is now better.—Rome, 16 April 1539.

Signed : "Marquis de Aguilar."

Addressed : "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor, and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

19 April. **56.** INSTRUCTION to DON DIEGO HURTADO DE MENDOZA.

S.E., P. Rl. Diversos de Italia Venecia A.

Having decided to employ elsewhere D. Lope de Soria, Our ambassador to the Signory of Venice, We have chosen you to represent Us there with the Signory.

Don Lope has orders to remain at Venice at least fifteen days after your arrival, that he may acquaint you with the state of Our relations with that Republic.

You are to keep up constant communication and correspondence with the marquis de Aguilar, and inform me of whatever incidents may happen or come to your knowledge respecting the League and the enterprise against the Turk.

The same may be said concerning prince Doria, marquis del Gasto, the viceroys of Naples and Sicily, Our ambassador to Genoa, and other ministers in Italy.

To report to Us and to Our brother, the king of the Romans, all the news you may get there, or any information you may obtain concerning the Turk.

Of the services of Ferrer Beltran, Catalonian merchant, residing in that city, you may make such use as you think proper. We recommend him to your notice as being a faithful subject, well inclined to Our service.

* Pascua de Spiritu Santo.

1539.

Martin Çornoça,* resident consul of the Spaniards at Venice, has been of much use to former ambassadors; you had better employ him whenever you want his services, for he is a very worthy man, well experienced in the affairs of that Republic. —Toledo, 19 April 1539.†

Signed: "To el Rey."

Countersigned: "Idiaquez."

19 April. **57.** The Marquis de Aguilar to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 868, f. 13. B. M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 145.

I had hardly finished writing my despatch of the 16th when Your Majesty's letters of the 21st of March and 22nd inst. came to hand, announcing the Empress' death. Told the Pope of it, who will send Cardinal Farnese to offer his condolences.

With reference to the Council, His Holiness showed me what his legate had written respecting the Emperor's opinion, and the difficulties attending its meeting, for, in the first place, many of the prelates could not come, and the king of the Romans has sent him word by his Nuncio that should the proceeding be hurried on, some impediment might supervene to thwart the good beginning and demonstrations made by the heretics; L'Esleu d'Orange has said the same on the part of king Francis.

I have heard that since the armistice the Venetians have refused to give the town of Vicenza for the celebration of it. Will try to ascertain what the Pope's intentions are respecting this.—Rome, 19 April 1539.

Signed: "El Marques de Aguilar."

Addressed: To the Most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor, and King, our Lord.

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

25 April. **58.** Luis Sarmiento [de Mendoza] to the Emperor.

S. E. Port., L. 371, ff. 244-6. B. M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 127.

The King sent for me yesterday, and said that the Queen's confinement, which took place during the Holy Week, and various engagements had prevented his conversing with me on the proposed marriage of the Infanta Doña Maria, his sister, and that now he was about to tell me what his wishes were in that particular. The Infanta, his daughter, was already a woman, and though she was not so old as the Infanta, his sister, yet she was as much developed. That, in the present state of his finances, he could not well furnish the dowry

* Martin de Çornoça, Imperial consul in Venice, Vol. V., Part IV., pp. 233-7.

† The date as in the copy before me: *Dat. en Toledo á XIX. de Abril de MDXXXI. años;* but this must be a mistake of the clerk, or, more probably, of the copyist, who, instead of MDXXXIX., by omitting the last X, made it 1531.

1539.

of one, much less of the two princesses. He had, therefore, decided to have his own daughter married first, especially after the many letters that had passed between Your Imperial Majesty and himself on the subject. He had, moreover, heard from France that it was publicly reported there that his sister was about to be married to the son of the king of the Romans, and that in order to declare to me his intentions and wishes as to that he had deliberately sent for me. He did not expressly desire me to write home, yet he could hardly believe that I should not inform Your Imperial Majesty thereof.

My impression is that the King is not in favor of either marriage now, and that he only wants to gain time, so as not to have to lug out the dowry. The age of the Infanta, his sister, will not henceforwards admit of much delay, and, therefore, before the negociation cools down, it will be necessary to inform the queen of France, the Infanta's mother, that she may declare her intention and wish on this point to the King, since after all it is those two whom the affair concerns more particularly.*

The Papal Nuncio here said the other day to me, that when King Francis proposed the marriage of his eldest son, the Dauphin, who died, with the Infanta, an application had been made to Rome for the brief dispensing queen Doña Maria's marriage with king Dom Manoel, and that although a most scrupulous search had been instituted then and many a time since, in the interest of Portugal, the bull of dispensation had not been found. Many people here say the same. If so, the only legitimate daughter of king Dom Manoel is the Infanta Doña Maria. This is so important a fact that it would be desirable to arrive at the truth, for if this king knows of it, he will prevent, as long as he can, the marriage of his own sister, and I must surmise that his behaviour, as well as the nature of her education and treatment, makes me suspect that there must be something of the kind.†

The King told me also that he had news from his possessions in Africa, that merchants and other persons of those kingdoms of Your Majesty were continually sending over great quantities of arms to sell to the Moors; that in Fez alone there were more war implements of Castilian manufacture for sale than could be made at Milan itself; that spears were smuggled inside bamboo-canes, and smaller arms concealed among goods. He begged me to write to Your Majesty about this, and ask that a commerce so injurious to the Christians of both Your Majesty's kingdoms and his should be stopped.

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* "La hedad (*sic*) de la Señora Infanta su hermana ya de aqui en adelante no lo sufre, y antes questa platica pasasse mas adelante seria necessario que la Christianissima reina, su madre, supiesse esto y sa declarasse en esto, su voluntad con el Rey, pues es á quien, mas toca."

† "Y segun la manera que en esto lleva y su crianza y govierno de ella, algo de esto debe de haves."

1539.

Whilst conversing on the above matters two couriers arrived with the news of the Empress' confinement. He (the King) was glad to hear that the mother was doing well, though sorry to hear of the death of her son. The Queen and the Infante Dom Luis begged me to express the same sentiments on the occasion.*

The Prince has been, and is still, ill with the small-pox, having intermittent fever. He is now in the 12th day of his illness, cannot eat anything, and has been seized with diarrhœa, which is often dangerous in boys seized by the small-pox.—Lisbon, XXV. of April, MDXXXIX.

Signed: "Luys Sarmiento de Mendoza."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

27 April. **59.** Prince Doria to the Same.

S E., L. 1371, f. 170. B. M. *Add.* 28,391, f. 130.

As no one could give Your Majesty a better account of the resolution taken by His Holiness and the Venetians as Sr. Andalot,† who has intervened in all the affairs concerning the League and the enterprise against the Turk, I will not detain him, that he may arrive at Barcelona before the departture of Miçer Adam Centurione. I will, therefore, refer Your Majesty to him entirely.—Genoa, 27 April 1539.

Signed: "Andrea Doria."

Italian. Original. p. 1.

28 April. **60.** Maioris to the Queen of Hungary.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.* C. 231, ff. 12–3.

Although since my arrival here, nearly two months ago,‡ I think I have done faithfully my duty—writing to and informing Your Majesty of whatever has come under my notice, yet during my stay here I have received no letters in answer to my despatches, which naturally has thrown me into a state of perplexity and doubt. This has been considerably increased by the fact that up to this time I am completely ignorant when and how I am to get any money to cover my personal expenses, which will be considerable, if I am to represent duly the Emperor and Your Majesty at this English court. That is the reason why I would beg your Majesty to provide speedily for my wants, as otherwise it would be impossible for me to bear such a burden as this embassy is. Should there be no likelihood of my being able to return home before St. John's Day, I would beg and entreat Your Majesty to send notice to my colleagues in the Chapter of Cambray that I am actually employed in the Emperor's service, in order that during the

* The confinement was followed by her death on the 1st of May.

† Esquire Jean d'Andalot, whose mission to Venice has already been recorded.

‡ No doubt his arrival at Calais is meant. *See* above, p. 134.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES TRIAL

1539.

present year, 1539, they may consider me as resident, and pay me my wages as usual, for, otherwise, I should be the loser by a considerable sum. Some time before my departure I gave notice of this to the Chapter, but they answered me saying that I should be back in six weeks. As that can no longer be the case, and there is every probability of my remaining in this country till after St. John's, I again pray and beseech Your Majesty not to forget me.

The King goes on making preparations for war. It was thought at first of having a general muster passed in this town, but the councillors have since changed their mind, and separate ones are now being made for each parish; the former measure would probably not have been carried out without danger.*

On Wednesday last eight Germans arrived here, among whom is a Chancellor of the duke of Saxony. There is a rumour that more of them are coming, in order to attend the meeting of Parliament which is to be convoked next week. It is to be feared that the business discussed therein will be anything but agreeable. I have not yet obtained permission to go and present my respects to the King, and communicate to the Princess the friendly commendations with which I have been intrusted. The Princess is very sorry, and so am I also. To my continual applications and requests, the answer is that I must have patience and wait. I hope, however, that in the end, the permission to see the King will be forthcoming.—Londres, 28 April 1539.

Signed: "Maioris."

French. Original. pp. 2.

4 May.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep. Fasc.* 231, ff. 14–5.

61. The SAME to the SAME.

I am in receipt of letters from Your Majesty of the 16th and 20th ult., together with a memorial from certain merchants, the Emperor's subjects, complaining of the mayor of this town. I had made up my mind to call on the Preveseel (Lord Privy Seal), and after hearing what he had to say in answer to the complaint of the merchants, to go, if the result were unfavorable, to the king himself and speak about it; but finding that the Lord Privy Seal was ill with fever, I had reluctantly to postpone my call. As soon as I have seen him, and perhaps also the King, I shall not fail to inform Your Majesty of the result.

The Parliament of which I wrote in my last commenced last Monday. It holds its sessions in Westminster, in the presence

* "Le roy continue tousjours [a] soy preparer à la guerre. Lon avoit advise faire les montres generales de cheulx de ceste ville; mays le conseil est changie et se font seullement particulieres par paroisses, et est vraysemblable que la grosse multitude n'eust este sans peril."

1539.

of the King, and of many lords of England and other countries. There is a fear that the business done therein will be rather disagreeable for us, considering that the deputies of the duke of Saxony, and others from Lubeck, have since arrived, all of whom are to be present in the English Parliament.

The ambassador of France has shown me letters he has received from the High Constable (Montmorency), wherein it is stated that the affairs between the Emperor and the King, his master, are going on prosperously, and that their friendship is gradually increasing; that, in fact, both princes are on much better terms than they ever were before. In the letter to which I allude, the ambassador is ordered to communicate with me on all matters of importance during my stay in this court, and, should I happen to go away, with my successor, whoever he may be.

The general muster of the inhabitants of this town, of which I spoke in my former despatch, has not yet been made, nor do I know now whether it will take place at all.—London, 4 May 1539.

Signed: "Maioris."

French. Original. pp. 2.

16 May. **62.** The MARQUIS DE AGUILAR to the EMPEROR.

S. E. Roma, L. 868, f. 2.
B. M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 131.

Since writing to Your Majesty by esquire Andalot, two envoys have come from the court of the Most Christian king of France, namely, Latino Juvenal and the Esleu d'Orange,* secretary to the Grand Master of France (Anne de Montmorency.)

As soon as the said Esleu d'Orange arrived the French ambassador informed me of it, adding that he had orders from his master to communicate the whole of his charge.† He was to assure the Pope in Francis' name of the great friendship now existing between him and Your Majesty, as well as of his perfect conformity of views with respect to the king of England, and his determination to act in that matter conjointly with Your Majesty. The ambassador wished to know my opinion on the subject, and whether Your Majesty had, or had not, written

* A Roman ecclesiastic employed by Pope Paul III. on various missions. As to L'Esleu d'Orange, or bishop elect of that place in France, Montmorency's secretary, his name was Cristophe de Surennes.

† This despatch, like many others, has marginal notes in the hand of Cobos. The first, facing this paragraph, reads thus: "Let the Imperial ambassador treat the French one confidentially, and be on friendly terms with him, in pursuance of the instructions forwarded to him; but let him at the same time be on his guard, and try to ascertain whether he has another charge from his master. All we know about him here is that he has gone to Rome, principally to procure a cardinal's hat for the archbishop of Paris."

1539.

to me concerning the stipulations previously agreed to between the parties, as stated in my despatch of the 9th of March. Having answered him that I had not yet received an answer to that despatch, but that I expected to have one by the first post, it was then agreed between them not to speak to the Pope on the subject except in general terms, assuring His Holiness, without entering into more particulars, of the perfect conformity of ideas, good-will, and readiness of Your Majesty and the king of France to co-operate in remedying English affairs.

On the same day L'Esleu went to kiss the Pope's foot, and to-day he has come to me to say that he had spoken to His Holiness in exactly the same terms previously concerted with me. He had also assured him that in the negociation of the present peace between Your Majesty and the king of France nothing had happened of which he had not been informed by the King, his master. *From which words, and others I have picked up from the ambassador's lips, I come to the conclusion that ere this the Pope has heard from the French something about the marriages in contemplation; or, perhaps, that they have shown him a copy of the articles relating to them. The Esleu has not yet told me what other charge he has; if he does, I shall not fail to apprize Your Majesty.*

Were I called upon to give an opinion on this affair, I should say that as the Pope has often complained privately and publicly of his not having been made principal negociator and promoter of this peace, and king Francis must have heard of this through his ambassador, the King is now sending the Esleu d'Orange to give satisfaction and offer excuses, and at the same time insinuate that he is more confidential with him than Your Majesty is.

Respecting the cardinals' hats, dispensation to Commanders, and first fruits, no progress has been made, His Holiness still insisting that he will grant these three things together, that the delay is for Your Majesty's good, &c. The bull for the first fruits for the undertaking against England he will readily grant when that is decided upon.

Margaret's dowry—Medici property in Rome—Cosmo, duke of Florence.

General Council.—His Holiness wonders much that Your Majesty has not yet sent a written opinion on the Council, as his Nuncio led him to expect. Cardinal Symonetta, who is to be the next legate, has not yet left Rome.

With regard to the Confirmation of the five Hungarian bishops, I have received a letter from the king of the Romans (Ferdinand) desiring me to interfere and prevent it, because, he says, king John is delaying as much as he can the publication of the peace in his dominions, is not at all sincere in the matter, and besides that has occupied, one way or other, many territories and districts belonging to him. I have

1539.

spoken to the Pope, and the King's secretary here * has also done so, but His Holiness persists in saying that he cannot do less than confirm the said bishops, who, by applying to the Apostolic See, show their disposition to obey its prescriptions; otherwise they might despair and do worse.

Prince Doria has sent commander Giron to Naples to urge the provision and pay for the garrison of Castilnovo. I myself spoke to His Holiness about it, representing how unjust it was that Your Majesty should bear all the expenses of a place conquered in the name, and for the exclusive advantage, of the League. He excused himself by saying that he could not contribute without the concurrence of the Venetians, to whom no application could be made until they saw clearly how their negociations with the Turk would end.†

There is, as I am told, some treaty on foot for the marriage of a son of Ascanio Colonna with the sister of Ottavio [Farnese], or else with one of the daughters of Sa. Costanza; and although Ascanio has hitherto been rather opposed to it, they tell me that he is no longer so, thinking he may thereby get some influence in the law-suit he has with the Prince of Sulmona.‡ Another of Sa. Costanza's daughters has to my certain knowledge been promised to Vespasiano Colonna, son of the Princess of Sulmona.§

The Benedictine abbey of Il Parco, in Sicily, has, it is said, been vacated by the death of one Francisco Sanchez. It is worth more than 2,000 ducats a year. Though one of Your Majesty's presentation, His Holiness has already bestowed it upon cardinal Farnese, counting upon Your Majesty's approval. I beg that if there be any means of remunerating auditor Mohedano's services with some small pension upon it, he may not be forgotten.‖

The duke of Castro (Pier Luigi Farnese), at His Holiness' instigation, has lately proposed that since Your Majesty has not yet given him the lands and vassals promised in Naples for the investment of the 15,000 crs., and there is so much delay in that, His Holiness might take the 300,000 crs. of the dower, and give to Ottavio the Camarino estate. To the person who came to me with the message, I said that Your Majesty will never consent to that. The money is to be laid out in Naples according to contract, and His Holiness, in consideration for the advantages of a marriage like that of the

* Gabriel Sanchez.

† It would be but just that all the confederates should contribute towards the defence of Castilnovo; but all excuse themselves, and consequently the expense falls on His Majesty. The ambassador is to insist upon that.

‡ The Imperial ambassador is to try that the law-suit remain as it were in the hands of His Imperial Majesty, according to instructions sent on the subject; if so, the marriage will in a certain manner depend upon His Majesty.

§ This princess of Sulmona was the widow of Lannoy. At her husband's death, in 1527, she married Ascanio Colonna, whose son, Vespasiano, inherited the title and the estate.

‖ The abbey had already been disposed of, His Majesty having bestowed it upon an ecclesiastic of the kingdom [of Naples].

1539.

Duchess, is bound to do both the one and the other. Enclosed are two breves for the Crusada.—Rome, 16 May 1539.

Signed : "El Marques de Aguilar."

Addressed : "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor, and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 9.

19 May. **63.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E., L. 15, Sec. de G. M. y T., B. M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 141.

After writing by Andalot, there came here (to Rome) Latino Juvenal, accompanied by the Esleu d'Orange, the Constable's secretary. No sooner had he arrived than the ambassador of France sent me a message to the effect that he (Latino Juvenal) had orders from the King, his master, to communicate to me the substance of his mission to the Pope. This consisted of two points: one was to inform His Holiness of the continuance, nay, increase, of friendship between Your Majesty and the king of France; the other to acquaint him with his entire consent and readiness to join in any plans that might be formed respecting England. Having asked him whether his master had reliable intelligence from Spain as to that, the ambassador answered me in the negative, upon which it was agreed between us that the Esleu had better speak of the matter in general terms, and limit himself to mentioning his master's conformity and goodwill concerning the remedy of the evils in England.

Let the Imperial ambassador treat the French one confidentially, and live on friendly terms with him, in pursuance of the instructions already forwarded to him; but let him at the same time be on his guard, and try to ascertain whether he has some other charge from his master.

On the very same day of his arrival,* the Esleu went to kiss the Pope's foot, and state the object of his mission. He spoke to him in the very terms preconcerted between us, laying a stress on the peace between Your Majesty and the king of France, and assuring him that nothing had occurred during the negociations of which he

* On the 13th. L'Esleu d'Orange, Montmorency's secretary, must be Cristophe de Surennes, *v.* Vol. V., Part II., pp. 460–2.

1539.

had not been apprized. But from a few words which he (the Pope) uttered in reply, and others I have heard elsewhere, I fancy that His Holiness must already have known something about the proposed marriages, and that even some articles of the treaty referring to them had previously been shown to him. That is, at least, what the Esleu has told me; should I learn anything more about this I will report.

Our information here is that he went to Rome chiefly for the purpose of soliciting a cardinal's hat for the archbishop of Paris.*

In my opinion the real object of L'Esleu's mission has been to give some sort of satisfaction to His Holiness for his not having been made principal promoter and head, as it were, of the peace now being negociated.

In the affair of the hats and half fruits, as well as in that of the dispensation to the Commanders [of the Military Orders],† no progress whatever has been made; nor do I see any hope of success for the present, the Pope being discontented and in bad humour, owing (as he says) to this peace not being a complete one, but merely a truce or suspension of hostilities, likely to endanger Christendom.

As to the half fruits, His Holiness intends only to grant them for the enterprize against England, not for any other purpose.

The viceroy of Naples [Toledo] writes that there is no available means at present of giving the Pope the 15,000 ducats annual rent which he asks for. He will, however, do his best to have the 300,000 duc. deposited in Ansaldo's bank. His Holiness shows displeasure at Your Majesty not having decided in favour of the Duchess‡ the suit for the Medici property [at Florence], and causing the action to be suspended. Though he himself has

* Jean du Bellay.

† The dispensation for them to marry, which was at last obtained in 1541.

‡ Margaret, the Emperor's natural daughter, already betrothed to Ottavio Farnese, son of Pier Luigi.

1539.

said nothing to me about it, I know that he has complained in other quarters, saying that Your Majesty had shown more partiality for the duke Cosmo than for him (the Pope) or for the Duchess, your daughter. I have told him that if the suit is actually suspended it is for the sole purpose of inquiry, &c. Another of his complaints is that no answer has come to his letter on the business of the General Council.

Cardinal Simonetta, His Holiness' legate *a latere* for the Council has not yet taken his departure.

The Duchess [Margaret] is in better health and spirits since she has been residing at her own house.

I have received letters from the king of the Romans ordering me to prevent the confirmation by His Holiness of the Hungarian bishops. Spoke to the Pope about that, though in vain; for he says that the prelates of that kingdom have asked for it, and that he cannot see his way to refuse their application. Were he to do so, greater inconveniences might result. He will, however, do his best to prevent it, but he fears that he will not be successful.

Prince Doria and Castilnovo.—A rumour is afloat here of the marriage of Ottavio Farnese's sister, and of one of the daughters of Signora Costanza, with the son of Ascanio Colonna; and although the latter has been rather hard at first, he is no longer so, owing to a law-suit of his with the Prince and Princess of Sulmona, in which he expects to be assisted by the Farnese. Another daughter of Signora Costanza is to be married to Vespasiano Colonna, son of Doña Isabel Colonna.

The duke de Castro says that since Your Majesty will not give him the 15,000 duc. on Naples, the Pope had better take the 300,000 crowns (*scuti*) and give Camarino to him.

The ambassador did well in rejecting a proposition of that kind. That is a thing not to be thought of. It would be a disreputable transaction altogether.

1539.

To thank the Pope for them.

Praises to the ambassador for his conduct in this affair, and let him continue, as hitherto, attending to what the King may write to him on the subject.

Breves (two) of the Crusade.

With regard to the Council, the Pope said that since his Nuncio in Spain had represented the difficulty there would be for the prelates to attend, and that of Germany says that any hasty proceedings in that matter might cause some alteration in the good beginning and demonstrations the Separatists have lately made, and L'Esleu having told him that such was the desire of the king of France, he had resolved to go on slowly with it and await events; the more so that the Venetians on the expiration of the truce had refused to give Vicenza for the purpose.

The abbey had already been granted to another. The Pope ought to have more respect for such things than he has.

The abbey of Parco, given to card. Farnese. The Pope is expecting Your Majesty's presentation.

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

19 May. **64.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. Roma, L. 868, f. 3, B. M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 147.

Has learned by the Emperor's letter of the 2nd inst. the Empress' death.* Told the Pope of it, who is about to send cardinal Farnese to offer condolences, &c. Believes that the Cardinal will also be the bearer of instructions on other matters.

His Holiness, while on the subject of the General Council, told him (Aguilar) what his legate [in Spain] had written respecting it. In the Emperor's opinion there would be some difficulty in the prelates attending. The king of the Romans (said the Pope) had given his Nuncio to understand that should the proceedings be hurried on, some impediment might arise and check the good beginning and demonstrations of the heretics. L'Esleu d'Orange had made the same statement on behalf of the king of France.

Has heard that after the armistice the Venetians refused to give up the town of Vicenza for the celebration of the General Council. Will try to ascertain how the Pope will act after that.—Rome, 19 May 1539.

Signed: "El Marques de Aguilar."

Spanish. Original. p. 1½.

* The Empress Isabella died after her confinement at Toledo, at that time the capital of Spain, on the 1st of May of this year. She was the daughter of king Dom Manoel of Portugal and Maria, daughter of the Catholic sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, and, therefore, Charles' first cousin. Born on the 25th of October, she married the Emperor in October 1525. *See* Florez, *Reinas Catolicas de España*, Vol. II. p. 362.

1539.

4 June. **65.** The SAME to the HIGH COMMANDER COBOS.

S. E., Sec. de Guerra, Mar. y Tierra, L. 15. B. M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 15.

Has written so often that he doubts whether his despatches will not be a source of annoyance, at a time, too, when His Imperial Majesty cannot have much inclination to business. Yet, lest he should be in fault, he (Aguilar) goes on reporting every post on political and other affairs concerning Rome and the Empire.

Of His Holiness' secrets Your Signory will, no doubt, know more through cardinal Farnese than he himself (Aguilar) is able to unravel. It is doubtful whether the Cardinal's presence at that Court will lead to a better solution of many political problems now being discussed; at any rate, matrimonial questions will not advance as fast as is desired and anticipated, because, before the Cardinal's departure from this city, he was heard to say that the object of his mission to the Emperor was "a most important marriage."—Rome, 4 June 1539.

Signed: "El Marques de Aguilar."

Addressed: "To the most Illustrious the High Commander of Leon, lord of the town of Sabiote, &c."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

5 June. **66.** The SAME to the EMPEROR.

S. E., Sec. de Guerra, Mar. y Tierra, L. 15.

After closing the letter to the High Commander, that goes along with this, Mme. Margarita sent for him (Aguilar), and reported a conversation she had had with the duke of Castro (Pier Luigi Farnese) on the subject of Camarino. His Holiness wished to give that duchy to him (Pier Luigi) or to his son, Ottavio, and his descendants; but if he was to safeguard the rights of the Apostolic See to that duchy, and at the same time pay a sum of money to Hercole Varana* for the cession, during his lifetime, of whatever rights he (Varana) might possess to it, he found that he could not accomplish both things without employing a good portion of her dowry. Mme. Margarita's answer was that she thought and expected that without touching her dowry in the least His Holiness would grant her husband and herself the duchy of Camarino. And upon the Duke replying that His Holiness, however desirous, could not possibly accomplish that object without some help, such as one-half of the 300,000 crs. deposited at Ansaldo Grimaldo's bank, it was agreed that with the Emperor's permission 100,000 should be taken out of the Duchess' dower to enable the Pope to satisfy all claimants.

Commander Valenzuela went this morning to speak to His Holiness, who told him, among other things, that as the welfare of Christendom consisted chiefly in a solid and lasting peace between His Imperial Majesty and the Most Christian king of

* The cousin of Giovan Maria Varana, duke of Camarino. He was the son of Rodolpho IV., who died in 1494, he himself having died in 1546.

1539.

France, he thought, the better to ensure and consolidate that peace, and render it perpetual, that a marriage of King Francis' daughter with His Imperial Majesty might be proposed. By means of that marriage (he said) the Milanese affair might be settled more advantageously for the interest and honor of the parties concerned than in any other way; for to think that the Emperor could at any time give his eldest daughter in marriage to the duke of Orleans (Charles), that was a thing which he (the Pope) could not conceive; indeed, were he to be told that it was so, he would never believe it. "For that reason (said the Pope to commander Valenzuela) have I now sent my grandson, the Cardinal, to the Emperor to propose it in my name."

The Pope further said to Valenzuela that he had heard from his Nuncio at the Imperial Court that whilst debating in Council on the English business and the King's disobedience to the Apostolic See, it had been decided to send to that country (England) two persons, one from the Emperor and another from the Most Christian, to exhort and invite the king of England to return to the obedience of the Apostolic See and of His Holiness, as otherwise they could not excuse themselves from executing the Papal commands.

Venice.—The peace between the Signory and and the Turk is as good as made, since the trade between their frontier towns is carried on by common consent.—Rome, 5 June 1539.

Signed: "El Marques de Aguilar."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

20 June. **67.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E., Sec. de Guerra, Mar. y Tierra, L. 15. B. M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 152.

Since his despatches of the 4th and 5th inst., the Emperor's letter of the 25th ult. has come to hand. Owing to His Holiness' absence from Rome he (Aguilar) has been unable to confer more than once with him; besides which, as the Cardinal has not yet returned from his mission, the Pope will naturally feel shy. However, the points hitherto discussed have been (1st) the enterprize against the Turk, and the peace which the Signory is trying to make with the Grand Turk. The latter, it is said, will not agree to king John being comprised in it; but the Venetians ought to be told that the peace, if made, must be general and comprise everyone.

Respecting matters of Faith and the German Separatists, His Holiness remarked that the ministers sent by king Francis to Germany had achieved little or nothing in that way, which circumstance made him suspect that king Francis is not the Emperor's sincere friend and ally, and would rather see him in difficulties. Had his persuasions concerning the truce been what they ought to be, and had he told Solyman that unless he

1539.

did accept of a general truce, he (Francis) would be obliged, as a Christian prince that he is, to side with the rest of them, Solyman could not well have refused it and sent to Constantinople, as he has done, one "fuoruscito" *from the kingdom of Naples, and another from Spain. On the other hand, the person sent by king Francis to Germany was no other than the Bishop who had been his ambassador here at Rome, who, the Pope said, was the most wicked and worst minded man he had ever known.* "*Were you to know (said he to Aguilar) the discovery here made, through the letters of cardinal Carpi, of his plans and intrigues at Piacenza, in France, you would be astonished, because it was a most diabolical invention and one deserving great punishment* . . . .

L'Esleu is waiting here for the confinement of a countess who resides at Mantua, and of whose child the King has promised to be the god-father.

Castilnovo.—His Holiness is of opinion that the fortress ought to be dismantled at once, unless the Venetians agree, as it seems they are inclined to do, to pay their portion of the expenses incurred in keeping it. His Holiness suspects that this sudden resolution of the Venetians is owing to their present negociations with the Turk, and that it will be made one of the principal conditions of the peace.

Council.—Germany and the Lutherans—Half-fruits—Cardinals' hats—Dispensation to the Commanders of the Military Orders.

He (Aguilar) communicates with the French ambassador very frequently, and in the most confidential manner. Has heard from him that His Holiness had told him confidentially that the Cardinal's commission in Spain was to speak about the marriage, and also about the English business, in order that whatever might be done in the latter affair, should be the joint action of the three sovereigns, the Pope, the Emperor, and the King.

The Camarino business is settled, and the Duke* has already received his money. The dowager Duchess (Caterina) has refused to take the 16,000 ducats of her dowry or make cession of her rights, although His Holiness has issued orders for their payment. Of His Holiness' further plans and intentions in this affair the Emperor must have been informed by his (Aguilar's) despatch of the 5th. The whole of it is reduced to this: to take 100,000 ducats out of Mme. Margarita's dower, with which to buy an estate for Ottavio's younger brother and indemnify Hercole Varana, though the latter, having only a life interest, and being already 70 years old, will be satisfied with little. With the remainder of the dowry the Pope purposes buying in the kingdom of Naples the principality of Rosano, which he says he can get for less than 80,000 *scuti*, Altamura for 40,000, besides Teramo and

* By "the duke," Hercole Varana is no doubt meant. *See* above, p. 158.

1539.

Chivitela, which belong to the Emperor, but which Mme. would like to have, owing to their vicinity to the duchy of Penna.

Rocha Guillerma—Lope Hurtado—Prince of Sulmona, his suit with Ascanio Colonna—Costanza Frenes (Farnese), the Pope's daughter—Acequia de Aragon—Abbey of Parco.

Commander Marradas left two days ago. He will not travel fast, because, in consequence of a fall from his horse in coming here to Rome, he is still delicate.—Rome, XX. June 1539.

Signed: "El Marques de Aguilar."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Spanish. Original. pp. 24.

June 22. **68.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E., Sa. de G. Mar y Ta., L 15. B. M. *Add.* 28,591.

Wrote two days ago about D. Lope de Soria and the cession of Castilnovo* to the Venetians. Since then the ambassador of the Signory has seen the Pope, who requested him (Aguilar) to attend the conference, which he did this very morning. After stating what the Emperor's expenses had been in keeping the garrison of that fortress, he (Aguilar) suggested that the Pope should at once declare how, and by whom, those expenses were to be paid. The Venetian ambassador then said that, according to one of the articles of the treaty of the League, the Emperor was obliged to deliver immediately to the Signory of Venice, Castilnovo, or any other fortress taken from the Turks, and as to the expenses of keeping it up, that His Holiness might at once fix the sum which the Signory was to pay for her own share, observing that the League was bound to defray the cost of fortifying, victualling, and providing ammunition for the place, but not in any wise pay the garrison, for that was exclusively the Emperor's concern. He then read a paragraph of a letter from his colleague at the Imperial Court, where it was stated that the Emperor would be glad to pass over Castilnovo to the Signory; and that it would cost nothing to Venice, because the Spanish garrison had been sent thither merely as a place for winter quarters. He (Aguilar) replied that, supposing the Emperor had said so to the Signory's ambassador, that did not exempt her or the confederates from paying their share of the expenses according to an article of the treaty; the more so, that when Prince Doria took Castilnovo, the Venetian proveditor had not the number and quality of men, ammunition, or provisions required for keeping a place of such importance, which obliged the Emperor, if the place were to be kept, to put into it 4,000 Spaniards, &c.

As the Venetian ambassador withdrew, he (Aguilar) remained alone with His Holiness, who said to him: "Will you be satisfied with the Signory paying the sum that I shall fix?" "Certainly I shall, provided His Holiness fixes at once the

* *See* the preceding letter, p. 160.

1539.

sum they (the Venetians) are to pay," but he (Aguilar) *thinks that it will not be done, because, by fixing the Venetian contribution, the Pope himself, as a member of the League, will have to pay the same.*

Meanwhile the Signory is pressing for the delivery of Castilnovo, saying that they fear the Turkish fleet will on that account enter the Gulf. On the other hand His Holiness is in possession of advices from Dalmatia, stating that Cesare Cantelmo was going post-haste through that province for the purpose of overtaking and, if possible, meeting Lorenço Gritti, and that he had actually offered a considerable reward in money to whomsoever should procure him an interview with the Turk a few hours before Gritti's arrival [*at Constantinople*].

His Holiness also announces having received letters from Germany, purporting that to the Diet about to be held on matters of Faith his Nuncio or representative had not been admitted, and that Dr. Mathias had said that the Emperor was far from being pleased at it, and very sorry that the bishop of Lumbden (*sic*) had allowed it.

Lope Hurtado's affair continues in the same state. Madame has resolutely declared to the Cardinal [of Santiago], to Lope Hurtado, and to him [Aguilar] that certain German servants of her household, called "Los Dubrines," were those who advised her to quit Florence.

The Sienese are in commotion in consequence of cardinal Frenes (Farnese) going to them, and owing also to the departure at the same time of the duke of Castro for his own estates [in Tuscany] owing to his want of health. They have written in great fright; he (Aguilar) has answered them that there is not the least occasion for fear.—Rome, 22 June, 1539.

Signed: "El Marques de Aguilar."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original, partly in cipher. pp. 7.

26 June. **69.** ADVICES from GENOA of the 26th June.

S. Sa. de Ga. Mar. y Tierra, L. 15. B. M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 71.

On the 25th came letters of Il Gritti* from Constantinople, of the 14th and 15th May, in which he says that he arrived on the 12th, and that on the following day (the 13th) he called on Aiás Bassa (Ayás bashaw), and having expounded his commission from the Signory, that vizier said that upon the arrival of ambassador Zeno† a day would be fixed to treat of peace, but on condition (he said) that the peace was to be solely and exclusively with the Signory, in nowise with the Emperor or the Pope. Upon which Gritti suggested that the present truce should be prorogued, and that was the only thing he (Gritti) was empowered to contract. Aiás' reply

* Lorenço Gritti. *See* above, p. 145.
† Pietro, Venetian ambassador to Turkey.

1539.

was that his master (Solyman), even in the event of Zeno not coming, would have no difficulty in promising that during a certain period of time no harm should be done to the Signory's subjects. This the Turkish vizier stated, adding that should the Signory act with prudence his master would always have a good understanding with them.

The same Gritti writes that 130 galleys were being armed in various ports of Turkey, whilst the fustees and other small craft will exceed 200. What the destination of that force is no one knows, though it is surmised that it is meant for the invasion of Naples, Castilnovo being too strong to be carried by a "coup de main," as it has been fortified during a whole year, and has a considerable and well-appointed garrison for its defence.

In Venice it is generally believed that the agreement (*accordo*) with the Turk cannot fail, and that the Council of the Ten are making use of such delays to induce their companions to believe that they are casual, and not premeditated so as to cause jealousy. It is believed that their Corfu fleet, and any other galleys they may arm, will sail either to that island or to Sibinecco* or to Cattaro, and it is also thought that they will apply to His Holiness for money to arm against the Turk, as if they still doubted his willingness to prorogue the truce.

A vigilant eye should be kept on Ancona, &c

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

29 June. **70.** The MARQUIS DE AGUILAR to the SAME.

S. E., L. 15. No. 15.
B. M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 173.

His last of the 22nd must have informed the Emperor of the conference which the ambassador of Venice and he (Aguilar) held with His Holiness concerning Castilnovo and the cost of its keeping. That Andrea Doria, who is now at Civita Vecchia, had been consulted by His Holiness, and that as soon as his answer and that of Lope de Soria came from Venice the affair would be definitely settled.

The Signory's answer has come, sent by Soria. They will be glad to have Castilnovo immediately, and are quite willing to pay the sum to be fixed by His Holiness; and upon Soria telling them that the money must be got ready, as the Spanish garrison would certainly not leave the place unless they were first paid their arrears, the Councillors made no difficulty.

On the other hand Doria's opinion is that Castilnovo should be immediately delivered to the Venetians upon their promising to reimburse the Emperor for all his expenses. He feared, however, that the Spaniards who composed the garrison would not go out of it unless they were first paid, and, therefore, advised that the Signory should at once remit 15,000 or 16,000 ducats on account of the arrears of pay owing to the garrison, and that His Holiness should give besides what he pleased for the same purpose. He [Aguilar] called on the

* Sebenico on the coast of Dalmatia.

1539.

Pope and communicated Doria's advice, which seemed to him good, though he said he wanted to consult the Signory's ambassador thereupon. The latter has this very evening dispatched a courier to Venice, and he (Aguilar) has written to Lope de Soria, so that there is now a chance of the Castilnovo affair being soon settled one way or other.

Letter of advice from Constantinople, &c.

The bishop Lanchano (Lancciano) died here (at Rome) a few days ago. His bishopric is worth 300 ducats a year. As there was no other Spanish auditor in the Rota but him, Dr. Mohedano was appointed to the vacant place. Recommends him.—Rome, 19 June 1539.

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

Addressed.

29 June. **71.** LOPE HURTADO to COBOS and GRANVELLE.

S. Sa. d. Ga., L. 15. B. M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 177.

If I was a year ago considered a fit and right person to serve this lady; if you both have heard through my letters, as well as by my taking her out of Florence—not at all against her will—that I am not the bad and undeserving man that people say, I will esteem it a favor from you to be assisted in the present emergency and in my most urgent request, which is to resign my post. I have no doubt that whoever comes to replace me cannot fail to acknowledge the purity of my intentions and my honorable conduct in all that regards my mistress, the Duchess, and at the same time expose the wickedness of those who have misinformed His Holiness with regard to me. This will be, I take it, a most profitable step, as it will serve to prevent calumny from spreading and taking another direction, which might perhaps be worse still.* It will also serve to prove that His Imperial Majesty holds this lady in the esteem and consideration which she so justly deserves by her good qualities. Indeed, living as she does at Rome, young as she is and unhappy, in the midst of a city and people who far from being holy are a set of wretches, all favor is required to prevent her from falling into despair until her husband becomes a man and can serve and content her.†

Cardinal Santiago, who always on previous occasions has approved my conduct and taken my part, told His Holiness some days ago what had passed, and after his conversation wrote to me the enclosed letter, the substance of which is that it was Marradas who had informed him, and that he (the Pope) attached more faith to his report than to that of others. It appears that the said Marradas, who brought a letter of credence for His Holiness on the Camarino business, and has been nearly two months negociating upon it, reported great

* "Aprovechara para que á Su Exe^{a} no lebanten otra cosa que quiça seria peor."

† "Que estando en Roma tan moça y tan descontenta, y entre gente, que no es sancta, y tan miserable, todo favor es manester para que no se desespere hasta que su marido sea hombre que la pueda servir y contentar."

1539.

many things about the Duchess. True, I must confess that I and my wife (Doña Margarita) occasionally told Marradas, also an Imperial servant, several things which these people might have, but had not, done to keep Her Excellency content and in good humour. No doubt Marradas himself went and told the Pope of this, and made him believe that what I and my wife said about the treatment of our mistress, and our wish that she should be treated otherwise, had been previously communicated to her by us two by way of warning and advice. Hence the ill will that His Holiness and those of his family bear me. You may imagine how this Marradas, Cherubino, he of del Aguila, and others, whose names I do not mention, have worked upon His Holiness so as to make me fear that one of these days I may be the sufferer. Already, and in order to influence His Imperial Majesty against me, they have given Marradas, who is shortly to return to Spain, a letter for the Emperor, in which all sorts of complaints are made against me. I will not repeat what Marradas said to me on his arrival here, because I gave him my word never to do so; but you must believe me when I say that he [Marradas] was of very little use in the affair for which he came here, and that had not the Marquis [de Aguilar] and Valenzuela helped, nothing at all would have been done.

We are trying to make the Cardinal take away his brother, Ottavio, without this latter attempting to make another trial of his very juvenile forces, which will not do. If these people desire this lady to be satisfied and happy, I see no other remedy than the husband's absence during some time to come until he be of sufficient age to do the duties of marriage.*

It would not be amiss if Monseigneur de Granvelle would write to Her Excellency (the duchess Margaret) a letter in French, saying that since this marriage of hers was effected of her own free will, and she herself knew how to win the affections of the Emperor, who loves her so much, she must take care not to offend him, nor fancy that she can desert her husband and enter a convent; for even if she could, the Emperor, her father, would never allow it. I have repeatedly told her that she came here voluntarily, and that she ought to be much indebted to the Emperor for having allowed her to carry out her will.

Her dowry.—Not far from Civita di Penna and Campo are two villages called ———— and Civitela del Tronto, the revenue of which may amount to 2,000 crowns a year. They might be bought for her.

His Holiness inculpates me, and says that my wife leads me. If she does, it is certainly not in matters touching the Imperial service. Besides, I consider it far more honour-

* Con el Cardenal se procura que lleve à su hermano sin que torne á provar las fuerças de sus pocos años, que no conviene; si ellos desean que esta señora esté contenta agora no sé yo otro remedio, &c.

1539.

able to obey than give her cause for discontent, as I find that those who rule over their wives very rarely escape without some feast or other.—Rome, 29 June 1539.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To the most illustrious lords, my Lord, the High Commander of Leon, and Monseigneur de Granvelle."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

30 June. **72.** Lope de Soria to Cobos.

S. E., L. 15. *Add.* 28,591, f. 180.

No letter from your Lordship has come since I wrote on the 28th inst. I then gave all the news of this place. Lorenço Gritti had written from Constantinople on the 2nd, that on that very day Barbarossa had sailed for Gallipoli with 70 galleys, there to join the Turkish fleet, and all together attack Castilnovo. Since then I have heard that the Turkish fleet is going out chiefly at the request of the king of France, and that Rincon and Cantelmo have worked rather against than in favor of the general truce. Lorenço further writes that he had been invited by the Turk to accept a separate truce with Venice, promising that their fleet would not molest or do any harm on the coasts of this Republic. Gritti, however, had refused to accept the offer, having no commission to that effect from the Signory. He was anxiously expecting the arrival of Zeno, who had recovered from his illness, and was journeying towards Constantinople by short stages. The other ambassador sent by this Signory was following closely. His instructions are that if he cannot conclude a general truce, he must try to secure the special one with them. Meanwhile these Venetians show every disposition to stand by His Imperial Majesty. They have given orders to their proveditor to divide the fleet, and keep one half in the Gulph, the other half outside, with instructions to keep aloof as much as he can from the Turks, and yet not to join Doria.

Yet, notwithstanding the good news lately received from Gritti, the Venetians have by his advice collected the greatest maritime force they ever had. They are now arming in all haste 25 galleys, which, joined to those they have in various parts of the Adriatic, will eventually swell the number to 85. In Dalmatia they have 2,000 foot, and other forces with their captains in various places on that coast.

I am anxious to know what declaration His Holiness has made about Castilnovo.

Nothing more to advise, except that the bishop of Montpellier,* the king of France's ambassador, has called to-day on the Signory for the first time, and that I fancy he will come to me to-morrow, for I am, as usual, seized with fever and ague.—Venice, 30 June 1539.

* The name of this bishop was Guillaume Pellicier.

1539.

P.S.—Before closing the above a letter from Ragusa arrived, with intelligence from Constantinople of the 4th inst., brought by a person who left that town some days ago. The news is that two days before the writer of the letter had witnessed the departure of Barbarossa with his fleet of 150 sail, bound for Castilnovo, and that the Beglerbey of Greece with seven sanjacs* was already at Sophia, only waiting for seven more galleys to sail against that fortress.

A letter of Lorenço Gritti has also been received, in which he gives more hope of the general truce, owing to Pietro Zeno, the Venetian ambassador, being shortly expected at Constantinople; adding that if a general truce be not obtained, at any rate a separate one with Venice is sure to be concluded sooner or later, and that in the meantime the Signory is not to show hostility to the Turk. Such are Gritti's words in the letter to which I refer; but I cannot help suspecting that the Turkish armament may after all be intended for La Goleta of Tunis.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

3 July. **73.** The EMPEROR to the MARQUIS DE AGUILAR.

S. E., L. 868, f. 124. B. M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 124.

We wrote to you on the 21st ulto., announcing the arrival here of cardinal Farnese. Since then We and Our Councillors have had several conferences with him on present political affairs, the substance of which is as follows:—

After condoling with Us in the Pope's name on the death of Our dear wife, the Empress (whom may God have in his glory), he (the Legate) told Us how very desirous His Holiness was of seeing a good friendship and lasting peace fairly established between Us and the king of France, for no other purpose, as he said, than Our own private convenience and the welfare of Christendom, especially at a time when We were engaged in war against the Turk, and of clearing up certain doubts and scruples still darkening the prospect of a solid and well-founded peace between Us and the king of France, &c.; in saying which the Cardinal touched, though slightly, on the proposed marriage between Mme. Margaret, the king's daughter, and Us.†

Our answer by mouth of Our councillors was to praise and commend His Holiness' good intentions, assuring his Legate that We were determined to surmount every obstacle likely to stand in the way of that peace, so as to render it at once solid and lasting, with his full authorization, as We both were bound to do as Christian sons of his that We were. These very terms were used by Our councillors, owing to the suspicion there is that His Holiness is somewhat jealous, suspecting

* "Iten que el beglarbey de la Grecia con siete Sant Jaques se hallava ya en Sophia adonde esperava otros tantos." Sant Jaques (thus written) is for sangiac, a Turkish word meaning a regiment.

† *See* above, where Paul's suggestion of such a marriage was repeated to the Emperor.

1539.

that the few points not yet cleared up between Us and His Holiness may ultimately be settled without his intervention—which sentiment on his part it is important for us not to take any notice of at present.

With regard to Our marriage the answer was that, although a widower, We had sons, and had resolved not to marry again; but that We hoped that between Our progeny and that of the Most Christian King, Our relatives and friends, matrimonial alliances might be formed so as to render the peace firm and lasting (*indissoluble*).

The prorogation or suspension of the Council.—On this point the Legate said that, considering the state in which matters of Faith were in Germany, Our own representations and those of Our brother, the king of the Romans, he (the Pope) had made up his mind to suspend indefinitely the meeting of the Council until the affairs of Christendom were in a more favourable condition, in which case he would act by Our advice. As the suspension, in Our opinion, was justifiable and convenient, yet, lest it should be said hereafter that it had been decreed at Our own request or with Our approval, the answer was that We found it suitable and opportune, under the circumstances, to suspend the meeting of the Council, but that We still strongly recommended, as on former occasions, its speedy assembly as the only remedy in matters of Faith and Religion.

With regard to Germany, as the archbishop of Lunden has lately returned therefrom, and brought a report in writing minutely detailing the state of affairs in that country, We need not enter into particulars, save to say that a copy of the said report was put into the hands of the Legate, and he was told to urge upon His Holiness the sending of a good sum of money with which to help the Catholic League.

England.—The Legate spoke also about English affairs, which His Holiness seems to take much to heart. We have insisted on the very same words contained in Our answer to Cardinal Pole. Our opinion is that good provision must first be made for Germany, and in the meantime ambassadors of Ours and of the Most Christian King be sent to that country to remonstrate with king Henry and exhort him to return to the obedience of Pope and Church, the Cardinal [Pole] himself going to the court of France to determine what sort of instructions the ambassadors are to take conjointly. Though the Cardinal seems to have made his excuses as to that, it is very important for the good issue of the affair that he should go thither in person and take a hand in it; otherwise people might think that the commission was exclusively Ours, and that if the Most Christian sent also his ambassador, it was only by way of ceremony and in order to please His Holiness and Us. Hearing this the Legate replied that His Holiness would accordingly order Cardinal Pole to repair immediately to the court of France.

1539.

The Legate spoke also of his own and Ottavio Farnese's sister's* marriage with the Prince of Piedmont (Emmanuele Philiberto), asserting that the duke of Savoy [Carlo], his father, wished for it, and that there was nothing wanting save to know Our will, without which (added the Legate) His Holiness would not allow that or any other alliance of his own family to take place. Our councillors' answer was that the Duke had formally written about another marriage; that he was rather inconstant and flighty in such matters; and that His Holiness knew very well how little he could be depended upon, yet that, if His Holiness wished for it, We should be delighted to employ Ourselves on his behalf. Should the Duke write Us a letter expressing such a wish on his part, he shall be answered, and it shall be done as convenient, &c.

Of other affairs relating particularly to Spain and to Us—such as the half fruits, the dispensation applied for to the Commanders of the Military Orders to contract marriage, Indulto Quadragesimal-hat for the archbishop of Geneva—there was the usual talk between the Papal Legate and the councillors, the latter having opportunely reminded the former of the many services We have hitherto done to Christendom.

Cardinals.—While on this subject the Legate said that His Holiness was thinking of creating a few, and, among others, some of his own servants, and though not positively told that His Holiness ought to avoid such creation under present circumstances, yet he was properly warned by Our councillors not to raise to the purple ecclesiastics of the stamp of the cardinal of Paris, a restless and ambitious man, opposed to all public welfare, and that in case of a creation His Holiness should select people sincerely attached to Him and to Us.

At the same time We have insisted upon a Cardinal's hat being bestowed upon the archbishop of Geneva, and should you (Aguilar) be pressed to name the ecclesiastic whom We should recommend for another hat, you may point out the archbishop of Rossano, the brother of Camillo Colonna.

The Duchess' dower—Camarino—Roca Guillerma—Duchy of Penna.

Respecting Ottavio Farnese's coming here the Legate said something. Our answer was that We should be glad to see him, and would treat him as he deserves. Then the Legate added that if it was Our intention to visit Italy this year, he would wait for Us there; Our reply was that he might either wait for Us in Italy, or come here to Spain, as he pleased.

With regard to His Holiness' intentions about Siena nothing was said, and yet it is evident from the Legate's words that His Holiness has not yet abandoned his projects.

This is in substance what has passed in Our various communications with the Papal Legate. He and his secretary,

* Vittoria Farnese, daughter of Pier Luigi and Ottavio's sister. The cardinal (Alessandro), the Legate, was also her brother. Vittoria was married to Guidobaldo della Rovere, duke of Urbino.

1539.

Marcello, whom We are glad to have known, have been honorably treated whilst at this Our court, and We should think that he is satisfied with the reception he has had.

Confirmation of the Hungarian bishops—Ascanio Colonna and his suit with the prince of Sulmona.—Should this be placed in Our hands, We should at once put an end to it, and then the talked-of marriages might be effected. You must try and persuade Ascanio Colonna to send his son here, and look to the provision of the Duchess' dowry in conformity with Our letter.

Lope Hurtado is to be helped and favored by you, so that he may maintain his position until the arrival of a person whom We propose sending from Madrid to replace him. That person will be the bearer of instructions from Us as to the manner in which he (Lope Hurtado) is to behave. To the Duchess and him We write by this post announcing Our determination and referring them to you.

Provisions for Leon and Astorga.

In a private letter, which will be handed over to you, the Duke of Bronszuich (Brunswick) and his lawsuit before His Holiness with the bishop of Hildesen in Germany are warmly commended to you. The Duke is so good a servant of Ours that, having applied for a letter of favour to you, We could not well refuse it, and yet We do not wish that the bishop receive any harm or injury through it. We, therefore, intrust to you the management of this affair, so that neither the one nor the other may have occasion to complain.—Madrid, 3 July, MDXXXIX.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 13.

4 July. **74.** The Marquis de Aguilar to the Emperor.

S. Sa. de G. M. y., L. 15.
B. M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 191.

After writing on the 29th ulto., the Imperial letter of the 21st came to hand.

Hearing that a factor or agent of the Belzers, now here, is about to dispatch secretly a courier with news he has received from Augusta (Augsburg), and that the said courier purposes to embark for Spain at Genoa, he [Aguilar] is determined to send an *estafeta* after him, that he may give him this his despatch before he embarks [for Barcelona].

The steps which His Imperial Majesty orders him [Aguilar] to take here to prevent, if possible, the Venetians from concluding a separate truce with the Turk, are no longer required, inasmuch as by letters of Don Lope de Soria from Venice itself, as well as by others the Pope has received from that city and from Ragusa, it appears almost certain that a truce has already been negociated and concluded between the Signory and the Grand Turk. Enclosed is a summary of the news contained in those letters, which he [Aguilar] has likewise communicated by express messenger to Prince Doria, already in Naples, as well as to the viceroy of that kingdom (Villafranca) and that of Sicily (Gonzaga), informing them par-

1539.

ticularly of the news conveyed in those letters, and principally of what concerns Tunis, since, if the report be true, there can be no doubt that the Turkish fleet is destined, not for Castilnovo, as was said at first, but for La Goleta, where Don Francisco de Tobar is now commanding.

The Signory's answer about the 15,000 ducats on account of the sum required for the pay of the garrison of Castilnovo has not yet been received; but he (Aguilar) expects it in a day or two, although it must be said that, according to the statements which the Venetian ambassador himself made to the Pope some days ago, the Signory pretends not to owe so much money.

Two days ago the Venetian ambassador went to the Pope and showed him Gritti's letter of excuses, denying his having ever treated with the Turk respecting a particular and separate truce with the signory of Venice; and upon that ambassador requesting him to send money to that city for the arming of the galleys he has there, His Holiness answered that since, according to Gritti's account, the Turk had given assurances that, pending the negociations for the truce, no harm would be done to the Venetian possessions — the Venetians themselves being similarly bound to suspend all hostilities—how could he (the Pope), in case of an attack from the Turk directed against Naples or Sicily, make use of his galleys now being fitted and armed in the port of Venice? To this observation the ambassador made no reply, and the Pope has declared that he will recall his galleys, send for the commander, and dismiss the crews (*galeotes*).

His Holiness has likewise observed that in the copy of Gritti's letter, which was sent for his perusal, he himself is not named, for the words are that "the Grand Turk positively refuses to negociate with His Imperial Majesty or with the king of the Romans, his brother," whereas Ayás Bashaw really and truly said "with the Pope and the Emperor." Which change of words seems to him (Aguilar) as if done on purpose to create jealousy and mistrust between the parties concerned; and it must be added that, *all things considered, His Holiness is under the impression that king Francis' ministers have been at work and have done some mischief in view of preventing the general truce.*

Will shortly propose to His Holiness the appointment and nomination of the cardinal archbishop of Toledo (Tavera) to the post of Inquisitor-General of those realms.*—Rome, 4 July 1539.

Signed: "El Marques de Aguilar."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4½.

* On the 7th Sept. 1539, Cardinal Tavera, then archbishop of Toledo, and president of the Council of Regency, was appointed Grand Inquisitor in the room of the archbishop of Seville, D. Alonso Manrique y Castañeda, who had died the year before.

1539.

4 July. S. E., L. 15, B. M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 190.

75. The SAME to the HIGH COMMANDER.

Thanks him for the news of the arrival of cardinal Farnese at the Imperial Court, and the good reception he has met with. His Holiness is in good health, and very much pleased with the intelligence, which he began to think was tarrying long. His Holiness does not wish it known that the summary of that contained in Gritti's letter comes from him.—Rome, 4 July 1539.

P.S.—Hears that commander Rybera is dead. He leaves three things, either of which might do for commander Valençuela. Recommends him.

Signed: "El Marques de Aguilar."

Addressed: "To the very Illustrious Lord the High Commander of Leon, lord of the town of Sabirote."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2½.

20 July. S. E., L. 868, f. 5. B. M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 194.

76. The MARQUIS DE AGUILAR to the EMPEROR.

Wrote last, on the 4th inst., that the Signory's answer respecting Castilnovo was expected hourly. That answer came at last on the 7th, the substance of which is that the Venetians are content to take charge of Castilnovo at once, but that their own expenses had been so enormous during this war for the defence of their own territory that they could only contribute with 10,000 ducats; adding also as an excuse His Imperial Majesty's words to their ambassador when the Spanish infantry went into the place, &c. Such has been their offer, which they have since supplemented by that of several transports (*vassellos*) for the conveyance of part of the Spanish garrison, ammunition and luggage to whatever port of Naples or Sicily they may be destined. After making the Venetian ambassador understand, in His Holiness' very presence, how small that sum was in proportion to the enormous expence incurred by the Emperor in the keeping of Castilnovo, he (Aguilar), knowing that prince Doria had left Civita-Vecchia in disgust, through his not having found there the money he expected for his galleys, accepted at once the offer of 11,000 crs. on bills upon Ragusa, besides a number of vessels to bring the garrison back to Naples, so that the consignment of Castilnovo to the Venetians may be considered as effected.

Encloses letters of the viceroy of Naples (D. Pedro de Toledo) advising news of Barbarossa and his fleet, sent by the Venetian proveditor of Corfu. The news at first was exceedingly alarming, for it was reported that the Turkish corsair had passed by La Bellona, and it was apprehended that he might have gone to attack captain Juan Doria. Indeed, there were not wanting ill-intentioned people, who spread the news that the latter had fallen a prisoner into his hands. This, however, turned out to be untrue, for on the 12th inst. a

1539.

letter came from Andrea Doria relating that Juan* was safe at Messina with his 20 galleys after revictualling Castilnovo. Barbarossa had not approached La Bellona; he had done no harm on the coast of Chefalonia (Cefalonia), as stated, nor captured three Venetian galleys under proveditor Contarini; on the contrary, on the 9th, the Turkish fleet, numbering 200 galleys, had entered the canal of Corfu on the Levant side. True the Turkish fleet had been at Zante, though without doing any harm to the inhabitants, treating them, on the contrary, as friends. If late reports be true, it is most probable that, though Barbarossa's first intention may have been to come to Castilnovo, yet on hearing that captain Juan Doria had already relieved it, and also that there was inside a numerous and well-appointed garrison, he would not lose his time there, the more so that up to the present time there is no news of any land force marching to the siege of that place. It might also be surmised that the Venetians, for fear Barbarossa should come to the Gulph, may have sent him a message that Castilnovo is at his disposal, and that after withdrawing its garrison they are ready to deliver it up. If so, it is natural to conclude that Barbarossa will come to the coast of Pulla (Puglia) or Sicily, or perhaps to Tunis, to do all the harm he can. Prince Doria and the viceroy of Sicily (Gonzaga) write that they have done their best towards provisioning and fortifying La Goleta and Bona.

Had a conversation with His Holiness, and told him that by his not having armed galleys this year, neither at Venice nor elsewhere, should the Turk come down upon Naples and Sicily, His Imperial Majesty would be compelled to defend those countries alone, whereas it was the duty of the League to provide conjointly to their defence. That His Imperial Majesty had had, and would have, to support during the present year considerable expense in galleys and infantry, both at Castilnovo and in Sicily, and could not possibly make further disbursements. His Holiness' answer was that if, according to reports from Venice, it was true that Barbarossa had been at Zante as a friend, the League must be considered as broken and dissolved, and that if he and Your Majesty are to remain in it, a new treaty is needed. My reply was that, even if that were required, he was bound to fulfil his engagements and contribute to the defence of Naples and Sicily, &c.

Cardinal Farnese wrote on the 21st ult. about the handsome reception he had met with at the Imperial court, and also about his conference with the privy councillors on the three points of his mission, viz., Camarino, the Cardinal's hats, and the half fruits. The paragraphs of his letters relating to the impending creation of cardinals by His Holiness have been read to me. I cannot say whether it is by mistake or by a mere oversight that the Cardinal's letter alludes only to the hat for

* That is Joannetino, his kinsman and lieutenant.

1539.

the bishop of Geneva; not a word is said therein concerning that reserved " in pectore."

The Pope has upon the whole showed satisfaction and pleasure at the contents of the Cardinal's letters; shortly after the secretary of the latter, Antonio, who left Toledo on the 27th, arrived in Rome, bringing news of Your Majesty's departure for Madrid on the same day, and adding that the Cardinal would quit on the 28th, as he had already taken leave of Your Majesty. I cannot say what the Cardinal may have written from Toledo, or what his letters of credence in favor of his secretary contained, but the fact is, that since then His Holiness' good humour and apparent complacency, has been changed into disappointment and sorrow. That I could very well see in his manner when I last spoke to him about the Turk and the Venetians, especially towards the end of the audience, when he told me, with visible signs of discontent on his countenance, what the Cardinal had written to him respecting the English business, for he did not conceal to me at the time his disappointment at what he called Your Majesty's evasive answer when interrogated on that point. Indeed, he was sorry to hear (he said) that Your Majesty had not made up your mind to stop the intercourse of trade between your dominions and England. King Francis had offered, and was still offering, to do in that affair whatever Your Majesty would agree to. The king of England (he said) went on with his wicked doings and cruelties. Lately he had sentenced to death the mother of cardinal Pole, and Your Majesty, as head of the other Christian princes, under the circumstances was bound to obey the commands of the Apostolic See. If, for political or other reasons, any of those princes wished to excuse himself with the king of England, he had an urgent plea at hand, by saying that he could not justly or honestly refuse to obey and execute the mandates of the Church were that King to persevere in his perfidious disobedience to the Apostolic See; the more particularly so, that the stoppage of trade did not mean making war upon the country. My reply was in accordance with Your Majesty's commands. I told him, as I have done on other occasions, that Your Majesty never lacked the will to remedy that evil, or fulfil and execute the commands of the Apostolic See and of His Holiness; but a stoppage of trade was equivalent to a declaration of war, and would furnish the Lutherans and the king of England with a specious pretext to unite their forces against Christendom, at a time, too, when the Turk was all powerful, and Barbarossa had so formidable a fleet under him. Even if the trade of Flanders and the Netherlands were taken away from him (I said), the king of England would carry it on with other distant provinces of Germany, such as Gueldres and others, where Luther's doctrines predominate.

This much did I say on the subject to His Holiness, though it seems to me that his discontent proceeds from another

1539.

source, perhaps from some private affair of his own, which has not taken the course he desires, because such is His Holiness' nature, that unless his own private and family affairs go on prosperously, and according to his wishes, there is no expecting from him anything like favor in ecclesiastical or political matters.* Indeed, the other day, in conversation with the duke of Castro, he told me openly that the cause of His Holiness' discontent was a private and personal one, and had nothing to do with England. I cannot guess what this may be, unless it be some marriage which the Cardinal has proposed there, in Spain, for his own sister, because the Duke, before the Cardinal, his son, left, spoke to me respecting the prince of Orange, and I took no notice, not knowing how the thing would be taken up in Spain. If it be the affair of Siena, they must by this time know that it cannot be done as they propose.

His Holiness told me also that letters from Spain announced Your Majesty's journey to Italy, and thence to Germany, this very year. Said to him that I knew nothing about it; but, notwithstanding that, I hear he has given order, in case Your Majesty should come, as private letters assert, for every preparation to be made for a meeting with Your Majesty in some commodious place in Lombardy.

The bishopric of Monopoli in the kingdom of Naples is now vacant;† it is one of the twenty-four of Your Majesty's presentation.

After the above was written, the Venetian ambassador called to thank me, in the Signory's name, for the resolution taken respecting Castilnovo. The Signory (he said) has appointed Valerio Ursino to receive it, and given him a number of transports to bring the Spanish garrison back; but it appears that when they were about it, the news of Barbarossa's movements came in, and nothing was done, except withdrawing the 25 galleys they themselves had there. They have written to their proveditor, as well as to that of Candia, to join together all their naval forces, and have ordered him (the Venetian ambassador) to urge the Pope to arm his. But I hold that unless this turns out to be a farce, the cause of the movement must be looked for in the first news that reached us from that corsair, and which, as above stated, have proved untrue.—Rome, 20 July 1539.

Signed: "El Marques de Aguilar."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 14.

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* "Porque quando su particular no se haze, ninguna cosa de las otras se puede bien acabar con Su Santidad."

† Thedore Pio since 1513, who died in 1561, but according to Gam's *Series Episcoporum*, &c., he was bishop of Monopoli until 1544, when he was removed to Faenza.

1539.

2 Aug. **77.** The IMPERIAL AMBASSADOR in FRANCE to the EMPEROR.

P. Arch. Nat. Pap. de Simancas, K. 1484, No. 92. B. M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 202.

Your Majesty's letter of the 17th ult. came to hand on the 28th by Mr. de Lordres, together with the copy of the letter to the king of the Romans, and another of the king of France to Your Majesty, in which a last allusion is made to the Tinteville despatches.* The day after (the 29th Aug.) Cesare Cantelmo arrived in Paris, where I was still with the Palatine duke Frederic,† who, I must say, when I left him was less ill-disposed than at the date of my last despatch sent by Cornelis Scepper. I am now at this village of Senlis for the purpose of hearing from the King and the High Constable (Montmorency), now staying at Chantilly, what effect Cantelmo's journey to the Levant has produced. To accomplish this object, I went straight to the High Constable, who told me at once that neither the said Cantelmo nor Rincon had been able to obtain audience from Solyman; they had only seen Ayás Bashaw, with whom they conferred according to the instructions they had from the King, giving him to understand that the whole of Christendom was now united and ready to go against him, and do him all possible injury, at the same time exhorting him to procure a truce, and offering his services and assistance in that.

The King's messengers went on to say that their master would be delighted to employ himself in that mission of peace, which he hoped to be able to bring about now better than ever, owing to his being the friend and ally of Your Majesty, who was, moreover, like the rest of Christendom, inclined to it. Ayás' answer was that the Grand Vizier was well informed of the military preparations of the Christians, which preparations were not so powerful or formidable as people gave out. The Sultan was in nowise afraid of such armaments; he would never consent to enter into a truce or negociate about it without first recovering Castilnovo, which he intended to attack and reduce by force, putting to the sword the whole of its garrison, in order that in future more respect and consideration should be paid to what belonged to him. Even if the place were now to be surrendered by capitulation, he would not receive it in that manner, but would take it by storm and slay its defenders; much less would he, now that his fleet was ready to put to sea and undertake the siege of Castilnovo, treat of a truce.

The High Constable also told me that at the request, and by the intercession of Il Gritti, the truce or abstinence from war between the signory of Venice and the Grand Turk, particularly, had been prorogued for three months more. "If so (said I to the High Constable), no help is likely to come to

* Qua hacian mencion de los de Tinteville. M^r D'Inteville, as his name is sometimes spelt, was Francis' ambassador at Rome since 1537. *See* Vol. V., Part I., pp. 129, 142, 143, &c.

† The same already mentioned as having married Dorothea, daughter of the king of Denmark.

1539.

Christendom from that quarter, and the fears we all had will be realized; the Venetians are sure to look out for their own private interests rather than for the public weal."

A detailed memorandum of these transactions ought to be preserved, in order to make the Venetians feel one of these days the fault they have committed as well as the harm they have caused to Christendom.

Next day the Constable took me to the King, by whom I was, as usual, well received. After thanking him for his most solemn condolence for the late Empress (Isabella), I began by telling him how pleased Your Majesty was at hearing that your answer by Mr. de Brissach had given him satisfaction. The King assented, but remarked that as to the promises contained in that ambassador's memorandum, he (the King) had not the least doubt that they would all be fulfilled in time, but that Your Majesty had yet given no sign of it. As to himself, even if Your Majesty delayed the restitution of the duchy of Milan, which all people acknowledged to be the first and principal article of the peace, the assurances given by him at Aigues-Mortes would never fail, and peace would last the whole time of your and his natural lives.

I also told him that Your Majesty was still expecting news of the Venetian ambassador, and of Cesar Cantelmo's negociation at Constantinople, in order to ascertain what hope there might be of a truce with the Turk, and that since Cantelmo had returned and reported on his mission, I begged for reliable information on those points that I might transmit it to Your Majesty.

French. Original. pp. 3.

2 Aug. **78.** The SAME to the SAME.

P. Arc. Nat. Negot. Pap. de Simancas, K. 1484, No. 92. Olim B 3, 63.

On the 28th ult. Your Majesty's letter of the 17th came to hand, brought by secretary de Lordres, together with the copy of those written to the king of the Romans, and some more from the Most Christian king of France to Your Imperial Majesty, in which last allusion is made to Mr. de Tinteville's despatches.

The day after (29th of August) Cesare Cantelmo arrived in Paris, where I myself was still staying with the Palatine duke Frederic, whom I left there a little better disposed (as I believe) than when I met him the first time, as I wrote last by Cornelius Scepper.

I have purposely come to this village of Senlis, in order to hear from the King and the Constable's lips—now residing at Chantilly—what has been the result of Cantelmo's voyage to, and negotiations in, the Levant. To do that I went straight to the High Constable's lodgings, and asked him point blank what news the said Cantelmo had brought from Constantinople. Montmorency's answer was, that neither he (Cantelmo) nor Rincon, who accompanied him, had been able

1539.

to speak to the Grand Turk; they had only seen Ayás-bassá, with whom they had talked according to the orders received from the Most Christian, explaining to him what the united forces of Christendom and their numbers were, and how it had been resolved to march against and exterminate him. After which (he said) they had recommended a truce as most desirable, trying to persuade them to procure it and bring it about, and offering King Francis' services for that purpose, since (they said) the occasion was most favorable and propitious, he (Francis) being at present a great friend and ally of Your Majesty's, and the whole of Christendom well disposed to enter into an agreement of that sort and follow your and the King's advice.

Ayas' * answer was that his master, the Sultan, was well informed of the military preparations of the Christians, which, however, were not so great or so formidable as they chose to represent. That the Sultan himself was not at all afraid of them, and had made up his mind not to treat of truce, much less make one, until he had recovered Castilnovo, which he intended to besiege and take by force of arms, cutting the garrison to pieces, so that in future people might forbear from interfering with his affairs or invading his dominions. For that reason, even if the garrison should offer to surrender beforehand, he (the Sultan) would not admit them to capitulation, but slay them to the last man as an example to others; and since his fleet was now ready to put to sea, there was no occasion to recall it from that service, much less make it return or suspend its action by treating of a truce.

Such was (I was told) the report of the French ambassadors [to Turkey], and yet the High Constable (Montmorency) told me that some time after, at the request of and by the intercession of Gritti, the truce or abstinence from war had been prorogued four months, though only with Venice, exclusively of any other power; from which I gather, if that be true, that no help or assistance to Christendom is to be expected from the Signory. This is, after all, a thing that falls in well with the traditional politics of the Venetians, who constantly prefer their own interests to the common weal. A record should be kept of their present doings, so that in future, and whenever the opportunity offers itself, they may be made to feel the wrong they have done in this instance, to the great inconvenience and injury of Christendom.

The day after I had audience from the King, to whom, after explaining Your Majesty's answer to the overtures made in his name by Monsieur de Brissach and the bishop of Tarbes (Antoine de Castelnau), we entered on the Castilnovo affairs. I told him that Your Majesty was expecting to hear what Cesare Cantelmo and the Venetian ambassador had negociated at Constantinople, in order to ascertain thereby what hope

* Ayás, Ayax, or Ayash. *See* above, p. 176.

1539.

there was of a general truce between Christendom and the Turk, and, therefore, that since Cantelmo had returned, he would perhaps let me know what had been the result of his mission, that I might inform Your Majesty thereof. His answer was, that the Venetian ambassador to Turkey had died on the road to Constantinople, and that owing to that reason the negociations for a general truce had remained in suspense. As regards Cesare Cantelmo himself, the King spoke to me in the very same words as the High Constable, and added that he was about to send on a mission to Your Majesty L'Esleu d'Orange,* to inform you of the whole, and enquire how he (the King) was to proceed in the affair, whether he was to give up entirely the negociations for a general truce, or repeat his application. At this point of our conference, king Francis began to complain bitterly to me of the many lies which, he said, were in circulation against him, accusing him, among other things, that though he apparently was trying to procure that same general truce, he had nevertheless advised the Turk not to grant it, and persuaded the Venetians to conclude one of their own. His complaints, moreover, were chiefly directed against the Pope, who (he said) had, through his Nuncio in France, alluded in an indirect and rather sarcastic manner to that and other like falsehoods circulated about his royal person.† He was not (he added) a man to say one thing and do another, and were it not for the post which His Holiness filled, he would let the World know that such falsehoods about his person were exceedingly displeasing to him. In this way did the King express himself—imputing to His Holiness that he took little care of the public weal, and thought of nothing save of his own family's aggrandizement, and that since the marriage of Mr. de Vendôme to his grand daughter had been refused, he (the Pope) had made use of angry words expressive of his disappointment (*agriar y desabridas*), although the refusal had been accompanied with honest and reasonable excuses. From these and other words the King has used in public, as well as from the fact that since Cantelmo's return the Papal Nuncio here has been unable to obtain an audience, —though he has applied for it two or three times,—it is natural to conclude that the present disagreement between His Holiness and the Most Christian king of France is assuming large proportions. The Nuncio, moreover, is of opinion that since the embassy to Constantinople was sent by this King's advice, conjointly with that of the Venetian ambassador and mine, it was but natural and reasonable that a certain deference should be shown to his master and himself. He feels, above all things, Cantelmo's want of courtesy, for when he first arrived here, he went to sup with the Venetian ambassador,

* Coadjutor Lud. Pelissier, 1529–42.

† "Lo qual era como dezir cosa falsa, y no era el para usar tan mal venturadamente, quexandose en gran manera del Papa que se lo havia hecho dar á entender por su Nuncio, que aqui reside, con palabras cubiertas y muy picantes."

1539.

and though he (the Nuncio) sent him word that he wished to see him, he never called upon him, proffering various pleas and excuses which were highly impertinent.

In the prosecution of his complaints to me, the King did not forget to inquire what I knew about the charges once brought against him respecting count Guillaume de Fustemberg and other Germans, which Mr. de Tarbes had mentioned in his correspondence. On this particular point the King said that never, upon any occasion whatever, had he intrusted that German nobleman to introduce motions into the Francfort diet. Such falsehoods about his own person (he said) ought not to be credited. He firmly believed that the archbishop of Lunden would, in Your Majesty's name, have done his utmost to dispossess the princes collected at Francfort of the idea that he (Francis) wished to wage war with the Emperor, and make him lose all his German friends; but that, to his great regret, was never done. He said that three months before he had sent for the bishop of Laval* to intrust to him a mission for Germany, and take besides Your Majesty's orders on the whole; he was still waiting to know Your Majesty's pleasure thereupon.

The King also spoke to me about Your Majesty's intended journey to Italy, without omitting one single argument of the many that have been put forward at other times to show that an interview between Your Majesty and this King at the present juncture is not only unnecessary but superfluous, owing to there having been no time yet to deliberate on the conditions proposed on either side, and also because Your Majesty had determined to hold first a conference with your brother the king of the Romans before coming to a conclusion on the whole. Though the King showed by his words that the excuse seemed to him plausible enough, yet I could perceive that he was by no means satisfied with it, declaring that his object in proposing an interview had been no other than that of giving people to understand, by means of such an interview, that his confidence and trust in Your Majesty had not diminished in the least, and removing from the envious all cause for calumny and slander. But since time and opportunity were not favorable for such an interview in Italy, it was indifferent to him when and where it took place—in Spain, Burgundy, or Flanders. He should, he said, always be ready to go and meet Your Imperial Majesty within your own dominions, and bring you into his kingdom, where you might stay as long as you pleased, and command therein as if you were the king of France.

Though Your Majesty has ordered me not to speak to the King, but only to the High Constable, of what passed between Mr. de Granvelle and the bishop of Tarbes, and the conversation they held together on the Turkish business, yet,

* There was no bishopric of that name in France. Could it be a mistake for Lavaur? If so, the bishop alluded to was George de Selve (1529–43).

1539.

perceiving by the King's words that he must be well informed of all that was said on the occasion, I thought that some remarks of mine on your mutual suspicions would not be amiss on the occasion. Knowing, therefore, from Mr. de Granvelle the substance of his conversation with the Bishop, and the latter's answer when interpellated as to his master's unwillingness to declare against the Turk, I openly told Mr. de Montmorency that the Bishop had then and there given hopes of a general truce with the Infidel, promising, if he refused to grant it, to join his forces to those of the Christian princes. That declaration (I said) seemed to me the fittest means to stop the mouths of calumniators, and if king Francis would make His Holiness and the Venetians understand that he himself was determined to do his duty towards Christendom, and join his forces to those of other Christian princes in order to confound and exterminate the Turk, there can be no doubt that a good effect would be produced, the Turk would give way, and the Venetians relent in their immoderate desire of keeping aloof, when their interests are concerned, from the rest of the Christian community.

The very same remark was by me applied to the Separatists. If the King, his master, would only declare that he was ready to help Your Imperial Majesty, unconditionally, in whatever remedy might be proposed to mend matters of Faith, according to his most solemn promise at Aigues-Mortes, no slander whatever would fall on him.

This the Grand Master answered in general terms, saying that his inclination and will were that his master's calumniators should be promptly confounded, and truth become manifest. Yet I could not persuade him to adopt at once either of the two means proposed, and that immediately after Your Majesty's answer to the letter taken by L'Esleu d'Orange measures should be taken in that line.

After this conference the Grand Master went into the King's chamber and remained a long time closeted with him, conversing, as I do believe, on the above matter. Two hours after he sent for me, and received me in a small cabinet (*salecica*), where he and I held another conference on the very same topic. Nothing, however, was done or said at it save the repetition of nearly the same arguments on my part, and the promise on that of the High Constable that on the arrival of Your Majesty's answer everything should be satisfactorily arranged.

Among the suspicions which these people entertain concerning Your Majesty, and which, by the way, have been confirmed by the Bishop's letters, one is that Your Imperial Majesty is not in earnest. This assertion is in the mouth of every courtier, accompanied by jokes (*burlas*) of every description.* The King, however, pays no attention to them,

* "Y que cada dia andavan cerca dal dicho señor Rey para imprimir las mayores burlas del mundo con (en?) las quales él no [se] paraba, y queria rechazar todas aquellas intenciones, y yr el camino de verdadera amistad."

1539.

and has done all he could to baffle their intentions, and follow the ways of true and cordial friendship without feint or dissimulation of any sort. As to what was said that the interview at Aigues-Mortes had not improved at all the condition of public affairs, the High Constable observed that it was just the reverse, since after the prorogation of the truce a peace had been concluded to last the lives of the two monarchs, and besides that marriages had been proposed, through which peace would subsist between your successors. True it was that those marriages, the investiture of Milan, and other things then promised were only conditional and dependent upon other articles, on which there was to be perfect conformity, that being, perhaps, the reason why the King did not work as much good as he might have done in the business of which I had spoken to him. Neverthless, he could assure me that whatever might be the course of affairs, the peace would last as long as Your Majesty's and the King's lives. This he (the High Constable) assured me on his honour and life.

Such speeches from the mouth of the High Constable will show Your Imperial Majesty what these peoples' intentions may be. In my opinion they will go on assuring us that peace will not be broken by them, and they will faithfully observe, as long as this King lives, whatever comes out of the present negociations; yet they are not sure of the proposed marriages taking effect. The High Constable has told me openly that until peace be definitively concluded, and the remaining difficulties solved, there will not be on the side of France all the good that we might and ought otherwise to expect. He has, moreover, declared to me, as it were in passing, and even out of season, that his master is both powerful and rich, and that this year he is no longer poor as before, but affluent, and has plenty of ready money. My answer has been that I am very glad to hear it, as his master will thus be enabled to help Christendom against the Turk efficiently.

I have heard from Mr. de Lordres' lips the result of his negociations in Portugal, and fancy that the king (of Portugal), from his having asked for time to deliberate, is not much inclined to the marriage of the Infanta Da. Maria with the eldest son of the king of the Romans. Da. Leonor (Eleanor),* her mother, present queen of France, has been sorry to hear of that, and the Infanta herself is greatly disappointed. The former has written desiring me to procure her from Flanders a copy of the will of the Infante of Portugal, her former husband, containing the obligations under which the present king of Portugal [Dom Joaõ III.], his heir, is of seeing her married, with what dower, and so forth. I am told that an attested copy of the marriage settlement has already been forwarded to her; she herself has shown me a transcript of it, the provision being that on her reaching the age of 16 the

* Leonor, the Emperor's sister, and wife of Francis I., had first been married to the Infante of Portugal, Dom Joaõ, son of king Dom Manoel.

1539.

Infanta (Maria) will be at liberty to go and reside wherever she pleases. Queen Leonor, therefore, commands me to write to Your Majesty and say that she wishes to remove her daughter from Portugal by some good and honest means; and, if so, that Your Majesty will allow her to live in company with your daughters,* the Infantas of Spain, and that king Francis, her husband, proposes to assist her coming from Portugal and receive her in his household, offering all manner of securities as to her not marrying without the express consent of Your Imperial Majesty and of the Queen, her mother. But this is not what queen Eleonor wants; she would much prefer that Your Majesty received her daughter in Spain, though, on the other hand, she would be glad to have her nearer her person. It appears that king Francis is in favour of that, for the other day, happening to discuss this affair with the Queen, his wife, he said to her: "It might be, after all, that in the course of time a marriage with the Dauphin (Henri) might be arranged, that is, in the event of anything happening to his present wife, the Dauphine, who is much subject to catarrhs (*catarros*), and is continually in bad health." I cannot say whether king Francis' ideas go beyond that, for all here are sorry that such a marriage did ever take place, owing chiefly to her having no children yet.†

Spanish. Original. pp. 17.

Aug. **79.** KING FRANCIS to the EMPEROR.

P. Arch. Nat. K. 1484, No. 94. B. M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 2106.

Having heard from various quarters that malignant persons, sworn enemies of Christendom, envious of the brotherly friendship which now unites them, have lately been trying to circulate rumours and engender suspicions in order to injure the said friendship, he [king Francis] takes up his pen to assure the Emperor that he is, and will ever be, his true friend and ally, will help and assist him when required, and is quite ready to forward his plans in Germany and elsewhere. In proof of which knowing, through the Imperial ambassador, the need there is of a French prelate attending the future diet, he (Francis) is about to dispatch thither his beloved and faithful councillor and ambassador residing near His Imperial Majesty, the bishop of Tarbes.—Chantilly, Aug. 1539.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 2.

13 Aug. **80.** The MARQUIS DE AGUILAR to the SAME.

S. E. Roma., Leg. 868, f. 10. B. M. *Add.* 28,591.

Cardinal Farnese arrived on the 21st of July. A conference was next day held between His Holiness, the duke of Castro, and secretary Marcello, he [Aguilar] being present.

* At this time the Emperor had two daughters: *Maria*, born on the 21st of June 1528, who was married to the emperor Maximilian, and died, a widow, on the 26th of February 1603; and *Juana*, born in 1535, and who died in 1573.

† "Y nosé sy él piensa alguna cosa más adelante, y temo que sy, porque les pesa mucho obeste caramiento, y de que ella no haze hijos."

1539.

With regard to the continuation of the peace between Your Majesty and the king of France, the Pope showed confidence that nothing would be treated of without his knowledge and through his means, though he still suspects that king Francis does not proceed with sincerity, especially since the result of Cantelmo's mission has been made known.

That the marriage of the King's daughter (Margaret) was proposed by him for the sole purpose of better consolidating the peace and alliance between them.

Respecting the Council, His Holiness was glad to hear that the means proposed by him to prevent its assembling, or rather to suspend it, have met with the Emperor's approbation. As to the affairs of Germany, His Holiness is now forwarding to his Nuncio in Spain the report sent by card. Brundusino of his own and Dr. Mathias' doings, and their negociation with the king of the Romans. In that report it is stated that the archbishop of Lunden did not conduct himself with sufficient dexterity, having granted [to the Lutherans] things which the Emperor ought not to approve of in any way. That the Diet ought not to be held at Vürtemberg, but in some other imperial city where His Majesty may be residing at the time. The report itself has been sent to some cardinals for inspection.

The Pope asked him whether the Emperor had decided anything about his coming to Italy. Answered, as at other times, that he (Aguilar) had no news of that; but believed that if needed the Emperor would not be wanting. His wish was to come; but he must needs first put his affairs in order, and Barbarossa being at the head of so formidable a fleet, he could not, without a powerful one to oppose to him, think of putting to sea. His Holiness then said that his intention was to repair to our Lady of Loreto at the end of this month; should he (Aguilar) hear of the Emperor's embarkation, he will take up his road towards Lombardy, and if not, come back and pass the winter at Rome.

With regard to England, he (Aguilar) stated what he had been written to on the subject, and both cardinal Farnese and secretary Marcello related all that had passed between them and the Emperor's Councillors, it having been decided that it was inconvenient to proceed with the affair before those of Germany had been fairly settled. Upon which His Holiness made a long speech (*razonamiento*), lamenting himself that the delay might be the cause of the king of England doing worse and worse, and that whilst His Imperial Majesty urged that cardinal Pole should go to the king of France in order to talk over the affair, the latter excused himself by saying that the Cardinal's visit to his Court would be ineffectual unless he brought with him some particular resolution as to the measures to be taken in case of the exhortation to be made by the Imperial ambassadors and his proving insufficient, and the King of that country remaining in his pertinacious obstinacy. Even if king Francis should agree to the Cardinal's visit in the manner and with the mission

1539.

arranged with cardinal Farnese, and the ambassadors were sent to England, Pole's journey to that country would be useless, especially if it was not immediately followed by a suspension of all trade with that country. He (the Pope) saw no other remedy for the present than to keep the thing alive until a better opportunity, lest the king of England should imagine that his misdeeds had been forgotten. What grieved him most (added His Holiness) was that he did not consider king Francis to be firm and constant enough to persevere in the good purpose he now was in.—Rome, x. August 1539.

Signed: "El Marques de Aguilar."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty, &c."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

20 Aug. **81.** POPE PAUL to the EMPEROR.

S. E. Roma, L. 868, f. 76.
B. M. *Add.* 28,391, f. 214.

Condolence on the death of empress Isabella.

Respecting the affairs of which Your Majesty spoke to Our grandson, cardinal Farnese, and which have since been communicated to Us by your ambassador here, We have only to say that, wishing always to be agreeable to Your Majesty in all things depending upon Us, and yielding also to the continual and urgent applications of Our grandson (Ottavio) and of his wife, Madame, your daughter, whom We love so much on account of her many and singular virtues, We have determined to send to you the bearer of this present letter, Micer Giovan Riccio, who, possessing all Our confidence, being well informed of all Our affairs, as well as of those of Germany and the Turk, will be able, attended by Our Nuncio (Poggio), to tell Your Majesty how matters stand. I beg that, as soon as the said Riccio has fulfilled the mission which We have entrusted to him—which, besides having reference to public affairs, touches also on those of Our family—he may be allowed to return immediately to Us.—Rome, 20 August 1539.

Indorsed: "To His Majesty, from the Pope, in his own hand, by Juan Riccio de Montepulchano."

Italian. Holograph. p. 1.

15 Sept. **82.** The EMPEROR to the MARQUIS, his AMBASSADOR at ROME.

S. E., L. 865, f. 132.
B.M. *Add.* 28,391, f. 216.

On the 23rd inst. your letter of the xiiith came to hand. As most of the intelligence therein contained had already been received from various quarters We need not refer to it.

Respecting Our peace and friendship with the king of France there is nothing new to be said. Some days ago the High Constable's Secretary came to this court to inform Us in the King's name of what Cesaro Cantelmo had negociated at Constantinople with the Turk, offering, as usual, his services, in that quarter, and renewing his promises of help and assistance in all cases.

Neither is there anything new to say respecting the Council, except that, upon closer examination of His Holiness' breve,

1539.

it would seem as if the suspension was solely due to what We and Our brother, the king of the Romans, represented to him. But let it be known that both We and Our brother have never ceased to advocate as a necessity the meeting of the Council.

As to Germany, the resolution His Holiness has taken of making the deposit of the 50,000 crowns has been both wise and convenient.

With regard to Our journey to Italy this year, nothing has yet been decided. We refer you to Our letters.

As to the English business, We again say that Cardinal Pole's journey to the court of France is convenient and useful, that people may see that the ambassadors go thither by common agreement.—Aranjuez, 15 Sept. 1539.

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

15 Sept. **83.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. Roma, L. 868.
B M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 216.

The enclosed was written and about to be closed when Juan Riccio de Montepulchano, His Holiness' Camarlengo, came here. By the letters he brought from you, and from Our viceroy of Naples, as well as by those of Venice, We were apprized of the unfortunate loss of Castilnovo and its garrison, which loss We have felt, as you may believe. If, therefore, We are to provide for the defence of Christendom, threatened by the Turk, especially if Venice makes peace with him, it will be necessary that the Pope bear with Us all the weight.

Upon matters of Faith, and the affairs of Germany and England, the said Camarlengo (Riccio) and His Holiness' Nuncio (Poggio) have held long conferences with the members of Our Privy Council, and, besides that, have given a memorandum in writing of the opinions of His Holiness, and of the Sacred College of Cardinals, all trying to prove that Our journey to England was a matter of necessity, if the relative affairs of those countries were to be remedied.

The Pope's Camarlengo and the Nuncio also spoke about Camarino, Rocha Guillermo, the right of the Duchess to the succession of the duke Alessandro de Medici, the faculty His Holiness has of drawing annually from Sicily a certain quantity of wheat, and last, not least, the voyage of Ottavio Farnese, who is likely to come to this Our Court.

With regard to matters of Faith in Germany, We refer you to the enclosed Memorandum,* and command you to explain to His Holiness, whenever there be an opportunity, that We consider ourselves under the obligation of again sending to that country the archbishop of Lunden,† because the accusations brought against that prelate have never been substantiated or proved, nor does he appear to have failed in

* Not in the packet.

† About this archbishop, whose name was Torbern-Bilde, *see* Vol. V., Part II., p. 350. He was succeeded in the See by John Vesalius or *a Vessa*.

1539.

the exercise of his duty; what he consented to at the recess of Francfort was done by force and the apprehension of greater evils, &c.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

24 Sept. S. E., L. 1459, ff. 128–9. B. M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 220.

84. Deliberations in Council respecting a League with France against the Turk.

With marginal notes in the handwriting of Idiaquez.

Spanish. Original. pp. 20.

24 Sept. Arch. Nat., Neg. & Pap. Simancas, 1484, No. 21.

85. Deciphering of Letters from the Ambassador of France.

Since writing to Your Majesty on the 3rd, I have been waiting for news from Flanders.

24 Sept. S. E., Leg. 1459. ff. 128–9. B. M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 220.

86. Deliberation in the Emperor's Council on the Articles of the Proposed League with France against the Turk.*

The new League is founded on the Emperor's reciprocal friendship for king Francis, and the good will and readiness of the latter to employ himself on behalf of Christendom. That considering the great efforts the Turk is making to molest and oppress the Christian community, it is important that instead of the partial league between His Holiness the Pope, the Emperor, and the Venetians, a general one be made, comprising all Christian princes, &c.

The Imperial ambassador in France is to thank the King for his acceptance of the proposed general League; assure him of the great pleasure he (the Emperor) has received at hearing of his readiness to co-operate against the Infidel; that every thing will be done according to his advice, and the ambassadors at Rome of both monarchs might together inform His Holiness of the League about to be made, begging him to keep it secret until it be actually concluded.

As to the Venetians, it must be left entirely to the King's choice, either to show them confidence and invite them to join it, by means of messengers from both Majesties (Emperor and King), or else let His Holiness do it according to the state of their negociations with the Turk at the time.

On what base is the new League to rest, and how is the cessation of the preceding one to be accounted for?

Is the League or confederacy to be between the Emperor and the king of France only, leaving room for the Pope, the Venetians, and other Christian kings and powers to join it? or are the Pope and Venice at once to be included in it, for fear they should resent the omission? In either case the thing could not remain a secret, which is what king Francis fears.

* The same paper as that under No. 84, only fuller, and apparently original.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES CENTRAL

1539.

Let the ambassador speak only of the defensive League at first; but should king Francis give a hint about the offensive one, let Us know what his intentions are.

Is the League to be merely a defensive one or offensive also?

Should it be offensive how long is it to last, and in what manner, so that the defensive may not be impaired through it.

Coming to treat about an offensive war, what part of the Turkish territory is to be attacked or invaded, and if conquered, what is to be done with it? this last being most probably a specification the French will insist upon.

Is the League to be by sea and land against the Grand Turk, Barbarossa, and the rest of the Infidels, or merely against the two former, for it would seem hard to oblige the king of France to take up arms everywhere against the Infidels in general.

The answer to this article is that the Imperial ambassador in France ought to sound the King respecting this point. Should king Francis find it hard to contribute with money or men to the defence of those countries, let him stipulate at least that the King may help in some way or other by assisting the king of the Romans in those parts, and inducing king Jean Zapolsky to take up arms.

Are Hungary and Sclavonia to be included also in the League, so that, if attacked by the Turk those countries may be defended, or is an offensive war to be carried on through them? If so, the French are sure to say that this matter is the exclusive concern of the king of the Romans, and the states of the Empire.

This is to be managed with great dexterity, for fear king Francis should allege, as he has done at other times, that we tax or rate his good-will. The contribution should be left entirely to his choice, sure, as the Emperor is, that the great friendship he now professes, as well as the duty imposed upon him as Most Christian king of France, will be a sufficient stimulus on the occasion. Should he ask with what sum His Imperial Majesty is likely to contribute, the ambassador will answer "one third: the other two thirds being paid by His Holiness and the Venetians," as stipulated in the preceding treaty of League, or that if the Venetians do not join, their part be paid by His Holiness and the king of France.

What will be the contingent in men and money to be furnished by the parties according to their dignity and quality and also to the greater proximity of their dominions to Turkey.

1539.

This is to be understood repecting the defensive war, for if it is to be offensive, it is but just that the expenses should be borne, one half by the Emperor, the other by the King.

The ambassador will try to ascertain what the King is likely to do without pressing him too hard. As the Pope cannot arm his galleys, it has been agreed that he will pay his contingent in money, and therefore, should king Francis prefer this, he may do it, and fix at once the sum with which he is willing to contribute.

The ambassador is to feel the King's pulse on the subject, and try to ascertain what his real motives are, but this to be done without arousing suspicion or suspending the negociations.

The ambassador is to take care that the stipulations be express and clear, so that everything may be ready for next year during the month of May without fail.

After declaring that the Emperor is not at all desirous of greater authority for himself and his ministers than that which the King has a right to, the ambassador must try discreetly, and through the medium of the Queen, the cardinal of Lorraine, and the constable of France, to procure that the King allow the command of the forces to be given to Doria, who, besides his great experience in sea matters, was reconciled with him at Aigues-Mortes last year, and is sure to treat the French galleys and crews with the utmost care and attention.

During the month of May, 1540, as above said.

The ambassador to read this article to the King, and ask his pleasure thereupon, although the truth is that the condition as to time had better be left for a separate treaty

Yes, in France, and let full powers be sent to the Imperial ambassador.

The Imperial ambassador in France is to be particularly instructed as to this point.

What is to be stipulated respecting other minor expenses, such as ammunition, the provisioning of the galleys, and the pay of the infantry ?

How and at what time are the remaining Christian princes to be invited to join the League since the king of France wishes it to remain secret ?

How and in what form to treat with them, so that with or without their intervention the defensive League may go on without impediment ?

Who is to be the head and chief of the defensive League, and are its captains to be under the Commander in Chief ?

When is the League, if offensive, to commence, taking for granted that the king of France accept its terms as proposed ?

Is the above condition to be stipulated in the treaty of League itself or communicated to the King separately, which would seem a more honorable way of doing the thing ?

Is the League to be negociated in France as the King wishes ?

That there be no difficulty or impediment in the negociations, it is important to declare and explain

1539.

in detail every incident connected with the League, as for instance: should king Francis object to the articles of the treaty being submitted to the Pope's judgment or declaration, what is to be done?

That may be settled here, and will come under the head of mutual securities to be obtained from the contracting parties.

And again, how and in what manner is it to be stipulated that neither of the contracting parties is to treat separately with the Venetians unless the consent and knowledge of the other be previously obtained? And what security is to be asked?

It has always been thought best not to take more obligations than those that are absolutely necessary; and yet, considering the terms on which we are with the Turk, and that the date fixed for fulfilling mutual engagements is close at hand, there will be no harm, on the contrary much good, in taking further obligations, since the French might thereby become more confident, and overcome their scruples, if they had any, at this security having been offered by them over and over again without any corresponding offer on our part. It would, therefore, be more honest and straightforward to make the said security a general one. There can be no objection as to Germany, because, as subjects are not to be included, there is hardly any possibility of treating any thing important with them, even if the king of France were to interfere; if, by God's will, a perfect and complete peace be made with him—the date fixed being close at hand—it stands to reason that all German affairs would then go on smoothly, and, if necessary, be settled by our common participation in them.

This matter, however, is so important that the Imperial ambassador at the court of France will be written to, that he may continually inform the Emperor of any incident that may occur during the negociations of the above and other points, and also of the King's and ministers' will.*—24 Sept. 1539.

Will it be enough for the purpose to accept the offer previously made, and actually renewed by the king of France, of not treating with other Powers?

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 15.

* The marginal notes (*apostillas*) are in Covos' hand.

1539.

4 Oct. **87.** The Emperor to the Marquis de Aguilar.

S. E., L. 868, f. 138. B. M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 228.

On the 15th ult. We wrote to you by treasurer Ravaga. Since then your despatches of the 11th and 15th Sept. have come to hand. Having apprized you of the arrival of Montepulchano, and of what was treated with him, We need not say more on that subject, and refer you to Our letters.

With regard to the Venetians, you are to use, in union with Our ambassador to that Republic [Don Diego de Mendoza], every means in your power to make them continue in the League, or, at least, if they do desert it, that they do not become Our enemies, assuring them that His Holiness and We ourselves will continue to assist and help them if attacked by the Turk.

The state of Our relations with king Francis being at present friendly, and he having shown perfect good will in what concerns the welfare of Christendom, We could not do less, after the loss of Castilnovo, than propose to him what We considered the best means for the defence of threatened Christendom, and especially a League of all the Christian princes and powers against the Turk. This king Francis accepted, telling Our ambassador at his Court that, should We send him a memorandum of the chief matters to be discussed with His Holiness' interference, he had no objection whatever. We have, therefore, written to Our ambassador at Rome, marquis de Aguilar, to beg His Holiness to enter that League in the name of the Apostolic See, and keep it secret until the time for action comes, and We have decided, in union with the Most Christian King, on the measures to be taken in May next. And should king Francis be of opinion that the Venetians ought to be invited to join it, notwithstanding their present relations with the Turk, let it be done, as there can be no harm in the invitation. Should they adhere to the new League, well and good; if not, We shall know at once that they are the friends of the Turk, and that they are perhaps acting in concert with king Francis.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 4½.

24 Oct. **88.** Instructions to Don Luis de Çuñiga, sent to Italy for the purpose of making known the Emperor's Intentions to go to Flanders through France.

S. P. R. Diversos de Italia. Leg. 1°., f. 12, y. 18.

For the causes more particularly detailed in the other set of secret instructions, which go along with these, We have decided to visit Our dominion of Flanders, passing through France. Our intention is to start by half-posts and as small a retinue as possible for those countries, in order to arrive the sooner.* We shall leave this on the 8th or 9th of November,

* Yendo a media posta, y con la menor compañia que se pudiere para llegar más presto allá.

1539.

and, after visiting on Our way the Most Christian king of France and the Queen, Our sister, the Dolfin (Dauphin), and duke of Orliens (Orleans), their sons, without stopping more than the necessary time for such visits, We shall prosecute Our journey to Flanders, where Our brother, the king of the Romans, Ferdinand, will already be. During the winter months We shall attend to the pacification and good order of Our Flemish dominions, that We may be free and disengaged to negociate and conclude with the king of France certain matters still pending between Us, and, among others, certain intermarriages. Both together, We shall consider what had better be done in Germany respecting matters of Faith, and others touching the welfare of Christendom, and principally the resistance to the Turk, so as to be able to attend by next spring to the welfare of Christendom.*

Such being our determination, We have expressly appointed you, Don Luis de Zuñiga, gentleman of Our Chamber, to go to Italy and inform prince Doria and others of Our ministers in that country of Our intended journey.

After landing at Genoa, you will call on the Prince (Doria), who must have returned by this time, and, conjointly with commander Figueroa, Our ambassador to that Republic, communicate to him the contents of these present instructions. You will ask Doria's opinion respecting the armaments for next year, the number of galleys, stores of provisions, &c., which he considers necessary for the good issue of the enterprize, taking into account that king Francis has again sent to Constantinople Cesare Cantelmo, to see if he can persuade the Grand Turk to grant a general truce.

You will then go to the marquis del Gasto, our governor of the state of Milan, and order him in Our name to go personally to Venice and apprize the Signory of Our determination, which is to make war upon the Turk in the spring of next year. The Marquis is to assure the Venetians that, in negociating with king Francis, We shall take care that no harm be done to them, and that, whatever stipulations are made between us two, may not be to their disadvantage, but solely and exclusively for the welfare of Christendom at large and the repulsion of the Turk. That both His Holiness and the Signory will be consulted as to the best means of carrying Our warlike plans into execution, and that We hope they will help and assist as befits a Christian Republic. And should king Francis wish to back these representations of Ours, and send thither an embassy for the purpose, We have directed that copies of these very instructions should be forwarded to

* "Y declararemor y assentaremos cos el dicho Christianissimo Rey las que entre Nos y él quedan por aclarar tratando algunos casamiêntos [de familia] para mayor confirmacion y asseguracion de la dicho nuestra amistad y de los nuestros, y miraremos ambos lo que se deura hazer en las de la fee y de Alemania, y en las otras del bien publico de la Christiandad, y principalmente en lo que será necessario para la resistencia del dicho Turco."

1539.

Mons. de Praët, and to Our ambassador at the French court, in order that he may, if he approves of them, write to his ambassador at Venice accordingly.

You will afterwards proceed to Rome, and, having delivered to the marquis de Aguilar the letter you have for him, you and he will call on His Holiness and communicate the whole of these instructions, assuring him at the same time that nothing shall be discussed or done at Our future interview with king Francis of which he will not be immediately informed, and that every regard and respect for his person, dignity, and authority shall be shown.

Should you find an opportunity, you will, with the Marquis' advice, speak in favor of the prince of Sulmona, and try that justice be done in the lawsuit in which he is now engaged. The same may be said respecting that of the monastery of Santa Catarina de Sena with the High Commander of Castille.*—Madrid, 24 Oct. 1539.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 8.

26 Oct.

S. P. to R^{l}., Diversos de Italia, L. 1, ff. 9–11.
B. M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 240.

89. SECRET INSTRUCTIONS to DON LUYS DE ÇUÑIGA, who left MADRID for ITALY on the 24th of October 1539.

Besides the general instructions† which you, Don Luys de Çuñiga, gentleman of Our Chamber, received the other day for the purpose of announcing to His Holiness Our determination to repair to Flanders, passing through France, We have given orders that another set of secret† ones, further explaining the reasons and motives of Our journey thither, be prepared, that you may individually and in detail inform Prince Doria, and the rest of Our ministers in Italy, of the purpose of Our journey and passage through France. But let these instructions remain a secret between you and those with whom you may communicate; for, although the reasons and motives therein contained are all true, and there would be no harm in making them public, yet for the present it is better that they should be confidential and only known to a few.

Considering the danger in which Christendom lies, owing to the repeated invasions of the Turk; the unsettled state of affairs in Germany, which, as is well known, is a principal member of the Christian family; considering Our own particular relations with the kings of France and England; and last, not least, that Our kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, as well as the islands and fortresses We hold in Africa, and, what is more, that the coasts of Catalonia and Valencia have been for some time, and are now more than ever, in imminent peril from the Turk—whose formidable armaments are sure to be directed against Us next year—considering likewise that the

* D. Luis de Zuñiga to whom these instructions are addressed.
† These are the secret instructions above alluded to. *See* No. 88.

1539.

Venetians notwithstanding their league with His Holiness, the Pope, and with Us, made for the sole purpose of saving themselves and the whole of Christendom, did some time ago, without His Holiness' knowledge or Ours, agree first with the Turk to a suspension of hostilities, and then to another, in order to treat of a truce in the meanwhile; and that when called upon to join their forces to Ours for the defence of threatened Christianity, they excused themselves—considering that the Pope himself is unable for want of means to contribute, as he promised, towards the expenses of the League, or arm his own galleys; that Our own means are insufficient for such armaments as are required in the present emergency; that Our kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, as well as Spain and the Indies, are literally exhausted, so that it is impossible for Us to make war single-handed—considering also the revolutionary movements, by no means trifling, which are perceptible in Our Flemish dominions, and which, if unsuppressed, might offer a pretence for the Separatists and the neighbouring powers hostile to the Empire to forward their own wicked ends:

For the above reasons We have thought it important for Us to go over to Italy, as stated in the general instructions, in order to retain, if possible, the Venetians within the League, and agree with them and with His Holiness as to the best means of resisting the Turk. We naturally counted upon the king of France's assistance, whose good will and friendship towards Us have so much increased of late that he has actually offered to exert his influence with the Turk to induce him to make a general peace with Christendom, and, should he refuse, join his forces to Ours and march against him. But in making such an offer king Francis counts, no doubt, upon Our deciding in his favor certain matters, which still remain undecided between him and Us; otherwise he would not show such alacrity in coming forward.

The remedy of the German evils, and the putting down of the popular movements in Flanders, is another cause for Our projected journey. We have been patiently waiting all the summer for news of the Turkish fleet, and of Doria's return to Genoa with his galleys, but in vain; summer and autumn have passed away, We are already in winter, and yet no reliable intelligence has reached Us up to the present. Had Doria returned from his cruize, though winter is far advanced, and the navigation at such a season is difficult and even dangerous, We would willingly have exposed Our person to the perils of the sea. Even then We could never have reached Genoa before Christmas, hardly soon enough to attend to the military preparations of next year against the Turk, which if neglected would drive the Italians, and especially the inhabitants of Naples and Sicily, to despair. We should have been unable to visit Our duchy of Milan, where Our presence is needed for a few days; besides which the journey

1539.

to Flanders, which is Our principal object, being a long one, We might perhaps not have arrived there in time to pacify the troubles of that country. In order to reach that country We should have been obliged to pass either through that part of Savoy which king Francis occupies—which, after all, comes to the same thing as passing through his own kingdom—or across Switzerland, which is also very inconvenient, or through the dominions of the Signory, in which case We should have been obliged either to trust entirely to them, or else to show a sort of mistrust, which might lead them to suspect that We meant no good; they might have armed, and We should have done the same. Neither of these routes, all long and tedious, would have been more secure than the one through France, especially if the Lutherans and Separatists of Germany took it into their heads to stir, because in such an event it would have been necessary for Us to have an army, and expend considerable sums thereupon, which might be better employed in a war against the Infidel.

For the above reasons, as specified in your general instructions, We have decided to pass through France, the more so that there is still some pending business to transact between Us and the king of that country, which cannot well be settled except by Our personal and mutual understanding, as well as by Our having first conferred with Our brother the king of the Romans, Ferdinand, and with Our sister Maria, the dowager queen of Hungary and regent of the Low Countries, as well as with the States-general of Flanders.

The help and assistance against the Turk which king Francis has promised—and without which the above specified matters pending between Us and him could not be satisfactorily settled—is another cause, perhaps the principal one, of Our resolution. For in order to have that king declare himself and assist Us efficiently, it is needful that many doubtful points under discussion, and still unsettled between Us, should be cleared up, without which king Francis might perhaps embarrass Us with the Turk, or else molest Us in Germany and Flanders. Having no occasion now, as at other times, to negociate with him in Italy, Our journey thither would have been perfectly useless, for in going hence to Barcelona, waiting there for Doria's galleys, embarking for Genoa, spending a few days in Milan, and then taking the long and tedious route to Flanders, much time would have been lost. Even if We had reached France in time to treat with the Most Christian, and the latter had agreed—which We have no doubt he will—to aid Us in the war contemplated against the Infidel, it would have been too late for the King to have made the necessary preparations for the campaign of next year.

Considering, therefore, that without king Francis' efficient co-operation the undertaking against the Turk cannot succeed; that the remedy of German and Flemish affairs will have to

1539.

be postponed or will fail altogether; that both the king of France and his sons, knowing the position of Our affairs, have frequently and earnestly begged and entreated Us not to expose Our person to the dangers of the sea during these winter months, but consent to pass through their kingdom—offering Us at the same time all manner of securities in writing, as well as pledging their faith and honor in deeds and letters subscribed with their names—(copies of which are already in your possession), We have,[5] as above stated, decided to pass through France on Our way to Flanders.

To this determination of placing Ourselves, as it were, in the hands of the king of France, some of Our Privy Councillors did strongly object, alleging that Our reconciliation with king Francis was of a very recent date, that mutual friendship had not yet been consolidated, and that, although the interview at Aigues-Mortes had terminated so well, it was unwise to rely too much on precedents of that sort.* Our trust and confidence on that occasion had only lasted one day and one night, whereas at present it must continue for several days and nights, during which many untoward events might happen, such as the death of the King, the Prince's succession, and altogether a new government; and even if no attempt was made against Our liberty, the French might yet compel Us to treat of Our common affairs within the limits of their kingdom, or at least exact from Us the promise of concluding those very affairs to their profit and satisfaction.

The above representations are certainly prudent and well meant, but, considering the need in which We are of king Francis' assistance and help for the sake of threatened Christendom, and of Our dominions in particular, and that, in order to obtain his help and co-operation against the Turk, it is first necessary to clear up certain matters between Us and him, unite and bind Ourselves together, and that this kind of business cannot possibly be attended to in Italy, but in Flanders, where We must first meet Our brother (Ferdinand) and Our sister (Maria), besides consulting the General States of Flanders, and that, even in the case of Our brother being able to come to Italy for the purpose, Our sister, the queen of Hungary, could not; that business of this kind cannot well be done by a third person or by letter, for fear of delay and confusion, We have made up Our mind to repair to Flanders by way of France.

Such are the causes of and reasons for Our determination. You will inform prince Doria and the rest of Our ministers in Italy on this point; but let the thing remain secret, for fear of some scruple or inconvenience arising on account of Our passage through France. Copies of your general instructions (not of these secret and confidential ones) have already been

* "La prudencia no quiere que muchas vezes se hagan semejantes cosas por la mudanza que podria hauer en las voluntades."

1539.

forwarded to Mr. de Praët and to Our ambassador in France, in order that both may show confidence and trust, and, should the King approve of their contents, a memorandum might be made and circulated to that effect.

Doria to be asked to state his opinion in writing about the number of galleys required for next year's campaign, ammunition, provisions, &c., and also upon what the marquis del Gasto is to say and do at Venice during his stay there.

Should Doria not be at Genoa on your landing there, let ambassador Figueroa have a copy of these secret instructions, as well as of the general ones, that he may show it to the Prince on his return.

After this you will go to Milan and Rome, there to do the work specified in your general instructions. Immediately after your arrival at Genoa you will send an express to the marquis de Aguilar, that he may in general terms acquaint His Holiness with the object of this your mission, taking good care, when you reach that capital, to apprize him most particularly of the whole, and assure him in the presence of the Marquis—who will accompany you on that and other occasions—that whatever We may hereafter treat with the king of France shall be communicated to him.

Another express to be sent to Our ambassador in Venice.

Should the Marquis consider it necessary for you to remind His Holiness of certain particulars relating to pending negociations with him, such as that of the cardinals' hats, prince of Sulmona, High Commander of Castille, count de Sant Segundo, &c., you will apply to him in Our name, in conformity with Our wishes and instructions to the Marquis. After staying at Rome as many days as you and the Marquis may deem strictly necessary for your business, you will go first to Genoa to visit prince Doria, and ask his opinion respecting Our inquiries about the armaments of next year, &c. This being done, you will join us in Flanders or France, wherever We may be.

You will visit Our daughter, the Duchess (Margarita), informing her of Our determination, and telling her to try and give satisfaction in all matters to His Holiness, to the duke of Castro, and to all the members of the Farnese family, not forgetting to take Lope Hurtado's advice as to that.—Madrid, 26 Oct. 1539.*

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 8.

29 Oct. **90.** The Marquis de Aguilar to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 868, f. 19.
B. M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 254.

Wrote on the 21st inst. by an express going to Portugal, who was at the same time the bearer of the two breves for the half-fruits. Answered in full all the questions contained

* The date bears Madrid à xxvi. Oct^{e} de MDXXXIX., and yet, according to the Vandenesse's Itinerary (p. 512), the Emperor left Madrid on the 12th, was at Valladolid on the 20th, and thence took post to France.

1539.

in the letter brought by treasurer Rabago. Since then one from the Emperor has been received, which requires no answer, inasmuch as its contents refer almost entirely to the orders brought by the said treasurer. He [Aguilar] is waiting for news of what Mr. de Saint Vincent may have negociated in France concerning the universal League against the Turk. *Meanwhile, and in obedience to the Emperor's commands, the whole affair shall be kept secret, but he (Aguilar) cannot help thinking that the French ambassador may already have said something about it to the Pope,* for in conversation with the latter, and whilst we were both commenting upon the answer given by the Grand Turk to the Venetian ambassador respecting a particular peace with the Signory, His Holiness told him plainly that he was now working to make the Venetians re-enter the League, giving their ambassador here to understand how fit and convenient it would be for them to do so, especially now that peace and amity between the Emperor and the Most Christian King was getting closer than ever, that they should remain firmly attached to the League, the end of which would be, as he hoped, that king Francis would inevitably be obliged to concur in the undertaking against the Turk; "for (added the Pope), from some particulars I have from the French ambassador, and the intelligence received from my Nuncio in Spain, I have no doubt that peace will shortly be made."

All these are very fine words; but his (Aguilar's) impression is that His Holiness is anything but satisfied at the prospect of a peace being concluded without his intervention, and he fears lest something or other should turn up to his prejudice. He (Aguilar) loses no opportunity of allaying the Pope's misgivings in the matter, assuring him, in the Emperor's name, that he will be promptly informed of whatever is treated at the conferences, and that nothing will be done without his immediate intervention.

Poggio (said the Pope) had written concerning the Emperor's resolution to come to Italy; he was delighted to hear of it, and wished to know from him (Aguilar) whether the report was true, and what he (Aguilar) knew of it. Answered that the Emperor had certainly resolved to come to Italy, and that should Prince Doria arrive in Genoa before the end of October, he had orders to sail immediately for Barcelona. That there was also a talk of His Imperial Majesty coming [to Italy] through France, and was expected to pass the Carnaval at Milan. However, he (Aguilar) had no positive news as to that, and believed that the time of the departure had not yet been fixed upon. As soon as he knew he would let the Pope know, &c.

England.—With regard to England, His Holiness said some days ago that the ambassador of the Most Christian king of France had told him that the king of England had

1539.

contracted a marriage with the sister* of the duke of Clèves. He (Aguilar) happened to meet shortly after the French ambassador, who, being interrogated on the subject, owned that the intelligence was true, but had not come to him officially from king Francis' ministers, only from a confidential friend of his, who gave the news as certain. He (Aguilar) doubts this, because three days ago he received letters from Eustace de Chapuys in Flanders,† and from the archbishop of Palermo,‡ with news of those countries, and yet not a word is therein said about the King's marriage.

The French ambassador also told him (Aguilar) that he had lately received from king Francis a memorandum, or, rather, an account, of all that had passed from the beginning until now in the negociations carried on by Cantelmo and Rincon, in his name, at Constantinople with the Turk respecting the general truce; also the result of the enquiry instituted by his order after Cantelmo's return to France. These documents, the ambassador said, had been forwarded to him to place in His Holiness' hands, conjointly with the cardinal of Ferrara,§ who entered this city on the 27th inst. Fancies that all this has been done by king Francis, with a view to excuse himself from the reports circulated at Venice and other places that Cantelmo and Rincon, his ambassadors, had done anything but good offices for the League [at Constantinople].

Heard also from the said ambassador that within the last week he himself had asked His Holiness, in his master's name, to admit the resignation which his Legate at Avignon intends making in favour of Cardinal de Xalon (Chalon),‖ *and that His Holiness had answered coldly that he would consider the case. Though His Holiness has not said a word about it, yet he (Aguilar) fancies that he has felt great displeasure at an application of this sort having been made at this time; nor is it likely that he will ever grant the permission asked for, since on its being reported here the other day that the legate of Avignon had died, the Pope immediately appointed cardinal Farnese (Alessandro) to the vacant legacy.*

Hears also from a most reliable quarter that His Holiness has ordered a letter to be written to his Nuncio in France, and another to his brother here, saying that they may write in confirmation of the appointment, enjoining him at the same time to procure by all possible ways and means reliable information respecting the above point, and, should he get it, to let him know immediately, as he considered that the greatest service that could be rendered him on the occasion.

Advices have come from Don Diego de Mendoça, stating the answer made by the Grand Turk to the Venetian ambassador

* Anne, sister of Jean La Mark, duke of Clèves.
† Chapuys was then in Flanders. *See* p. 135.
‡ Jean de Carondelet, from 1520 to 1544.
§ "Hippolito d'Este."
‖ Giov. Salviati. Xalon is for Chalons.

1539.

on his taking leave of him, and what the Signory had said to Don Diego, hinting that the Emperor could not do less than prepare for next year. Having talked to His Holiness about this in order to sound him, he answered: "Should the Turk insist on the conditions he has asked from the Venetians for a particular peace, I consider it most certain that they will not give him a foot (*palmo*) of land; much less will they join the Turk against me, His Imperial Majesty, or the king of the Romans, &c."—Rome, 29th Oct. 1539.

Signed: "El Marques de Aguilar."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty, of the Emperor and King our Lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

30 Oct. **91.** The KING OF ENGLAND to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.*, C. 231, 16.

Most high and most excellent Princess, Our dearest and most beloved sister and good cousin, as affectionately and heartily as We can We commend Ourselves to you.

Having just now received intelligence of the answer which the Emperor has made to Our ambassador residing near his person, in reference to certain letters of Ours addressed to you, delivered by Sentleger (Saint Leger), gentleman of Our Chamber, on the safe-conduct and passports of Our dearest and most beloved cousin dame Anne de Clèves, &c., which letters to the Emperor We had written purposely, and by way of precaution, lest you yourself should have been unable to satisfy our request, We lose no time in informing you that the Emperor's answer has been so satisfactory and conclusive, as you will be able to judge by his letter addressed to you—and of which a copy was given to Our ambassador at the Imperial Court—that nothing more could be desired from Our good brother and friend, the Emperor.

We have, therefore, decided without loss of time to send you this present letter, together with those of Our good brother, the Emperor, and Our most perfect assurance that We take much to heart the effect of the said Imperial letter, and thank the Emperor for it, begging you, most excellent Princess, Our dearest and most beloved sister and good cousin, that, taking into consideration the purport of the Emperor's letter, as well as Our own desire, as expressed in Our last letter—and, if necessary, reproduced by Our ambassadors residing at your Court, or by one of them—you may be pleased, for the personal security and comfort of the said lady and suite, to add to her passport such full orders and favorable commendations as may be required and it is in your power to give, since such is, as We can see, the good intention of our said brother, the Emperor.

We have not the least doubt that, considering what has happened, you will willingly comply with this Our request,

1539.

and do Our pleasure in regard to it, assuring you at the same time that, desirous as We are of fostering and increasing the old friendship and alliance between Us and you, as well as between the subjects of both countries, We shall not fail, as your brother and ally that We are, to remember the service We ask of you, and that, in all matters likely to give you pleasure and satisfaction, you shall always find Us as prompt and ready as you might wish.

Most high and excellent Princess, Our dearest and most beloved sister and cousin, &c. Written at Our palace of Westminster, this 30th day of October 1539.

Signed: "Henry."

Addressed: "To the most High and most Excellent Princess, our dearest and most beloved sister and good cousin, the Queen dowager of Hungary and Bohemia, etc., regent and governess for the Emperor in his Low Countries."

French. Original. pp. 2.

2 Nov.
S. E., L. 46, ff. 105–6.

92. Mr. de Praët and the Imperial Ambassador in France to the Emperor.

On the 29th ulto. Your Majesty's letter of the 22nd came to hand. I (Praët) met the Imperial courier four leagues from this town (Compiegne). Made haste so as to arrive soon after him, which I did, entering the town in the evening of the same day. At night the ambassador* and myself sent word to the High Constable apprizing him of my arrival, and that the courier had also brought despatches and letters for him, upon which he gave us an appointment for the morning of the next day. After dinner we both called on the Queen (Eleanor), and respectfully placed in her hands the letters we had for her. She scarcely paid any attention to them, but, with visible anxiety on her countenance, asked immediately: "What has been my brother's resolution about passing through France?" So, without the reverent and complimentary words used on such occasions, we answered point blank and without ceremony: "We can assure Your Majesty that the Emperor will come to France," and then we proceeded to read to her the whole of Your Majesty's despatch, at which she was enchanted, perceiving that her most ardent wishes were about to be soon realized.

At this moment the Grand Master (Montmorency) came in, to whom we gave Your Majesty's letter of credence, declaring that such were Your Majesty's trust in and reliance upon the Most Christian King, that in your journey to Flanders you intended to pass through France. After which we read to him that portion of the letter received from Your Majesty,

* Bouvalot, abbot of St. Vincent.

1539.

omitting of course, such passages of it as might have engendered mistrust or suspicion. Some time after this my colleague and myself were summoned to the King's presence, who, having previously been informed by the Grand Master of the object of our mission, received us most kindly, and declared to us at once, in the most affectionate words, how charmed and honored he was with the prospect of Your Majesty's visit, repeating to us the same flattering and endearing expressions of which the abbot of St. Vincent had made use in conversation with me (Praët). He very much regretted that bad health and actual illness would perhaps prevent him from going as far to meet Your Majesty as he might otherwise have done; but still he would do his best to honor his royal guest, who would be as well received as in his own kingdom. Although our answer was that Your Majesty would not for the world put him to extraordinary fatigue on your account, he (the King) is determined to leave this town for Paris on Wednesday next, and thence, if possible, go to Amboise, or as far as he can go. No one can move him from this resolution. As to the Grand Master himself, he purposes starting in a day or two, making all possible haste, and travelling by long stages until he arrives in Viscay, whilst Mr. d'Orliens (Charles de Valois) will leave three or four days hence, and ride post until he meets Your Majesty in the very centre of your dominions. Some days after the Dauphin (Henri) will do the same, though, to judge from the date fixed for his departure, he will be unable, as it is thought, to go beyond the limits of France. Besides that, the King has assured us that a number of hackneys, mules, horses, and ponies (*quartagos* ?) will be provided, so that Your Majesty may with less trouble and fatigue travel half-post, if you please. On the road (says the King) there will be hunting and other pastimes provided from one day to another if Your Majesty feels inclined, not otherwise; and if you choose to rest on the road, suitable lodgings shall be prepared at some of his own houses, or at those of his knights and vassals.*

We did not forget to remind the Grand Constable that, bringing a very small retinue, Your Majesty's intention was to take temporarily into your service such officers of his master's household, as might be deemed most trustworthy and honorable, as well as most capable of serving you personally in their different charges. The Grand Constable's answer was that he had already thought of that, and believed on his

* "Y demas de esto nos ha dicho el Rey que hará llevar una buena cantidad de hacaneas, mulas, caballos y quartagos para que con menos trabajo V. Mª, si le pluguiere, pueda hacer tan buenas y tan grandes jornadas como á media posta, y dize que hara dar á V. Mª por el camino pasatiempo de caça todas las veces que lo quisdera, y no de otra manera, y proueerá que de un dia á otro V. Mª terná la comodidad deste pasatiempo ó de ser bien alojado en sus casas, ò de algun cavallero su vasallo."

1539.

honor that such choice would be made as to give complete satisfaction.

Nor have we omitted to say, in Your Majesty's name, that though nothing could have been more agreeable to you than to see and embrace your sister [the Queen], yet you begged and entreated that she would on no account be allowed to depart and leave the King, her husband, who needs her attendance and care more than ever in his present state of health. The same prayer was by us made to the Grand Master: "Though the Emperor, we said, would like to see you by his side, owing to the great trust and confidence he has in you, yet he begs you as earnestly as he can not to leave the French court, where your presence is so necessary for the management of general business, and principally of what concerns the King and me." Yet we have not been able to make him change his purpose; he will go, and has assured us that everything is in such perfect order that all will go on smoothly. He leaves behind him cardinal de Lorraine to replace him temporarily in his office about the King, and besides that has assured me that during the journey no attempt shall be made to introduce or discuss any of the points of the future peace, and, as the King himself said to me some days ago: "I would rather forfeit half my kingdom than have the worth of one penny demanded from the Emperor."

We have also made the King and the Grand Master understand the motives of Don Luys de Avila's mission to prince Doria and to the Pope, as well as the marquis del Gasto's preconcerted journey to Venice. We have read to them Your Majesty's instructions to the former, and explained the cause of the latter's journey. The King has found them so just and suitable that he has decided to send to Rome the Sieur de Giez,* and to Venice marshall Hannebault, lieutenant-general of Piedmont, that they may testify and declare on his part whatever Your Majesty's ambassadors have done. With regard to England, it has been deemed sufficient that the King and the Grand Master (Montmorency), write to the French ambassador residing in that country to explain, conjointly with the Imperial one, the causes and motives of the journey, and the Grand Master has also promised us to write, &c.

Although it was Your Majesty's desire that before my departure, I (Praët) and my colleague, St. Vincent, should forward as much as possible the negociations for the new treaty of League against the Turk, nothing could be done on our side until an answer came from those parts to the statements made by the abbot of St. Vincent and myself with reference to the treaty in contemplation, especially as this King's Council has given its opinion that the negociations

* Giez, elsewhere Gie; Hannebault, or Annebaut, as his name is otherwise written, was at this time Francis' lieutenant-general in Piedmont.

1539.

ought to be carried on solely in Your Majesty's name and in his own, exclusively of the Pope, the Venetians, or any other power. So that I (Praët) have thought that since I cannot be of any use here for the present, I had better go to the queen of Hungary, the regent in the Low Countries.

Since the above was written we have heard that Mr. de Brissac* is going by post to meet Your Majesty.—Compiegne, y Noviembre 2 de. 1539.

Signed: "Loys de Praët—El Abbad de Sanct Vincent."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

29 Nov. **93.** The MARQUIS DE AGUILAR to the EMPEROR.

S. E., Roma, L. 866, f. 120. B. M. 28,591, f. 24.

Wrote on the 12th inst., to say that he was in receipt of His Majesty's letter of the 24th ultimo, which, together with a copy of the general instructions, Don Luis de Zuñiga forwarded to him from Genoa. Left immediately for Civitta-vechia, where His Holiness was staying at the time, and communicated to him the whole of their contents. After that Don Luis himself arrived, and presented his credentials to His Holiness, who seemed highly pleased at the Emperor's determination, regretting however much, as he said, that the Emperor was not able to come to Italy, that both might converse together on public as well as on their own private affairs, and Madame the Duchess be able to kiss her father's hands, as she had been wishing for a long time back. Nothing, he added, would have more tended to induce the Venetians not to desert to the League than the Emperor's visit; for, attending, as they generally did, on all occasions to their own particular interest, it was to

* Charles de Cosse-Brissac, marshall of France and lord High Chamberlain of Francis, who in July 1538, after the interview of the Emperor and king Francis at Aigues-Mortes, was sent by the former to Barcelona on a mission (*see* Vol. V., Part II., p. 566). He has frequently been mentioned in the pages of this volume. *See* above, p. 75.

1539.

be feared they might choose that line of conduct which was most injurious to all parties, and of no benefit to themselves.

To write to the ambassador acknowledging the receipt of his letters, and telling him that His Imperial Majesty approves of, and is highly pleased with, his dexterity and tact in transacting business. His Majesty would also have been equally pleased to see His Holiness; but his anxiety to repair as soon as possible to Flanders prevents his going to Italy first.

However, considering the Emperor's object, which was principally to gain time, and considering also his promise to come next year to Italy, he (the Pope) entirely approves of the determination taken by him, and hopes and trusts that peace will shortly ensue, and that, in drawing up the articles of it, the authority of the Apostolic See will not be forgotten. He could not help saying that negociating with the French was a sort of food (*manjr*) that must be eaten quite hot; and that, besides peace, which, no doubt, was a very desirable thing, there were many other affairs to attend to, as, for instance, that of the king of England, who was daily spreading his venom in all quarters, as appears from the marriage he has lately contracted, and from his new league with the Lutherans.

The state of affairs in Germany is daily waxing worse and worse. The true medicine, in his opinion, would be the convocation of the General Council; but, if the matter be postponed, and the enemy remain behind one's back, how can the enterprise against the Turk succeed?

He (Aguilar) assured His Holiness that everything would be done according to his wishes; nothing should be treated and acted upon without his authority and advice.

The answer to this paragraph to be in conformity with the resolution to be taken in council.

He greatly approved of the marquis del Gasto's mission to Venice, conjointly with Mr. de Hanybao (Hannebault), saying that he had no doubt that if king Francis' ambassador spoke to the Signory privately, as it was reported he had done in public, much good would come of it, and the Venetians be perhaps induced to

1539.

enter into the general League. As to him, he would do all he could with the Signory's ambassadors and ministers, and, if unsuccessful, would withdraw from them the spiritual annual subvention which he had granted.

Nothing positive is known as yet; when the affair is decided, the Pope will be apprized of the result.

He also desired to know what were the marriages talked of; but Don Luis said that he had no mandate on that topic, and, besides that, he knew nothing about them.

Next day Mr. de Gie,* gentleman of the Chamber to king Francis, arrived for the purpose of acquainting His Holiness, in his master's name, with all that had been negociated already with the Imperial ministers respecting the League. That being done, he and the French resident ambassador called on him (Aguilar), who next day returned their visit.

That the Cardinal shall be welcomed, and His Majesty much pleased at his coming. Nothing shall be hidden from him, and he will have full knowledge of the negociations.

His Holiness had said to them that as the Most Christian had recently requested him, as well as cardinals Ferrara and Trivulzio, and others, members of the Sacred College, to attend the conferences, or appoint a Legate who might report on all points therein discussed and requiring the intervention of the Apostolic See, he was about to send to France cardinal Farnese, with a number of learned ecclesiastics in his suite. He himself could not go, as he would have wished, but the Cardinal would go and attend the meeting. Hearing this, the French ambassadors praised His Holiness' determination, and remarked that the Emperor had resolved on his passage through France—not, however, to make any stay, or transact official business of any kind—and that the King, their master, had agreed to it. Upon which His Holiness said that so he understood and that the Cardinal

* Elsewhere Giex. *See* p. 203.

1539.

would not reach France until the Emperor had left for Flanders. After visiting the Most Christian king and queen of France, and offering his congratulations, the Cardinal would go to reside in Flanders, near the Emperor's person.

That, on the day after, the Legate's journey was put under discussion in consistory, when, with some slight opposition, the majority of the cardinals voted in favor of it, and that, accordingly, the Cardinal left on the 28th, travelling by short stages, half-post (*á media posta*).

That after Mos. de Gie and the French resident ambassadors had taken leave, he (Aguilar) called on the Pope, and communicated certain particulars of his instructions, such as the cardinal's hat for the bishop of Geneva, &c. On this point His Holiness answered that during the "*temporas*" of December next, that is to say, before the Emperor reached Flanders, the bishop would be created cardinal without fail. With respect to other cardinals' hats, his intention was to give one to the other son of the Duke of Gandia, and the remainder to the son of Giovan Battista Sabello, to prothonotary Gambara, and prothonotary Bartholomeo Guidichon, his vicar, and other confidential familiars and servants of his, all men of quality and parts greatly attached to the Imperial cause.

After this, cardinal Fernes (Farnese) declared to him (Aguilar) and to Don Luis [de Zuniga] that one of the hats would be for secretary Marcello, bishop of Neocastro (Novocastro), who accompanied him once to Spain, and who is also to accompany him on his present mission; another for the bishop of Arrimini (Rimini), His Holiness' treasurer, and a third for the bishop

1539.

auditor of the Apostolic Chamber. Besides the above, the general of the Servites, a native of Benavente (Benevento), also was to have one.

Most likely when this letter reaches Rome the intended creation will have taken place, and yet His Imperial Majesty had reason to expect that, owing to the intimacy and friendship existing between the two, he (the Emperor) should have been apprized beforehand of His Holiness' intentions in the matter.

Though the ambassadors intimated their wish that the Emperor should be informed of this before the creation was finally made, the answer was that the Emperor could not but be highly pleased with the appointment, since all of them were sincerely attached to the Emperor's service.

That the Most Christian is still pressing for the appointment of the archbishop of Orleans is a known fact, and, therefore, the ambassadors applied to the duke of Castro, to know what His Holiness' intentions were as to that, for since the hat for the bishop of Geneva was given exclusively at the intercession and prayer of the king of the Romans, it was but just that another hat should be reserved for the ecclesiastic named by the Emperor. His Holiness' answer was that he would endeavour to resist, as long as he could, the pressure exercised by France, and, if he could not, would give a hat to archbishop Colonna, recommended by the Emperor. He will not appoint Orsino, the abbot of Farfa, though the illustrious Madame Constancia is greatly in his favor; but, if he does resist that lady's entreaties, Colonna will not be appointed.

His Imperial Majesty would certainly have wished that his recommendations had been attended to in this case, Poggio, the Nuncio, being a man of great merit, and who has done good service. But since the thing is done, the ambassador had better not mention the subject again.

The ambassadors, as ordered, have recommended, in the Emperor's name, Poggio, the Nuncio. His Holiness' verbal answer had been that other distinguished ecclesiastics sent as nuncios to foreign courts had made the same application, and would be offended if Poggio got a cardinal's hat. He hoped, however, to live long enough to make other creations, in which case he (Poggio) would not be forgotten.

1539.

That, having spoken to His Holiness concerning his promised deposit of 50,000 crs. for Germany, he replied that bills for that amount on the Fucares (Fuggers) were actually being prepared.

He will be treated as he deserves.

About Ottavio Farnese's journey to Flanders, His Holiness said that he had not already started, because he (the Pope) thought the Emperor was coming to Italy; now that he knows for certain that his determination is to pass through France, he has given him orders to prepare immediately for his departure for Flanders. He is to start in a fortnight hence, taking with him Giovan Battista Sabello, as governor, and a numerous and well-appointed suite of gentlemen.

Don Luis [de Zuñiga] spoke to Madame (Margaret), as well as to Lope Hurtado and his wife, respecting Ottavio's journey to Flanders, telling them that the latter's presence at the Imperial Court was necessary, in order that both he and she should know the Emperor's intentions.

Camarino—Lawsuit between the prince of Sulmona and the nun of Valencia—Marquis del Vasto and the Venetians.

Don Luis, in a private audience he had from the Pope, communicated to him the news sent by prince Doria and the viceroy of Sicily concerning the agreement with Barbarossa. His answer was that, if any proper and honorable agreement could be entered into, the negociations ought to be prosecuted.

Don Diego de Mendoça writes from Venice that the ambassador whom the Turk so unceremoniously dismissed from his court had already arrived at Andrinople, and that his dismissal, coupled with the harm that corsair is doing in the territory of the Republic, has had the effect

1539.

of making the Venetians change their mind respecting the League.

The new creation of cardinals will not take place until after the Cardinal Legate has returned from his mission.—Rome, 29 Nov. 1539.

Indorsed: "Abstract of letters from the marquis de Aguilar, concerning the mission of Don Luis de Zuñiga."

Answered from Paris on the 6th of January 1540.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 10.

Nov. **94.** ABSTRACT of LETTERS received from ITALY.

S. E., Roma, L. 46, f. 108.
B. M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 271.

Letters of the 21st and 29th of October have been received from Rome. Among other things the marquis de Aguilar says that His Holiness, the Pope, has written to his Nuncio at the court of France, ordering him to inquire and ascertain, if possible, what negociations His Imperial Majesty and the king of France are now carrying on. No service, the Pope adds in his letter, could be more acceptable to him under present circumstances.

That in conversation on the affairs of England, the Pope told him (Aguilar) that he had heard from the ambassador of France that the king of England was about to contract a marriage with a sister of the duke of Clèves.* He (Aguilar) did not attach much faith to the report, inasmuch as the letters lately received from Flanders did not mention the fact at all.

That the Venetians having been apprized of the bad result of their embassy to the Grand Turk, had determined not to give him one single foot of land; and, therefore, that they cannot do less than join the new League. So the Pope told him (Aguilar), at the same time assuring him that he will do his best to confirm them in their determination without showing any resentment at their former behaviour.

Sends duplicate of breves for the half-fruits.

That the viceroy of Sicily (Gonzaga) has not yet given the required permission for exporting the corn to which His Holiness is entitled by the capitulation of Naples; and that, although he himself has written about it, and the Pope sent thither one of his own familiar servants, nothing has yet been obtained. The Pope is very much hurt at this, and fancies that the Viceroy does it out of spite and to revenge the loss of the abbey of Montferrato.

Cardinals' hats—bishop of Geneva—bishoprics of Siguenza and Leon, &c.

That Prince Doria writes on the vii. of November having

* That of Anne of Clèves took place in January 1540. On the 9th of July she was divorced.

1539.

received from Juan Gallego a letter in which the latter relates his interview with Barbarossa. Gallego had since landed at Messina, but as the Prince himself intended to sail to Sicily in three or four days after the date of his letter, he gave no details of Gallego's mission, reserving this till after he had seen the Viceroy (Gonzaga).

Ambassador Figueroa writes that the marquis del Gasto had left Milan on a visit to prince Doria at Genoa.

Lope de Soria says that certain defamatory lampoons (*carteles infamatorios*), of which he sends a copy, had been posted in the streets [of that city] with a view to incite the people to rebellion; but that one of the culprits had already been arrested, and judicial investigation was going on in order to arrest and punish the remainder.

That the duke of Savoy (Carlo) had asked the Prince for four of his galleys as an escort to go to Genoa, and have an interview with the marquis del Guasto (*sic*), but the weather being foul, and the winds contrary, the Prince had not acceded to the Duke's request.

The Prince's plate is still in pawn for want of the money or bills of exchange for the pay of his galleys. That is a thing which Doria feels above all else, though he does not complain in public.

The viceroy of Sicily (Gonzaga) writes in date of the 14th and 15th of October about Gallego's arrival, and how Barbarossa perseveres in his purpose of passing over to the Emperor's service, and taking his part against all enemies, whoever they may be. This offer the corsair had never made before. As Gonzaga, however, intended to take his departure soon, and might possibly arrive before his letter, he gives no more details of this affair, but will certainly before he leaves dispatch a messenger to Xio (Scio), and then to Constantinople, to inform Barbarossa of his coming here [to Spain], and induce him to persevere in his determination.

Gonzaga does not answer the last letters received from the Emperor through Hieronymo Ortiz, because he will explain his ideas verbally. He has left to preside in his absence the marquis de Terranova, whom he considers the fittest person for the charge.

Don Juan de Luna* writes [from Florence] on the 3rd of November, that he has done his best to make the duke Cosmo

* A great grandson of the celebrated Don Alvaro de Luna, count of Santisteban, and high constable of Castille, a favorite of John II., who died on the scaffold at Valladolid on the 2nd of June 1453. D. Alvaro left two sons, D. Juan and D. Pedro, besides one daughter, Dona Maria, who was married to D. Juan de Luna y Mendoza, her cousin. Don Pedro had a son named D. Alvaro, who was captain of the body guard of the Catholic sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, whose sons were: 1. Pedro, 2. Alvaro, 3. Juan, 4. Antonio. It was Don Alvaro who in 1546 published at Milan, of whose castle he was governor at the time, the *Cronica del Maestro Don Alvaro de Luna*, and it is to be supposed that his brother *Juan*, who about that time was also governor of the castle of Tortona in Lombardy, may have been a few years earlier employed at Florence as the Emperor's agent. None, however, of the

1539.

de Medici and cardinal Cibo friends. They talked and shook hands together, and became friends in appearance, though he (Luna) cannot say that they will continue so for any length of time. Certain arrangements had been made with the Duke respecting the works of the castle, the cost of which will amount to 12,000 ducats every year.

Letters of the viceroy of Naples of the 28th October have come, announcing the death of the marchioness,* and asking for leave to kiss the Emperor's hands, under the belief that the latter was about to visit Italy.—n.d.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 5.

21 Dec. **95.** The EMPEROR to the ARCHBISHOP of TOLEDO.

S. E., L. 47, f. 220.
B. M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 269.

Don Carlos, by the Divine clemency Emperor *semper augustus*, king of Germany, of the two Spains, of the two Sicilies, of Jerusalem, &c., to the cardinal of Toledo.

Our dearest and most beloved friend, on the 3rd inst. We wrote to you of Our journey to these parts; it has since been continued, and on the 12th We arrived at Loiches (Loches) where the Most Christian king of France, the Queen Our sister, and the whole of their Court were already waiting to receive and accompany Us on the road. King Francis has all this time travelled in a chaise, owing to his late illness preventing his riding horse or mule,† yet he attempted to mount and come out of Loches to receive Us. No sooner, however, did We hear that such was his intention, than We sent a gentleman of Our suite to beg and implore him not to do so, lest his health should suffer through it. The King acceded to Our wishes, and, instead of himself, the cardinal of Lorraine (Jean de Guise) and the Grand Master of France (Montmorency) came out to Us, followed by a numerous retinue of servants of the Royal household, meeting Us some distance from the first gate of the castle, which We all entered together, being received by the King inside with great joy and content. Within the castle Our first visit was to the apartments of the Queen, Our sister, whom We found

descendants of the Constable and Grand Master of Santiago inherited the title of count of Santisteban and duke of Trujillo, which the former enjoyed during his life, those and other fiefs of the Crown having been confiscated and having passed into the hands of the marquis de Villena. It is to be regretted that Don Juan Rizzo y Ramirez in his remarkable essay *Juicio crítico y significacion politica de D. Alvaro de Luna*, prize essay, published in 1865 at Madrid, should have omitted this and other details equally interesting under an historical point of view.

* Dª Maria Ossorio-Pimentel (or Pimentel-Ossorio, as Lopez de Haro calls her), daughter of D. Luis Pimentel and Juana or Beatriz Osorio, first marquises of Villafranca del Vierzo. D. Luis having died in 1497, his daughter inherited that title, and was the second marchioness. She married D. Pedro de Toledo, son of Fadrique, second duke of Alba, and uncle of Fernando, the third duke, governor of the Low Countries for Philip II.

† "Y como quiera que el rey ha venido todo este camino en leytera (*sic*) y tenico porque la enfermedad de la postema que tuvo los dias pasados no le daba áun lugar que pudiesse cavalgar a caballo ni a mula."

1539.

in company with the King's daughter (Mme. Marguerite), the wife of the Dolfin (Dauphin), Mme. de Labrit, and several other ladies of the principal families of France.

The reception and feasting, as well as the manner in which We were treated on the occasion, especially by king Francis, and the pleasure and satisfaction he, himself, is showing at Our confidence in coming to his kingdom and trusting to his honor, cannot be surpassed nor sufficiently praised.

On the following day, which was Saturday, We left Loches and went all together to sleep at a castle, close to which was a good deer-park, and on Sunday to a fairly good city called Ambuesa (Amboise), where We rested the whole of Monday, according to the King's and Queen's wishes. We again started on Tuesday, and have since prosecuted Our journey, accompanied by the King, Queen, and the whole of their court, and although owing to this latter circumstance no great speed can be made, yet it is said that We are to reach Fuentenableo (Fontainebleau)—a country seat of this king, distant 15 leagues hence—on Christmas Eve, where We shall stop the first and second days, owing to there being near that place great forests abounding with deer, and the King having a comfortable hunting-lodge therein.

Thence We shall go to Paris, but though We hear that the King has given orders for joustings, tournaments, carousels, and other entertainments to be prepared for Our reception, We shall make as short a stay as possible, and try, after taking leave of the King, to start for Flanders on the 2nd day of January. Though We cannot stop the King's sons and the High Constable from accompanying Us to the confines of France, We shall be in Flanders three or four days after, for the distance is not great.

As people generally look upon things and events in various ways, and might write and comment upon the incident at Amboise, We will tell you what happened. On the day of Our arrival in that town, the King showed Us his pack of hounds. When We had hunted part of the day, We returned to Amboise to supper. As it was near the time of night, and almost dark, in order to avoid the ceremonious reception usual on such occasions, We made haste, attended by a small retinue of servants, to arrive at the castle and ascend on horseback a curiously constructed stair-case in an outer tower, built on purpose to be ascended without dismounting. Those who accompanied Us and others having hastily, and without sufficient care, set light to several faggots of wood intended to illuminate the stair-case from top to bottom, the materials with which the faggots were covered ignited all of a sudden, producing great flame and smoke, so that the poor beasts began to be frightened. The stair-case, however, was ascended, and We all arrived at a square on the top without harm to any one inside. So angry was the King, lest people should say that it had been done on purpose, that he wanted at first to deal

1539.

severely with those who had had a hand in it, though at last We succeeded with great difficulty in appeasing him.

Of business not one word has hitherto been spoken, and We are in hope that during this Our journey no hint or allusion will be made to Our common affairs. Such was the engagement taken by this King and his ministers, and We must say that hitherto they have faithfully kept their promise. They have, moreover, told Mr. de Labrit not to speak about his own affairs; those in Flanders are getting better, and people are more quiet. From Germany and Italy there is no news of any importance. His Holiness is sending cardinal Farnese to reside near Us as *Legate a Latere*. The Venetians, owing to the arrival in their city of the Marquis del Gasto, and of the king Francis' Captain-general at Turin, are more moderate in their talk, and have answered in general terms that they are ready to work for the welfare of Christendom now that We and the king of France are so decidedly bent upon it.

Prince Doria and his opinion on the maritime armaments of next year, &c.

On Our arrival in Flanders We will let you know whether the raising of 2,000 foot from Spain is to take place or not.—Orliens (Orleans), 21 Dec. 1539.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 7½.

1540.

6 Jan. **96.** Nicholas Perrenot [de Granvelle] to Covos.

P. Arch. Nat. Neg. et Pap. de Simancas, K. 1485, No. 6. B. M. *Add.* 28,592, f. 7.

Your Signory's letter of the 23rd ulto. was thankfully received. Glad to hear that your health is good, as well as that of Señora Da. Maria,* the Adelantado, and the Duchess. I myself, my wife, and sons are well, though tired of this long journey, and greatly annoyed at your Signory not being with us. We shall soon be in Flanders, whence I purpose writing should there be anything important to advise. His Imperial Majesty's letter to the Cardinal† will inform you of occurrences during the journey.

We are now writing to Italy to let the Imperial ministers there know the state of affairs here. Cardinal Farnese arrived in Paris one day before the Emperor, who will leave to-morrow, the 7th, for Flanders, the King, Queen, the Princes and noblemen of this court intending, notwithstanding His Majesty's entreaties, to accompany him on his journey. I do believe that in the end king Francis will yield to the Emperor's prayers and remain behind; but as to the princes, his sons, and the rest of the court, I think that no entreaties or persuasions will prevail on them to do so.

The treatment which our common master, the Emperor, has experienced could not possibly be better; you may be certain

* Doña Maria, the wife of Cobos, the Emperor's chief secretary.

† That is Juan Tavera, then president of the Council of State and Regency during the Emperor's absence from Spain.

1540.

as to that, and entertain the hope, as I do, that matters will come to a good issue in the end.

I shall be at the Nuncio's service for anything he wants of me. Yours is for me a sufficient commendation, and besides I like him much; yet it is well that you should know that the Nuncio is not in good odour at Rome,* where he has not been treated as he deserves.

Respecting Salses and the High Commander of Castille, the latter's wishes shall be attended to, and on our arrival in Flanders the whole affair shall be looked into.

Goncalo Perez, and his salary—The Vice-chancellor of Aragon—The halbardiers of the Imperial Guard.

This letter is not in my handwriting, owing to my not knowing how to write Spanish; but, all the same, I can assure you that my earnest wishes are that you may be with Us to enjoy yourself.—Paris, 6 Jan. 1540.

Holograph postcriptum in French.

Respecting our journey, I may say that everything goes on prosperously, and that the discussion of political affairs and family inter-marriages, &c., has been put off until the Emperor's return from Flanders. So far so good; you will be duly apprized in time of the incidents of the negociation. As to your own private affairs, they shall be taken care of.

Spanish. Original (with a postcriptum in French). pp. 3.

7 Jan. **97.** POPE PAUL III. to the EMPEROR.

S. E., L. 869, f. 207. B. M. *Add.* 28,592, f. 3.

Acknowledges the receipt of his (the Emperor's) letters brought by D. Luis de dauila.† Thanks him for his good purpose in favor of Christendom. Having had long conversations with Don Luis, as well as with the marquis Daghilara (de Aguilar), not only on public affairs, but likewise on private ones, and principally on those of their common daughter [Margarita]‡ and her husband, his grandson, he will put an end to this letter without any further comment, sure, as he is, that His Majesty's ministers will be good interpreters of his sentiments.—Rome, 7 Jan. 1540.

Italian. Holograph. p. 1.

8 Jan. **98.** REPORT of the COUNCIL on LETTERS to be PREPARED for ITALY.

S. E., L. 1460, f. 58. B. M. *Add.* 28,592, f. 4.

Prince Doria to be written to in conformity with the Emperor's resolution concerning the fleet. He is to go to Messina first, and thence to Naples, to wait for the galleys from Spain.

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* "Al Señor Nuncio serviré yo en todo lo que pudiere por mandarlo vuestra senoria, y por lo que le soy aficionado; pero hagole saber que en Roma se ha hecho no bien con él."

† D. Luis de Avila y Zuñiga. *See* above, No. 93, p. 209.

‡ "Maxime delle cose di Madama comun nostra figliola."

1540

Letters have been written to the Signory of Venice informing them of the military preparations that are now being made against the Turk, and how, besides the Spanish infantry back from Sclavonia, and now in Lombardy, orders have been issued for a sufficient levy of men to be raised, stores of ammunition and provisions to be made, and, in fact, everything required for the efficient defence of Christendom. The Venetians themselves to be exhorted to keep firm, and not make their peace with the Turk, &c.

Also to the marquis de Aguilar at Rome, instructing him to request His Holiness to use all his influence with the Venetians that the said object be obtained.

With regard to Barbarossa and his proposals, the marquis de Aguilar is to tell His Holiness that there is no certainty at all of his professions being sincere, though too much publicity —perhaps more than usual—has been given to them; and yet that the whole affair has been placed in the hands of prince Doria, as well as in those of the viceroy of Sicily (Ferrante Gonçaga), for them to ascertain what Barbarossa really means, and what he intends doing. Then, and not before, will it be seen what can be done for the welfare of Christendom.

As to the cardinals, since the creation has already taken place, the Council does no longer consider it necessary to remonstrate with His Holiness. However, as soon as the Legate arrives [here], it will not be amiss to speak to him about the archbishop of Cologne.*

With regard to the exportation of corn from Sicily to Rome, the Council is of opinion that it should at once be granted, and letters written to the Viceroy accordingly.

Respecting the duchess [Margaret of Austria], it would appear that since in the absence of the Legate (cardinal Farnese), a representation has already been made of the expediency of Ottavio's attending the Imperial Court, there is nothing more to be done in that particular except, perhaps, writing to the marquis de Aguilar to insist upon Ottavio leaving Rome anyhow, lest the causes for matrimonial dissent now existing should increase. On the Legate's arrival it will be seen what determination is to be taken in that domestic affair. The Duchess herself, and her High Chamberlain, Lope Hurtado, to be separately informed of the Emperor's decision.

An answer to Ascanio Colonna to be prepared in conformity with Doria's present business.†

The Marquis [de Aguilar] writes from Rome that cardinal Rydolpho (Ridolfi)‡ desires ardently to be restored to Your Majesty's favour. It seems to us that his offers might be accepted, and some use made of him.

* At this time Hermann v. Wied was still archbishop of Kolhn or Colonia Agrippina.

† "Conforme con lo que se consulta con las cosas del principe Doria."

‡ Niccolo Ridolfi, a native of Firenza, a nephew of Leo XI., cardinal in 1517, bishop of Imola in 1535, and archbishop of Palermo. He died in 1550.

1540.

His Holiness' letter requires no answer, since it is only a reply to that sent by Don Luis de Zuñiga.

Milan.—Neither is there any need of writing to Milan, save to inform the marquis del Gasto of the sailing of the fleet under Andrea Doria.

Naples.—No letters have come lately from the Viceroy (D. Pedro de Toledo). He is, however, to be fully informed of the military preparations that are being made. He should at once visit the fortresses on the coast of Pulla (Puglia), and provision them according to the advice of prince Doria.

Florence.—A letter to be prepared for Don Juan de Luna in answer to his in which he alludes to the discontent of cardinal Cibo, who seems not to be just now on good terms with the Duke [Cosmo]. The Cardinal, as Luna writes, declares that were it not for Your Majesty, he would at once quit your service and leave that city, settling elsewhere. Luna to be written to on the subject, enjoining him to do his best to prevent that.

Sena.—The duke of Malfi's (Amalfi) letter to be answered, and the ambassador of that republic at this court to be spoken to.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 9.

Indorsed: "Consultations with the Emperor as to answers to be prepared for Italy."

12 Jan. **99.** LOPE HURTADO to the EMPEROR.

S. E., L. 869, f. 147. B. M. *Add.* 28,592, f. 9.

After Don Luys' departure, the Duke [of Castro] said to Madame in my wife's presence (for I was absent from home at the time) that when he was about to dispatch Ottavio to Your Majesty both the marquis [de Aguilar] and Don Luys had interfered, and said to His Holiness that he ought not to allow his grandson to depart before making a fresh attempt at reconciliation with Madame.*

The latter is in despair, as Your Majesty will see by her letter. She has ordered me to dispatch this express to inform Your Majesty of what the Duke himself told her after Don Luys' departure, on the 8th inst. In the present state of things, and having told Don Luys, immediately after his arrival in Rome, how matters stood, and that I myself had already written to Your Majesty on the subject, I cannot help thinking that he (Don Luys) might have believed me rather than attach faith to others, because, if I am not mistaken, no worse plan could have been hit upon than the one they

* "Que no lo devia hazer hasta que tornase á dormir con Madama porque sabian que le havian probado y hera (*sic*) para eso."

1540.

have chosen in order to make Ottavio acceptable to Madame. As to the Duke [of Castro] pretending that some of the French cardinals had assured His Holiness that Madame will on no account be married to Ottavio, my impression is that not some, but all, of them must have said so, for scarcely is there a cardinal at Rome who is not aware of that.*

I gave Don Luys the copy of the enclosed memorandum in order that should the courier bearer of this letter arrive before him, Your Majesty might know what my own opinion was at the time of his departure. Since then, and now that His Holiness has been acquainted with the facts of the case, I am afraid that if Madame remains longer at Rome her honor and reputation, and even her life, run great risk among such people as these. Could His Holiness be prevailed upon to let Madame go and reside somewhere else until her husband should become a man, and of course under another keeping and guardianship than my wife's and mine—for otherwise these people will never consent to it—I fancy that matters might still be mended.

For my part, having done my duty towards Madame; having told her over and over again what I thought of the whole affair; having represented to His Holiness and to the Duke [of Castro] what little sympathy and affection existed between the newly-married couple, and suggested that Ottavio ought to be removed and sent away until he should prove to be a fit husband for Your Majesty's daughter, I fancy that I have conscientiously filled all the duties of my charge towards her and her husband's relatives. These latter are the cause of all the mischief that has been done, owing to their refusing at first to believe me. Cardinals Farnese and Marcello are now with Your Majesty; let them be interrogated, and they will not fail to say how urgently I did recommend that Ottavio should at once be summoned to Your Majesty's presence, in order that Madame might not see him in such bad company as he generally is; for although Giovan Battista Savello has been since appointed to be his comrade and direct his movements, he very seldom sees him at all; whilst Ottavio goes about the streets, and even before Madame, with masked ruffians, whose habits are well known, so that people begin already to say that with such companions he cannot fail to become soon his father's heir in vice.†

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* "Deviera creerme más á mi que á los otros, porque á mi juiziio no podian pensar cosa peor que la que hicieron; y aunque el duque dixo que los cardenales franceses dixieron (*sic*) á Su Sanct^{d} que ella dezia que no se queria casar con Ottavio, yo creo que alguno dellos ó todos lo dixo á Su Sanct^{d} porque no havia cardenal [en Roma] que no lo supiese."

† "Porque Madama no le viese andar asi desvalido como andava (despues que ellos se fueron anda peor), porque nunca se apartan dél dos moços, que el uno dizen que es herrado de la marca de su padre, y el otro fue page del duque Alexandro, y en Florencia y aqui se tiene por malo. Y estos hazen mascaras con él cada dia, y andan delante madama, sabiendo ella quan malos son: presto diran [las gentes] que es heredero de su padre."

1540.

But since His Holiness and his family will never trust me, and Your Majesty's ministers disbelieve my words, and on the contrary accuse me, I beg Your Majesty to grant me the immense favor of relieving me from my charge, because, were I to continue in it, it might cost me both honor and life. Perhaps the person who succeeds me as Madame's chamberlain will find the means of conciliating matters, so that she may be more efficiently served, and her husband's family better pleased.

Should His Holiness be persuaded to allow Madame to visit her own estates, I should consider it a God-send for all parties, for she would not hear what people here say of the whole family, nor of the Duke's exploits (*hazañas*). She would not witness the treatment he (the Duke) gives his own wife,* whilst the scandalous rumours afloat, which equally affect and pain His Holiness and Madame, and make the latter fear that one of these days she will be put to death by poison or otherwise, will then cease. She would not see here, at Rome, the person who is continually telling her that she can perfectly well get a divorce from Ottavio; that she must not allow him to share her bed, nor call her his wife, because should she do so, she might thereby invalidate her right. Madame has never told me who her adviser is, nor can I guess who it can be, though I suspect that the marchioness of Pescara† may have told her something like that, or perhaps her own confessor, who is a beast (*bestia*).

If not to her own estates [in Naples], Madame would be satisfied to go to a monastery or castle in Your Majesty's dominions, not to one of the Pope's, for there she would not be secure, and would have to fear, more than she does at Rome, that the Duke should treat her as he treated his own sister and other female relatives of his. To retain her here in the state in which she now is would be tantamount to depriving her of her senses, perhaps, too, of her life, for she can neither eat nor sleep, and never ceases to cry, the more so since she has heard what these people said to His Holiness about her.

Both Don Luis and the Marquis said to me on behalf of Ottavio, &c.‡

Let Your Majesty provide in the case, for although the Farnese pretend that Madame is influenced by us two, and by Antonia Magra, her own maid, it will be shown, when my

* The duke of Castro (Pier Luigi Farnese) had been married since 1524 to a lady of the Sforza family.

† This marchioness of Pescara must be Vittoria Colonna, the widow of the marquis D. Fernando.

‡ "Don Luis y el Marques me dixieron (*sic*) que havian provado en moças á Otavio, y le havian hallado bastante para ellas (con la ayuda que le harian podria ser) y no para esta Señora, porque creo que se lo estorvaria quando lo quisiese provar, ó le hecharia de la cama ó se yría ella, porque tengo por cierto esto."

1540.

wife and I have retired and gone away, that she still perseveres in her determination.*—Rome, 12 Jan. 1540.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King our Lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 8.

17 Jan. **100.** CARDINAL TABERA to the SAME.

S. E., L. 49, f. 10.
B. M. *Add.* 28,592, f. 13.

Is in receipt of His Majesty's of the 21st Dec. from Orleans, relating the progress of the journey up to that town, as well as the kind reception by the king of France. Glad to hear at the same time as his own colleagues, the explanation of the incident on the stair-case of the castle of Amboise, as very different accounts of it had been received here [at Madrid].

Prince Doria and Francisco Duarte.—Orders have been sent to the corregidors of Malaga and Seville, and other ports of the Mediterranean, to lay an embargo on caravels and ships (*navios*) in those ports answering the description of those which the Prince wants for the transport of troops. Similar orders to the duke Don Hernando, and to the viceroy of Catalonia, as well as to the marquis de Mondejar, who, having much experience of these matters, has been requested to go to Granada, and report about the provision and ammunition which can be procured in those districts.

Respecting ordnance, the enclosed report has come from the master of the artillery, from which it appears that a good number of pieces may be disposed of; but a good part of it had already been destined for siege batteries, and besides some are of such calibre that it is doubtful whether the caravels will be able to carry them. As to that which is to be newly cast, it has been decided to look out for copper in Andalucia, because to carry the metal from Burgos to Barcelona and then wait for that of Flanders would take too much time.

Powder and ammunition—

The levies of infantry can be made as soon as We hear what number of men is to be raised in Castille. Enclosed is a list made by Juan Vazquez of all the captains who may be employed.

As to big ships or transports,† We think that they will be got more easily in Genoa or Naples, although some will be procured in the ports of these realms. We should have thought that those in Andalucia might have been more numerous and better armed, for they scarcely have any artillery, as We see by the reports that have come in. We are daily expecting

* The remainder of the letter, which is a long one, contains details which had better not be translated or abstracted, referring exclusively to the quarrels of the newly-married couple.

† Navios gruesos.

1540.

those of other provinces, such as Valencia, Catalonia, Asturias, and Galicia. From Portugal none have yet come, and we think that a reminder should be sent to the King of that country.

Provisions—Money.—270,000 ducats negociated on the contribution to be paid by the Clergy of these dominions, the whole of which sum has already been spent in provisions of various kinds.

After writing to your Majesty on the 24th ulto., we perused Gallego's* report to the high commander of Leon on the offers made by Barbarossa, and another one of Don Fernando [Gonzaga] on the reasons there are in his opinion to accept those offers, and, although after Your Majesty's conversation with prince Doria on the subject, as well as the verbal report of Don Fernando—who, we hear, is soon to attend court, accompanied by Gallego, Your Majesty will, no doubt, be induced to take the fittest course in so important an affair, yet We consider it our duty to forward the following considerations :—

Your Majesty's affairs are in such a plight just now, that if there was any security of a convenient treaty with Barbarossa, there would be no harm at all in listening to his overtures. If Tunis, La Goleta, and Bona can reasonably be taken from the King in whose possession they now are, it seems to Us that if the thing can be done without much difficulty, and if, as Don Fernando asserts, that corsair can at any time sail thither with the Turkish fleet and get possession of those places, it will be far better to give them away than have to succour La Goleta and its Spanish garrison within, which, on Your Majesty's consenting to let Barbarossa get possession of Tunis and Bona, might be withdrawn and the fortifications dismantled.

Oran, Bugia, and Tripoli ought never to be given up: firstly, because they are all conquests of Your Majesty's predecessors in this kingdom, and secondly, because one of them has been yielded to the Order of St. John of Malta. The surrender of those towns would, in our opinion, be a discreditable act, besides which, if Barbarossa is really in earnest, he is not likely to retract his offers on such a slight consideration, since he will, nevertheless, remain king of Tunis and of a great part of Africa.

From what Alarcon and others have offered in Barbarossa's name, the latter's projects seem to be, as soon as he decides to come over and take service under Your Majesty, to set fire and sink as many as he can of the Turkish galleys in his fleet, and with the remainder of his own come to Your Majesty; whereas we observe that, in the articles

* About this El Gallego (the Galician), as he is named in the original draft, *see* Vol. V., Part I., p. 479, and above, p. 211, where one "Juan Gallego" is named as proveditor of the Imperial fleet.

1540.

lately remitted, Barbarossa engages only to come down with 55 or 60 of his galleys. Besides which the thing itself has been in so many mouths, and become so public, that there is every reason to suspect that Barbarossa is in concert with the Grand Turk, and that the offers he has made are only a feint to gain time and divert Your Majesty's present armaments, which he well knows are directed against his lord. Indeed, should Barbarossa become master of Tunis in that manner, who can say that he will not afterwards turn his forces against Your Majesty's dominions; for, after all, he is only the Grand Turk's slave, and both he and his master hate the Christian name.

That is why we think it is better for us that Barbarossa, with the Turk's favor and fleet, get possession by force of Tunis and Bona, than to enter into any binding agreement with him.—Madrid, 18 January 1540.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 9½.

19 Jan. **101.** The Same to Ferrante Gonçaga.

S. E., L. 49, f. 9.
B. M. *Add.* 28,592, f. 18.

Has communicated to the cardinals* and the rest of the councillors the contents of the letter brought by Capt. Gacino respecting Barbarossa. Had he (Tavera) any security that the corsair was in earnest, he would not have hesitated to say that, under present circumstances, his offers might have been a God-send; but he (Tavera) must not conceal from him (Gonzaga) that he himself and many of the Emperor's privy councillors entertain the fear that the whole is a feint and double-leading. The enclosed memorandum of the deliberations in Council will explain what his own and his colleagues' fears are on that particular point.

All the papers and despatches from Sicily have been put into the hands of Vich and secretary Urries, the two officials best acquainted with the affairs of that island [Sicily], to report to Granvelle, &c.—Madrid, 17 January 1540.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

23 Jan. **102.** The Emperor to the Cardinal of Toledo (Tabera).

S. E., L. N° 49, f. 212.
B. M. *Add.* 28,592, f. 20.

Wrote from Paris on the 6th inst., recounting the events of Our journey thither, which We have continued since, accompanied by the Most Christian King, the Queen Our sister, and the King's sons, and all their court, through many large towns, houses, forests and fields well provided with game, now and then stopping on the road to make up for the sorrow they all seemed to have at Our parting. On the 19th We reached St. Quintin, the last town of France on that frontier.

* Most probably the Legate and the Papal Nuncio, for at this time no other Spanish cardinal, besides Tavera, formed part of the Emperor's Council of Regency, though Loaysa, bishop of Siguenza, and Valdes, archbishop of Seville, both councillors of State, might be meant, being also cardinals.

1540.

On the 20th the King and his family took leave of Us, and We came to Cambray to sleep, accompanied to the gates of the city by the Dauphin (Henri), the duke of Orleans (Charles), and the high constable of France (Montmorency), with their respective suites. We found at Cambray the prince of Orange, the duke of Aercot (Aarshot), Our High Chamberlain, the bishop of Cordoba,* and many other great personages of these Our states. Thence We went to Valenciennes, where the queen dowager of Hungary was waiting for Us, with a numerous attendance of courtiers. From this place the Dauphin, and Mr. d'Orleans, with the Constable Montmorency, and their suites, will return home, whilst We Ourselves shall proceed to Brussels in three days' time, and there wait for the king of the Romans, Our brother, to have a talk with him, and after that begin business. Meanwhile We shall consider what had better be done for the better administration of these states, and in fact gain time for other purposes.

With the Most Christian King We conversed, before his departure, on the Turk, as well as on matters relating to the Faith, and other public affairs in general. He shows good-will and offers to co-operate. Respecting Our common and private offers, We told him that upon the arrival of Our brother at Brussels, and after consultation with him, We would see what could be done for the furtherance of Our personal affairs. We thus took leave of each other with much love and affection, &c.—Valencianes (Valenciennes), 21 Jan. 1540.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

28 Jan. **103.** Lope Hurtado to the High Commander.

S. E., L. 869, f. 151.
B. M. *Add.* 28,592, f. 22.

Is in receipt of His Lordship's letter of the 29th ulto., in answer to his of the 28th Oct. and 11th Nov. On the 8th of December, he (Hurtado) gave to Velasco, the Constable's servant, who on the same day took post for Spain, a letter for His Lordship, enclosing the Papal brief for the president† of the Council to take possession of the bishopric of Siguenza. However, as the President writes to say that this brief has not been received, he (Hurtado) begs His Lordship to make inquiries, and see what has become of it. For this reason, and for fear of some dastardly trick having been played, he now reproduces in part some of its paragraphs.

The Emperor's letters of the 7th from Paris, acknowledging the receipt of one of his (Hurtado's), dated the 11th of

* At this time Pedro Manrique was bishop of Cordoba till Oct. 1540, when he died, being succeeded in January 1541 by Leopold of Austria. Manrique, who was the uncle of the marquis de Aguilar, Charles' ambassador at the Papal Court, was created Cardinal of St. John and Paul and Protector of Germany in December 1538.

† That is Garcia de Loaysa, the Augustinian bishop of Osma since 1525, cardinal in 1530, bishop of Siguenza 1532–39, and lastly archbishop of Seville till his death, which occurred at Madrid on the 22nd April 1546.

1540.

November, has come to hand. In that letter the Emperor says that until the return of Don Luis de Zuñiga from Italy, he cannot come to a decision in the Duchess' affairs, and that since Ottavio [Farnese] must have already quitted Rome, much progress has, no doubt, been made towards family peace and the Duchess' comfort. Very different from this has been the result, for His Majesty's ministers at this court have done all they could to retain Ottavio here, and if Ravago tells the true story, His Lordship will hear from his lips how much he (Hurtado) is to be pitied, and the many reasons which this lady (the Duchess) has for being discontented, and complaining of the Imperial ministers in this capital.

Since the departure of Don Diego de Rojas passion and strife have risen so high here that he (Hurtado) begins to fear for Madame's soul and body, which are really in danger, for His Holiness is only looking to the succession of his own family and to his son's estates—which, after all, are not very considerable—going to a male. It would be but just for His Imperial Majesty to think a little of his own daughter, of her personal merits, which are great, and of her property, which is considerable; for it is to be feared that should the Pope die now the 300,000 ducats of Madame's dower would be in jeopardy, as well as the duchy of Camarino, for he (Hurtado) hears that the Varana have not yet come to an agreement with the Pope,* nor will they in future—though His Holiness asserts the contrary—much preferring to leave matters as they now stand, and wait for this Pope's demise and the succession of another to St. Peter's chair, when lawsuits on that and other cases will not be wanting. If to this be added that Pier Luigi himself talks of taking Madame to live with him at his estate out of Rome, there is no saying what damage may be inflicted both on her life and on her honor.

Having written at length by Don Diego [de Rojas] he [Hurtado] will not enter into more details. Should His Lordship wish for more particulars, he shall hear them from the Treasurer's lips. As for him (Hurtado), his only wish is that should the Treasurer conceal anything of what he himself has seen and heard here, may God punish him, and not let him reach the Imperial Court alive!

Don Diego de la Cueva's business shall be attended to, though he is by no means in want of procurators and friends at this Papal Court. Delivered to the archbishop of Santiago (Sarmiento) His Lordship's letter.

Da. Margarida (Margaret) kisses your Lordship's hands.—Rome, 28 January 1540.

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* Pues Su Sant[d] mira en la sucession de su casa, siendo nada porque no la herede sino hijo. Justo seria que Su M[d] pensase en lo que toca á hija que vale mucho, y su hazienda no poco. porque si el Papa, muriese agora no se si serían seguros los trescientos mil escudos, y menos Camerino que á lo que dicen los de Bara[na] no sehan aun concertado, ni quieren con el Papa.

1540.

P.S.—Since Don Diego's departure Madame has been indisposed. She says that some one has told her, under the confession of the "*Ego peccator*," to take care of herself, because he (the informer) knows for certain that the Farnese intend giving her some philter or other to render her amorous of Ottavio.*

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To the most illustrious lord, the High Commander of Leon, adelantado of Cazorla."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

8 Feb. **104.** Lope Hurtado to the Emperor.

S. E., Roma, L. 869, B. M. *Add.* 28,592, f. 29.

Has communicated to Madame the news just received of the Emperor's safe arrival in Flanders in good health, which news has been of considerable relief and comfort to her in the midst of her tribulations.

By the courier, who left this on the 31st of January, he (Hurtado) informed the Emperor that Madame had been invited to dinner by His Holiness, who had on the occasion treated her with his usual favor and affection. So did the duke de Castro, who likewise invited Her Excellency to a bull fight, as well as to a comedy acted in his own palace, and attended by many cardinals, ambassadors, and other distinguished people.

His Holiness spoke at length to Madame, inquiring after the causes of her discontent, and requesting her to say frankly whether the fault was Ottavio's. Madame answered that she was unwell, not discontented; her only disappointment consisted in her not being able to serve and obey him (the Pope), as His Imperial Majesty had ordered her to do; of Ottavio she knew nothing, nor had she any news of him.

Constanza came in the morning to call on Madame, and spoke to her just as the Duke had done some days ago, saying, moreover, that she came on her own account to tender advice, as a vassal and servant of the Emperor that she was—not in the Pope's name, who knew nothing about it. Begged her to be explicit and say whether there was any fault in Ottavio, because if there was all would be remedied. Neither His Holiness nor Constanza has alluded to Ottavio's behaviour, much less to his living a bachelor's life. He (Hurtado) fancies that both of them, as well as the duke of Castro, know well where and in whom the fault lies, but dare not speak of it;† or else all three (the Duke, the Pope, and his daughter Costanza)

* "Madame, despues que don dyego partió, a estado mal dyspuesta, e asy no se ha hablado más en dormir juntos ni creo que lo consyguiran. Me a dicho que le dyxo huno (*sic*) en confysion, debago (*sic*) del "*Ego peccator*," que se guardase, de que le quyrian dar á comer algo para que quisiesse byen al Señor Otavio."

† "Ni Su Santidad ni ella no le hablaron en que dormiesen juntos, ni el Duque se lo [h]a dicho, ni á mi despues de lo que escriví á V. M^{d}; creo que [h]an savido como se mea en la cama, y no osan decirlo."

1540.

expect that on the arrival of Don Luis de Zuñiga everything will be set right, and that the Emperor will order his daughter to behave better than she now does to Ottavio. Meanwhile they have informed Madame that at the conclusion of this present fair Ottavio will be sent away. At present they do not live together; two or three days pass without Ottavio seeing her; nor does he seem to care for Her Excellency more than she does for him. True is it that age and constitution are not in favor of the former.*

Should the Emperor feel inclined to send his orders to Madame, it would be better in his (Hurtado's) opinion if they came direct to her rather than through him.

The dearth of provisions in all Italy, and the cost of repairs in the palace occupied by Madame—which was half in ruins and uninhabitable when she came to it—have so exhausted her funds that we have been obliged to borrow 2,000 ducats upon a jewel belonging to her.

The Pope, 'tis true, continues to pay regularly the 6,000 ducats promised every year; but it is doubtful whether upon the application, which she intends making, he will feel disposed to advance a quarter of that rent.—Rome, 8 February 1540.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

3 March. **105.** The EMPEROR to the ARCHBISHOP of TOLEDO [TAVERA].†

S. E., Alemania, L. 638, f. 76. B. M. *Add. MSS.* 28,592, f. 275.

After writing the above, it occurred to Us to inform you of the late ordinances promulgated in England on matters of trade. You must know that between our Flemish subjects and the inhabitants of that country there used to be from times of yore great intercourse of trade and barter of merchandize, which the latter exported in Flemish vessels returning to Flanders, whilst the Flemish similarly took advantage of English vessels sailing back to export their own goods. Such being the mode of carrying on trade between the two countries, the king of England did abruptly, some days ago, cause a certain ordinance to be promulgated, forbidding all foreign merchants—natives of or domiciled in England—to load goods of any sort on any vessels except the English, and imposing on whoever did so, especially if the vessels belonged to Our Flemish or Spanish subjects, a heavy fine, much heavier indeed than that which had been previously fixed in case of such infractions; all this being done with a view to compel the said foreign merchants dealing with our subjects in the Low Countries and Spain to put their merchandize on board of English vessels.

* Ottavio was born in September, 1524, and therefore was 15 years and three months old at this time.

† Card. Juan Tavera from 1534 to 1545, when he died on the 1st of August. During the Emperor's absence he was one of the governors of Spain. His life was written by Salazar de Mendoza—*Chronica del Cardenal Don Juan Tavera*, Toledo, 1630, 4to.

1540.

Matters being in this state, and the remonstrances of Our ambassador having been disregarded, We caused a similar ordinance to be published in Flanders, the result of which has been that all English vessels going thither with a cargo of goods have to return to England empty and without freight. It appears that the king of that country complains of this measure of Ours, and calls upon Us to revoke it. Our answer has been that unless he first revokes his We will make no alteration whatsoever, and Our ambassador (Chapuys) writes to the Queen, Our sister, that in order the sooner to oblige the English to come to terms, it would be expedient to have a new ordinance (*pragmática*) promulgated, confirming those of Castille, which enjoin that no goods be exported out of the ports of Spain except in vessels belonging to Our subjects, and more particularly those of imitation cloths (*paños falsos*) from England.

Signed: "To el Rey:" *Countersigned:* "Vazquez."

Addressed: "To the most Revd. Cardinal, archbishop of Toledo."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2½.

13 April. **106.** The Marquis de Aguilar to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 869, f. 49.
B. M. *Add.* 28,592, f. 67.

The people of Perugia, refusing to obey and pay the new tax on Salt imposed by His Holiness, have revolted and taken up arms, sheltering those among the "*fuoruseiti*" who are willing to side with them, and have issued a number of proclamations, calling themselves the obedient subjects of the Apostolic See and the enemies of the Farnese. His Holiness is determined to punish them severely, and has ordered, to that effect, a levy of 8 or 10 thousand men. He is now at Ostia appointing the captains, who, under the command of the duke of Castro, are to go thither. He is so determined to take revenge on what he calls the wickedness of the Perugians that no persuasion will avail to make him desist from his plans.

In my opinion this revolution of the Perugians might hereafter be the cause of a general disturbance in Italy, principally in the States of the Church, because the least check or repulse of the Papal troops might bring on similar risings in that State, and the thing is more to be dreaded on account of the Perugians being rightly looked upon as the most warlike people in all Italy. In vain have I tried to induce His Holiness not to employ violent means, but try and reduce them to obedience, rather than venture upon a war with them at this time, when all Christendom is, as it were, threatened by the Turk; he still persists in his determination. At his return from Ostia, I will speak to him again, and in the meantime have written to duke Cosmo, at Florence, and to the Sienese not to help the Perugians with money or provisions. I have also addressed myself to Rodulpho Ballon

1540.

(Baglione), now in command of Cosmo's cavalry at Cortona, on the confines of the Perugino, not to favor or countenance the Perugians in any way, but move to another part of the frontier.

His Holiness has spoken to me about taking into his pay the Spaniards who are in the Abruzzo. As they have nothing to do at present, as the viceroy of Naples informs me, it would not be amiss to give them employment. He has, moreover, sent for Alessandro Vitelli to serve in this war against the Perugians. I hear from him that the son of the Preor of Capua, Philippo Strozzi, had been planning his death by assassination, for the man who was to do the deed is actually in prison and has confessed his guilt. Vitello himself will be here in three days' time.

Various cathedral churches of Spain have sent to people of this city powers of attorney to represent them in a protest against the tax of the half-fruits. I have privately spoken about this to the persons named in the powers, none of whom have accepted the charge, and when the Pope was applied to, he is known to have answered, "I will allow no contradiction to the favor I have granted to the Emperor." The churches are those of Toledo, Burgos, Leon and Astorga.

The deposit of the 50,000 crs. for Germany has already been made, as the Pope informs me. Cardinal Gambaro confirms the fact. As the consignation could not be made for Augusta (Augsburgh), bills have been procured for Ænveres (Antwerp).

His Holiness' entrance into the League was proposed in two different consistories, and, although there was at first some opposition, principally on the part of cardinals attached to France, the measure was at last carried.

Letters came yesterday from Lyons, of the 6th inst., stating that the journey of cardinal de Lorraine and the High Constable Montmorency had been put off, and that the King had returned to Normandy.—Rome, 13 April 1540.

Signed: "Marquis de Aguilar."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the King our Lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

26 April. **107.** Captain Vergara to Francisco Duarte, the Provedditor.

S. E., L. 1373, ff. 187–8. B. M. Add. 28,592, f. 6.

From Exio* I wrote to your Worship what news I could then procure, and also that I had not yet been able, up to that time, to hold an interview with Barbarossa. I left Exio (Scio) on the 5th of February last, on board a "*galeota*" (big galley) sent by Barbarossa, apparently to buy oranges for the Grand Turk, but in reality to ascertain whether there was in the island any person appointed to prosecute the negociations

* Scio, Chio.

1540.

between the said Barbarossa and Juan Gallego.* Finding the passage good, and that the captain (*arraez*) who was in command of the "*galeota*" knew something of Barbarossa's intentions, I determined to go on board her without waiting for a safe-conduct, because no passport or safe-conduct of Barbarossa himself is valid between the Castles (Dardanells).† I said to the "*arraez*" and to the other Turks on board that my object was to procure a safe-conduct for two vessels bound for the Coral fishery, and at the same time treat with Barbarossa as to the duties to be paid for the coral. In this way I entered Constantinople on the 13th of January, and remained there until the 7th of March, in Barbarossa's own house, shut up in a room of the apartments of Doctor Romero, where we dined at midday by candle-light, no visitors being allowed save Barbarossa himself, his chief chamberlain, called Hamezabey‡—a renegade native of Valencia, son of a gentleman named Don Juan de Villanova—and Ferrataga (this last a eunuch), "who is his soul and idol." Through the means of the above two, one acting as *faraute* (herald) and the other as interpreter, I was able to communicate daily with Barbarossa as follows:—

On Saturday, the 15th of February, Barbarossa sent his chamberlain Hamezabey (Hazen-Bey) for me at three clock of the night,§ accompanied by the renegade (D. Juan) and Dr. Romero. On my entering the room I found Barbarossa sitting in an armchair lined with green velvet. I knelt down before him and attempted to take his hand to kiss it, but this he would not allow, but placed his on my head and afterwards kissed it. Then getting up from his chair, he made me rise and sit down on a box or stool lined with ivory. In this manner I was for two hours and a half talking to him and answering his questions, and after delivering the letters I had for him, and expressing myself as my instructions prescribed, he ordered me to return to my room, taking as gracious a leave of me as his reception had been kind, and I found my room equally well provided with every necessary.

Next Thursday, the 20th of the said month, Barbarossa sent for me by the same renegade, and at the same hour of the night. I found him laying on his couch. On my attempting to kiss his hand, as on the previous day, he made me sit down on a stool by the side of him. He then asked me what I thought of Constantinople. My answer was that I had seen nothing of it, and that my object in coming was not to see Constantinople, but himself, deliver my letters, and tell him verbally the message which the viceroy of Sicily

* *See* above, pp. 211 and 221.

† "Dentro de los Castillos."

‡ "Y su mayordomo, que se llama Hamezabey, que es renegado, hijo de un cavallero de Valencia, que se llama don Juan de Villanova, y Ferratagá, ques el anima de Barbaroxa y su idolo. Este es capado; los quales todos dos son *farautes*, y por medio de ellos hablé," &c.

§ "A tres horas de la noche."

1540.

(Ferranic Gonçaga) had intrusted to me. "With that duty (I added) I have already complied; it now remains for me to know what else can I do for Your Highness' pleasure."

On this occasion Barbarossa gave full credit to my words, and shewed great inclination to come over to us (*acá*), saying that the Emperor was a very good lord and master, and that he loved him greatly on account of his high deeds and virtues, notwithstanding which princes and lords were continually conspiring treacherously against him. Who the princes and lords alluded to by Barbarossa were there is no need to declare here. In this manner, after a two hours' conference, I was sent to bed.

Friday, the 28th of the same month, he (Barbarossa) again sent for me at the accustomed hour, and opened his heart to me much more than on the previous day, declaring what his intention and will were: "This year (he said) the Grand Turk will not send out his fleet; the Venetians are trying to make peace with him; but if the negociations fail, as I believe they will, my intention is to arm 300 galleys and upwards of 100 corsairs' '*galeotas*,' 10 *mahonas*,* and many other vessels, and with them sail first to Corfo (Corfu), take that island (all the time describing to me on which side he intended making the attack), and after that sail for Venice, for which expedition I have caused no less than 1,000 boats or "*landros*" to be made, with only one foot draught, every one of which is to carry and land 25 men."

Barbaroja's purpose is to attack Corfo (Corfu)† by landing on the side where the two towers stand, because there are no traverses there, then approach the wall of the city by means of trenches, galleries "*galapagos*,"‡ or covered ways (*carretones*), so as to sap the walls, and as in the lower place, between the inner and outer walls, are magazines of timber and planks, to throw into them 3,000 or 4,000 hand grenades so as to burn every thing inside.

He also purposes building a large tower (*torreon*) at the point of Our Lady of Gallipoli, in the said island of Corfu, and another of the same size on the nearest point looking towards the Morea, both so placed that the fires may cover each other, and no vessel approach Corfu on that side for the succour of the garrison. Should he be unable to take the place by storm, he intends to blockade it until it surrenders. Peace once made with the Venetians, he has decided to come with his fleet to Otranto, land on the coast of Naples, make incursions into the interior, and strike for Pulla (Puglia); then, leaving there his

* *Galeota* is the name generally given to a Turkish galley. *Mahona* is likewise a large-oared barge.

† "A Corfo tiene propuesto de tomarlo por la banda de la tierra, que los dos torreones de los cantones (carretones?) son sin traveses baxos."

‡ *Galapago* is an ancient military structure in the shape of a land or fresh-water tortoise. *Carreton* is literally a large cart, being the diminutive of *carreta*. In the present instance it is used as a term of fortification, covered way, or gallery approaching the walls of a besieged city.

1540

landing force, both infantry and cavalry (men and horse), sail with his fleet to Rijoles (Reggio) and sack that town. From Otranto, by land, go to Rijoles, and thence by sea to Mesina with the whole force,* landing at the Paraiso (Paradiso) with his fleet in sight, march to Nuestra Señora della Grotte, pitch his tent in the valley of Paraiso, on the road to Melaço and to the castle of Matagrifor, and then raise two batteries—one against the latter castle, the other to fire lower down between the redoubt (*cavellero*) now being constructed in San Francisco and the said Matagrifon. This castle once taken, Barbarossa thinks that he will easily become master of Mesina and its port, as well as of the Salvador, in which calculation he is not altogether mistaken, though methinks he and his people are reckoning† without their host in that respect.

After executing his design, as aforesaid, Barbarossa intends if successful, to sail with his fleet to the conquest of Tunis. His plan of campaign has been submitted to, and approved by, the Council of the Grand Signor. Such, indeed, are Barbarossa's intentions and those of the Sultan, his master, and if fortune is only favorable to that corsair he will become the master of Tunis, which is his chief aim. This he will achieve (as he says) more with the help of the Christian princes themselves and of the Tunisian Moors, than by the valour of his own Turks. Such may be the case, for I can assure your Worship that, apart from Barbarossa, the Grand Turk has no captain near him of sufficient authority and experience in military affairs to deserve being placed in command of his armies and fleets, and that Solyman's great armaments and innumerable forces are more calculated as a bugbear to frighten people than to do efficient work with the sword. This is also Barbarossa's opinion. I have often heard him relate anecdotes and say things in confirmation of that; I only wish I was more accomplished and had a better memory to be able to record them here!

But to return to Barbarossa, which is the principal object of this discourse.‡ The Grand Turk can hardly encamp in the enemy's country unless it be at a place where he can be succoured by land. The reason is that Barbarossa is in possession of the forty best galleys in the whole Turkish fleet, all commanded by servants of his own or men at his devotion. That in addition to that there are no less than fifty more belonging to corsairs or privateers, under the protection of

* "Está acordado de se venir con la misma armada á Otranto, y con mucho mayor aparejo de pasar caballos para la Pulla, y hechando alli la gente y los cavallos, la armada venirse [ha] á Rijoles y saquearlo, y desde alli pasar la armada á Mesina."

† Aunque no han hecho cuenta con la hueste (huespeda?).

‡ "Pero comenzando por la primera, que es tener en estas partes a Barbaroja que es todo el fin del armada, y principio y medio de todo lo resto (restante?)."

1540.

whom all the robbers and pirates of Turkey flock.* So it is, that notwithstanding their number the few frighten the many. Would to God we could learn one-half only of the truth of what is passing now in the Turkish camp, and their total want of organisation; for, certainly, one Christian would then be equal to ten of those brutes, who only know how to die boldly, like so many beasts. Should the Grand Turk find himself once without the help of the innumerable masses who follow his standard, he would be irretrievably lost and disheartened for ever, notwithstanding this last unlucky affair of Castilnovo, which has made him over-proud and boastful.

This is in substance what Barbarossa said to me the night I was with him; I took it all to heart as if I were an Artiaga†. I have no more to say on this chapter. If not well ordered, I beg your Worship's pardon, for he who knows little must say his prayers quickly.

Friday, the 19th of March, I was again summoned at the usual hour to take leave and so to arrange my departure from Constantinople that it might remain a secret. I was again assured by him of his resolution, should his terms be accepted, of coming over to the Emperor with 30 or 40, or as many as he could, of his own galleys, as well as with those of the privateers, his friends, which will be in considerable number. And let there be no doubt as to Barbarossa's promises, for he seems so anxious to come to an agreement on that point that every day that passes without receiving an answer to his overtures seems to him a year. The greatest difficulty about leaving Constantinople in former times was his harem, but now that some of his wives have died of a suspicious malady, and the whole have been removed to a pleasure garden and villa he has outside this city, on the road to the port where he is to embark, the difficulty will be partly removed; for, in order to conceal his plans, he is now building houses and mosques in that locality, with what intention God only knows. The night I saw him last, he said to me that if the weather was favorable he would send Dr. Romero—the same man whom your Worship left in Castilnovo as chief physician—to be there on the 1st of May, but that it behoved the Emperor to have also some person of his own with his final resolution on the affair. The doctor will be accompanied thither by another person in Barbarossa's confidence, or, if not so, Romero himself will be empowered to accept or refuse proposals in his name, and dispatch a galley with the news, so that in case of his terms being accepted, he may try and leave Constantinople secretly.

* "Y á la sombra de estas y son de gruessa armada vienen quantos *pastores* turcos se hallan en Turquia."

† "Esto es lo que en estas dichas noches platicó Barbaroja conmigo, y lo que de él aprehendi a modo de Artiaga, y esto para que[conste] quanto a este capitulo, y sino fuere bien ordenado, perdone su merced que quien poco sabe presto lo reza."

1540.

As the negociation, however, has become so public among Christians, as well as among the Turks themselves, of Constantinople and other towns of the Levant, Barbarossa thinks that Romero cannot well go thither, but should rather go to Algiers, where the whole matter can be discussed without fear of its being divulged. Were it possible to do the thing to day instead of to-morrow let there be no delay, for the later the attempt is made the more difficult will it be for Barbarossa to join. That his departure from Constantinople may not create suspicion, and that he may take with him the greatest possible number of galleys, nay, that he himself may remove out of Constantinople the whole of his servants and wives with their property and so forth, that admiral himself told me that one of two things was wanted: either to get a fleet of 50 or 60 galleys and 40 or 50 ships ready to sail for the Levant and Lepanto, and batter the walls of the latter with artillery on the land side, where the trench is—a very easy undertaking, since the place has no other available defences—and then waste and sack the neighbouring district in three hours' time, or else spread the rumour of the Emperor's naval preparations and formidable fleet, so as to oblige the Grand Turk (Solyman) to command Barbarossa to go out against him with the whole of his force. This, as I said before, would enable Barbarossa to take out of Constantinople his own servants and harem, besides dividing and diminishing his maritime forces. For I can assure your Worship that, setting aside Barbarossa and his servants and allies, the Turkish fleet is nothing at all.

The above was the admiral's last resolution, without one more word being said or written about it. Nor was there means of putting it on paper, as otherwise Barbarossa's life and my own would have been in extreme danger.

I left Constantinople on Sunday the 7th of March. In order not to raise suspicion the admiral liberated eighteen Christian captives of his own, with whom I departed from that city furnished, as the rest of them, with letters of freedom (*carta de franqueza*). In this manner I left Constantinople dressed as a slave (*con librea de esclavo*), and reached Exio (Scio) with them. I arrived at Mesina on the 10th of April, thinking I might have found there the viceroy of Sicily (Ferrante Gonzaga), but he was absent, though I was told that he would return soon.

Until the Viceroy's arrival I intend keeping the whole of this matter a profound secret; you are the only person to whom I have now imparted any part of it, so that you, who are my master, may be sure that until the Viceroy's arrival no living soul shall know anything about it.

Of other news afloat I can only say that they are either untrue or grossly exaggerated. For instance, I hear that Barbarossa is no longer the Grand Turk's admiral. The news was spread at Exio (Scio) when I was there, on the 20th of last December, but it is entirely false; never, at any time,

1540.

did he (Barbarossa) enjoy greater favor with the Turk than at this present moment, for when, after the taking of Castilnovo, he went to Constantinople his salary and estate was increased to three *sangiaquias*, equivalent to 6,000 ducats every year, and he continues, as ever, in command of the Turkish fleet, though very envious of the other bashaws.* It has also been reported that he is suffering from hemoragia; but these are maladies (*malatias*) which he takes when he likes and cures himself of them.

On the 10th of February last, the ambassadors of Venice reached Andrinopoli, where the Grand Turk, who was then hunting in the neighbourhood, went to meet them. Barbarossa was then summoned to Andrinopoli for the express purpose of meeting there the Venetians, as well as one French ambassador who happened to be with them. The interview was fixed for the 10th of March, but Barbarossa feigned illness, and answered that he could not possibly obey the summons. Upon which the Grand Turk, believing that he was really unwell, wrote to him not to move from where he was, and that he himself would be at Constantinople on the 15th, when peace or truce with the Venetians would be discussed. I hear that the French ambassador is now busily engaged in forming a league between the Turk, the Venetians, and king Francis, against His Imperial Majesty, at least, so I was told by Barbarossa himself.

It was also reported about the same time that the Sophi of Persia (Thamasp) had strengthened himself considerably against the Grand Turk by marrying a daughter of his with a certain very powerful lord, whose title is the Prince of the Green turbans, an inveterate enemy of Solyman. It is therefore thought that both the Sophi and his son-in-law will soon molest and give the Grand Turk some trouble.

I wrote to your Worship from Exio (Scio) by Pedro del Campo, as well as to Master Joan Gallego, advising all the news I could obtain during my journey to the Levant. Both letters were sent from this place (Mesina) to the Imperial Court, enclosed in a despatch for the Viceroy, and, as I hear from Master Joan Gallego, I am afraid that your Worship has not received them. I say this that I may not be considered neglectful, as you told me when you left Mesina.

Señora Esperanza† is still in Barbarossa's house, within his harem (*el cerrage de sus mugeres*), very well treated, only that she can no longer dance about as she used. Her daughter is growing very pretty, though by no means a good Christian, because, even in this respect, her mother—as

* "Aunque harto envidioso de los demas baxaes."

† "La Señora Esperança está en la casa de Barbaroja en el cerrage de sus mugeres, muy bien tratada pero no pued saltar, como ella hera (era) acostumbrada. La hija esta muy bonita, y no christiana porque hasta en esto quiso ser loca, que no la quiso baptizar, sino fuesemos compadres V. M. y yo. No se le pudo hablar porque no es costumbra de los Turcos, y ya que se pudiera no hera (era) tiempo, porque estuve muy secreto, y asy convenia."

1540.

wilful and light-headed as ever—would not have her baptized unless your Worship and I should be the child's sponsors. I could not speak to her because it is not customary to do so among the Turks; besides, had there been any opportunity for it, I could not have seen her, because when I received the message it was too late; I had already been in Constantinople secretly some days, and was about to depart.

Master Juan Gallego has brought here his nomination to the wardership of the Castle of San Salvador, which he wishes me to govern as his lieutenant during his absence. I have accepted the charge, and thank your Worship very much for a post which I intend to serve as faithfully as I possibly can.

Doctor Romero,* the physician, the same who remained at Castilnovo by your order, kisses your Worship's hands, and begs to be kindly remembered. He visits almost daily Señora Esperança, and gives her good advice. I fancy that if this present business goes on steadily we shall soon recover her and that she will get her freedom. To accountant (*contador*) Vergara I beg to send my best compliments, and when you have occasion to write, that you inform him of my return from Constantinople, as well as convey to him kind messages from Esperança.—Mecina, xxvi. April 1540.

Signed: "Joan de Vergara."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 12.

15 May. **108.** THE EMPEROR to MONSIEUR DE ST. VINCENT and MONSIEUR DE PELU.†

S. Pat. R[l]. Cap. y Trat. co. Pont. L. 2, f. 59. B. M. *Add.* 28,592, f. 97.

In order to inform both of you of Our opinion respecting the proposals lately made by the Most Christian king of France, We have ordered the following memorandum to be drawn up for your guidance—which memorandum, however, is private and confidential, and must not be shown to any one.

You will begin by telling the King and his ministers that there is nothing We wish for so much as to establish and settle a lasting peace between the Royal Family of France and Our own, to the satisfaction of the friends and allies of both parties, through reciprocal means, and with proper securities for the future.

Having said thus much—though the terms and wording of the King's instruction to his ambassadors are unusually grave and acrimonious, and differ considerably from those used by the King to yourself, and again to Mons. de Pelux (Peloux) at his departure from that court—you will represent to him or to his ministers, with suitable courtesy and moderation, that

* "El Doctor Romero, medico que en Castilnovo quedó por mandado de v. md. besa sus manos. El visita cada dia á Esperança, y le da buenos consejos; pienso que la avremos si los negocios fueren adelante."

† Elsewhere Pelux, a Frenchman; his true name was Anne de Peloux; he had been in the Emperor's service since 1532.

1540.

the instruction sent to his ambassador, a copy of which has been put into Our hands, is by no means what We expected of him after Our interview at Aigues-Mortes and Paris. That you may better reply to the arguments which the King himself or his ministers will, no doubt, bring forward, We have caused the following instructions to be prepared for your guidance. You will absolutely conform to them, but in doing so you will use all possible moderation, as otherwise any intemperate language might aggravate the present state of things, and bring on a rupture between the Most Christian King and Ourselves, which is, no doubt, the thing which those parties who have interfered, and are now interfering, are looking for.

The French instruction sets forth that Milan is henceforth to become the sole, exclusive, and perpetual patrimony of the king of France and of his sons, as if it belonged to them by right of inheritance, and as if there was no right whatsoever on Our side, and as if the ways and means through which Our house and the Holy Sacred Empire acquired the fief thereof were illegitimate and nul; and, lastly, as if We were not obliged by oath to defend its authority, constitution, and laws, just as he, the Most Christian King, is in duty bound to observe those of his own kingdom, &c. Should, therefore, the King still insist on the terms of the memorandum once given to the bishop of Therbes (Tarbes), and to Monsr. de Brisach, you will tell him that all the above points, and a great many more, were duly declared and specified in Our answer to the various French memoranda on the subject.

In the second article, equally exorbitant, it is said that, immediately after the marriage of the duke of Orleans (Charles) to Our daughter, the Princess (Maria), We are to make over to him the Low Countries, as well as the counties of Burgundy and Charolois, with exclusive and perfect dominion over them, as if the said territories belonged to him *de facto*, and were a thing of Our exclusive right and dominion to be given away unconditionally, and not as a dower of Our daughter. We have not alluded in Our instruction to this most preposterous demand, because We consider it unnecessary, having already declared elsewhere what We deem just and honest. But should the French ambassadors still insist upon knowing what Our intentions on that point are, you will tell them that, wishing, as We do naturally wish, to proceed in this affair with complete sincerity, owing to the love We bear to Our daughter, the Princess, as well as the affection We feel for the duke of Orleans, and Our desire for king Francis' alliance, We are willing to grant them, immediately after the consummation of their marriage, such power and authority in the Low Countries, under Our own paternal sway and superiority, as seems just and natural under the circumstances, and to act towards them as a good father

1540.

would do, guiding and advising them for the good government of the said States; and that, moreover, it is Our intention to render the investiture still more secure by causing the inhabitants of the said Low Countries to swear fealty to the duke of Orleans and Our daughter, the Princess, and acknowledge them for their lord and lady in the manner We have already proposed, or in any other more convenient and reasonable way that may be agreed upon.

Since Our terms are so reasonable, We, of course, insist upon king Francis and all his family renouncing at once, and in the most positive manner, all their claims, such as they are, on the State of Milan, with the exception of those which the said Mr. d'Orleans may personally have in case of Our daughter, the Princess, dying without children of her marriage.

Should, however, Mr. d'Orleans pass away from this life before the Princess, Our daughter, with children or without them, We intend the said renunciation to take effect all the same, so that neither the Most Christian King nor his sons and heirs may put forward pretensions of any sort. For should there be any sons of the Duke and Princess, they will be amply and sufficiently provided for by the tenure of the said States; and if they left none, though Mr. d'Orleans might have been invested with Milan, the Duchy must necessarily revert to the Sacred Roman Empire, according to the nature and quality of the fief. In nowise would We prejudice to its rights, as We once declared to the sieurs de Therbes and de Brissach, and have done since in all the conferences held on that subject; ever since the restoration of the fief of Milan to the Sacred Roman Empire, it has been our constant aim and purpose that the fief thereof should never be possessed by a French prince to the great injury of the Sacred Roman Empire.

You will, of course, use much discretion in propounding the above arguments, speaking in your own name, or in Ours, as you may think convenient.

Should the duke of Orleans survive his wife, the Princess, and yet have sons by her, he is not to lay any claim whatever on the State of Milan, since the Princess' sons, as above said, are to inherit, and he himself remain their legitimate guardian during his life. The case of the sons becoming of age and the father having to give up the administration of their property, must also be looked into, he (the Duke) being indemnified by some estate or pension for life in the Low Countries.

As to the Most Christian King refusing to ratify the treaties of Madrid and Cambray, though there are many urgent reasons in favor of their ratification, you may say, as if it came from yourself, that should the most important clauses in those treaties, such as the renunciation of pretended rights and claims, and so forth, be substantially included in the new one, We shall be satisfied.

1540.

Respecting that article of the last French instructions, as well as of the previous one, stipulating that the Most Christian King will take no engagements, or make promises, beyond his natural life, with regard to the sovereignty over Flanders and Artois, and, moreover, that on account of the proposed marriage We are to make over to him Hesdin, St. Pol, besides waiving Our claims on Tornay, Tornesis and Sant Amand, you will say that you believe there will be no difficulty at all in the restitution of those towns, since the Most Christian King himself and his ministers have repeatedly, before and since the liberation of the sons of France, written that they were ready to observe the treaties of Madrid and Cambray in every respect save their claim on Milan, and more expressly that he (the King) approved of and ratified the renunciation of the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois, as well as of Tornay, Tornesis and St. Amand, and that whenever there has been a question of peace between king Francis and Us there has never been the least difficulty raised as to the restitution of Hesdin. As to St. Pol, Our right is clear and indisputable, owing to Our long possession of that town, as has frequently been said and demonstrated.* For it would be a strange and preposterous act, and quite contrary to the peace We wish to make, as well as to the good We intend to do him and his family by disposing of the Low Countries in favor of his son on the marriage of the duke of Orleans with Our daughter, the Princess, were he to make the least difficulty as to the restitution of Hesdin, and waiving of his claim on St. Pol, &c.

With regard to the provision and dower of the duke of Orleans, We expect that the King, his father, will do as befits his quality and the rank of the Princess.

You should bear in mind that whenever the conversation turns on Milan, or on the above-mentioned suzereignty over Flanders, Artois, Hesdin, Tornay, Tornesis, St. Pol, and other towns, you are always to stipulate as an indispensable condition *sine quâ non* the restitution of the duchy of Burgundy, giving the French commissioners to understand that Our right to the latter is indisputable, whereas their master's pretended right to the above-mentioned places is far from being so. Should they argue that by the treaty of Cambray that restitution remained undecided, to be afterwards settled by law, you will tell the commissioners that if that be the ground they stand upon, they themselves must observe the stipulations of the treaty of Cambray establishing Our sovereignty over Tornay, Tornesis and Sant Amand.

You are absolutely to insist upon the marriage of Our nephew, the eldest son† of the king of the Romans, with

* "Y que quando se ha platicado de paz no se [h]a jamas hecho dificultad en la restitucion de Hedin, y en lo de San Pol nuestro derecho esta todo claro con el gozamiento, segun que muchas vezes esta dicho, y demostrado."

† Maximilian.

1540.

Margaret, king Francis' daughter. Should you, however, find that the king of France shows reluctance to the said marriage, then, in that case, you will propose, as of yourself, that of Our said nephew, son of the king of the Romans, Our brother, with Our niece the Infanta of Portugal [Doña Maria], which marriage king Francis approved of and praised above all things in previous instructions to his own ambassadors, saying that he loved the Infanta as if she were his own daughter. But, with all that, it seems to Us as if the best means of carrying on the negociation would be for the Most Christian King to hold an interview with Us somewhere, and then the affair might be discussed privately between us. Should this be so, malicious spirits would refrain from any interference in so good and meritorious a work, the intrigues of the opposite party* would be stopped or altogether defeated, &c. However, as king Francis, if We are rightly informed by letters of the king of the Romans and the dowager queen of Hungary, declines holding the proposed interview, it is for you (St. Vincent and Peloux) to talk this matter over with the Most Christian Queen, Our sister, and see what can be done for the purpose of obtaining the King's consent; all suggestions to be made in your name, and in virtue of the joint credentials which Mr. de Peloux is to take, so that the Queen herself, the cardinal of Lorraine, or the High Constable Montmorency, may lay Our proposal before the King, whom they might at the same time remind that when We were last in France he actually promised to come and visit Us this next summer, by which visit he not only will do Us great pleasure, but will stop the mouths of malicious people who may take the King's change of mind for a proof that no sincere friendship does exist between Us.

In short, should king Francis decline to accept Our offer of the Low Countries of Flanders in the manner above specified, and insist on the terms of the memorandum given to Messieurs de Therbes (Tarbes) and Brisach,† you will say, as stated in the preamble to Our last instruction sent by Mr. de Pelux (Peloux), that We do not intend contravening in the least what We then offered and promised in answer to the above-mentioned memorandum with regard to the investiture and delivery of the duchy of Milan, or in anywise go against its substance and form; but, on the contrary, that should any difference arise as to the latter, We fully intend to have the same removed. This much you both can say as coming entirely from yourself, and also that you firmly believe that We shall insist on the fulfilment of the treaties of Madrid and Cambray and the ratification of the same, as well as on the restitution to be made to Our cousin of Savoy (Carlo III.),

* "Porque si esto se encamina los malinos espiritus se *retraerian de* atravesar[se] en esta tan santa ó buena obra, y assi se dexarian, e yrian mas retenidas las platicas contrarias a las cosas publicas."

† Antoine de Castelnau and M^r de Cossé Brissach. *See* above, pp. 75, 203.

1540.

and the securities for the devolution to Us and to the Sacred Roman Empire of the duchy of Milan in case of Mr. d'Orleans dying without legitimate heirs, &c.

Should, however, the Most Christian King say that he prefers to let matters stand as they are, rather than choose between the two offers made to him,—namely, the state of Milan, or Our Low Countries of Flanders, on the terms and conditions above and elsewhere specified—then you will declare to him, in your name or in Ours, as you please and may think most proper and convenient, that Our offers have been made for the sake of obtaining a lasting peace between his heirs and successors and Ours; that he ought to look at Our good intentions and to the securities We offer for the continuance of peace.

Should the King still persevere in his determination, you will tell him that We will do all that can be done to please him, and that, in the meantime, whatever may be the issue of the negociations, We shall not fail to observe that sincere and perfect friendship towards him which We once promised and again confirmed at Our last interview before We left France. —Amberes (Antwerp), 15 May 1540.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 17.

26 June. **109.** HIGH COMMANDER COVOS to the EMPEROR.

S. E., L. 49, f. 94. B. M. 28,592, f. 127.

I have informed the cardinal [archbishop] of Seville (Garcia de Loaysa), and other members of Your Majesty's Privy Council, of the negociations which have been, and are still being, carried on with the king of France respecting a final and lasting peace; and certainly it seems to them, as it does to me, that since king Francis is not satisfied with Your Majesty's most brilliant offers, he will most likely persist in his determination; all of us therefore are exceedingly concerned and sorry at the small chance there seems to be of so great a boon for Christendom being ever secured.

Your Imperial Majesty commands us to give opinion on the proposed marriage of the Prince, your son, to Mme. Margarita, (Marguerite) Francis' daughter.* We can only say that, in our opinion, no good whatever can come of such marriage alliance, either to Your Imperial Majesty personally or to Christendom at large; and that, if king Francis has proposed it, it is only for the purpose of preventing the Prince from contracting other marriages elsewhere. The truth of the matter is that the King's daughter is of an age little suited for the Prince, who is still too young to marry, and that, without evident advantages for Your Majesty and good securities besides for the

* Marguerite was the last born of Francis and Claude de France, his first queen (from Eleanor, the Emperor's sister, he had no children). Marguerite was born on the 5th of June 1523, and therefore her age was seventeen years at this time, whereas Philip, born on the 21st of May 1527, was not yet fourteen. Marguerite was ultimately married in 1559 to Emmanuele Philiberto, Duke of Savoy, and died on the 14th of September 1572.

1540.

future, the offer ought not to be accepted. Such is the Council's advice. Your Imperial Majesty, however, knows better than us what had better be done in this affair, and, therefore, we beg you, after weighing and considering the offers made, and obtaining proper and sufficient securities for the future, to decide whether the said proposals may, perhaps, be accepted without forgetting the prospects of a union with the Infanta of Portugal—which, notwithstanding its uncertainty and the tender age of the parties,* might in time become a most advantageous and great marriage—or else that of Mons. de Labrit's daughter, of which we hear there has been some talk. . . .—Madrid, 26 June 1540.

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

26 June. **110.** The Same to the Same.

S. E., L. 49, f. 77. B. M. *Add.* 28,592, f. 129.

Inquisition.—Has done all he could in the matter of sentences (*condenaciones*) passed by the Inquisition of Granada, and spoken to the Cardinal about it. He (the Cardinal) says that he is waiting daily for the report of the inquisitors of Valencia respecting the man who died there professing Judaism. The truth is that the Inquisition is encroaching daily on the civil power as regards death sentences (*condenaciones*), and that nothing can be decreed until Your Imperial Majesty returns to these realms; then, not before, something must be done to curtail the authority of that office.

Has seen Pizarro, and spoken to him about the service in money to be demanded from Peru. He says that at present no money whatever can be expected from those countries; all settlers there are poor. On a former occasion he himself got what he could out of them; now they have none to give.

He hopes however, to be able to obtain money through a plan of his, which consists in granting licences to search for hidden treasures. Such licences to be granted to any one who applies for them, on condition that should the said applicant come upon a hidden treasure, he is to receive 2,000 *castellanos* of gold, out of which one-fifth is to go to Your Majesty. Of the remainder the governor was to take what he pleased for Your Majesty (meaning, of course, to take the whole of it).† No sooner was the ordinance published than many applied for licences and began searching for hidden treasures, as with the promise of the 2,000 *castellanos*, and the hope of getting a share in the remainder, they were stimulated to look out for them, which they would not have done otherwise.

* Doña Maria, Infanta of Portugal, daughter of king Joaõ III. and Catharine (Catalina), the Emperor's sister, then about thirteen years old, since she was born at Coimbra on the 15th of October 1527. She became in 1543 the first of the four wives of Philip II., then prince of Spain, since his father, the Emperor, had not yet abdicated.

† "Que es que ninguno pudiese buscar los thesoros sin especia licencia del gobernador, y que las licencias se davan con condicion que el que lo hallase gozase de hasta 2,000 castellanos pagando dellos á V. M^{d} su quinto y de lo demas que se hallase pudiese el governador tomar lo que quisiere para V. M^{d} y que esto era con presupuesto de tomarlo todo."

1540.

This and other business of Hernando Pizarro is now before the Council of the Indies. When looked into and discussed Your Majesty will hear from us. He (Pizarro) is now sending a messenger.—Madrid, 26 June 1540.

Spanish. Copy. pp. 2.

26 June. **111.** The SAME to JUAN VAZQUEZ DE MOLINA.

S. E., Corona de Castella, L. 49, f. 81.
B. M. *Add.* 28,592, f. 130.

Lope Hurtado's affairs at Rome are in so wretched a state, that he well needs all the favor that can be bestowed on him. I have no doubt that by this time you have done all you could do in his behalf. I beg you to continue your kind exertions, so that he may leave Rome soon with honor, which is what he most desires.—Madrid, 26 June 1540.

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

26 June. **112.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E., L. 49, f. 83.
B. M. *Add.* 28,592, f. 131.

I have been informed that the papers and deeds (*escrituras*) which licte. Acuña has under his charge are not kept as they ought to be. Inclosed is a warrant (*cédula*) with the Emperor's signature, to be filled in with the name of the person to whom the papers and deeds are to be delivered in the meanwhile, and whilst they are taken to Simancas. It is for you to consider whether Mosquera will be the proper person to have the keeping of the papers whilst a proper archivist is appointed.—Madrid, 26 June 1540.

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

29 June. **113.** POPE PAUL to the EMPEROR.

S. E., L. 869, f. 209.
P. M. *Add.* 28,592, f. 132.

Has received by equerry Andelot the Emperor's letter in answer to his own, which Miçer Jo. di Montepulchano (Montepulciano) took months ago. Through both Andalot and his own messenger having arrived nearly at the same time, he (the Pope) has learned the very wise determination which the Emperor has taken in the matter of his daughter, the Duchess, and of her husband the prefect of Rome.* The marquis de Aguilar has made the same statement, and, therefore, it is to be hoped that an affair so important, and which, if neglected, might have most serious consequences for the future, will now be settled as the honor and reputation of both the parties demand.

Sends back with this letter Miçer Jo. di Montepulciano, for whom he begs full credence. Not only has he full knowledge of the whole affair; he is also acquainted with certain papers and affidavits respecting Madame made by a friar, now under arrest, about whom Andalot knows something.

* "Et essendo arrivati loro quatri in uno tempo medesimo ne hanno referito la multo sabia et sancta intentione de quella sopra le cose della duchessa sua figlia et del prefecto (*sic*) suo marito, et mio nepote."

1540.

Montepulciano has also charge to solicit and urge the settlement of this chief affair, as well as of other particular ones, respecting the future of his (the Pope's) family, on which he himself expected the Emperor's final resolution, having heard from his grandson, the Legate, that Maldonado was to bring it shortly, whereas the Legate is back from the Imperial Court, and Maldonado has come without a letter.*

Of public affairs in Christendom his Legate, Neocastro, will inform the Emperor fully.—Rome, 29 June 1540.

Signed: "Paolo."

Addressed: "Charissimo in Christo filio nostro Carolo Imperatori semper augusto."

Italian. Holograph. pp. 1½.

30 July. S. E., L. 49, f. 291. B. M. 28,592, f. 151.

114. High Commander Covos to the Marquis de Aguilar.

Will now answer his letters of the 8th and 19th of May and 26th of June, though part of their contents have already been answered through Domingo de Aguirre.

Lope Hurtado—Mme. the Duchess.

The last letters we have from Flanders, in date of the 8th inst., advise that the Emperor was at Bruges, trying to make the States of Flanders contribute a sum of money, as those of Brabant had done. Thence he intended going to Holland and Zeeland, and after visiting those provinces return to France. The negociations with that country were at a standstill, no more advanced than they were at the beginning, and with little hope of their becoming brisker. Gante (Ghent) was being fortified in haste. The king of the Romans was at Hagenao (Haguenau) waiting for the result of the assembly of the Separatists, who had already begun to treat by means of intermediate persons.

From England the news is that the King of that country had caused Cremuel (Cromwell), his great favorite, to be beheaded; the reason being, as it is understood, that he (Cromwell) tried to persuade him to become a Lutheran. May this be the means of recalling the King to a sense of his duty. This and other news from England you must however have heard already through private letters, and, therefore, I will not dwell on them.

Prince Doria at Messina.—Immediately on his arrival there he dispatched Joannetin in search of Dargot (Dragut) Arraez, whom he met and took some of his galleys. Don Bernardino's squadrons, after visiting the coasts of Catalonia, Iviça, and Mallorca, came to Malaga to take provision of biscuits.

On hearing of the death of Cardinal Salzburg,† I immediately wrote to Cartagena that His Imperial Majesty might be apprized of it.

* "Et le altri particulari tutti importanti al stato de nostra posterita, de la quali expectauamo perfecta resolutione al ritorno de. legato nostro nepote, et hui e ritornato vacuo, dicendo che col primo corriero che e stato il Maldonato, meneria lexpedition delle tutte, et no ha portato cosa alguna."

† Mathew Gurk.

1540.

Bishoprics of Gaeta and Syracusa. — For the former I presented Doctor Mohedano; but His Majesty, the Emperor, was pleased to give it to a brother of the General of the Franciscans.* About the latter I have not written, but when I do, I shall bear in mind what you tell me respecting Cardinal Jacobacis, who, being greatly attached to the Emperor's service, scarcely needs any recommendation on my part.

Half-fruits of the Clergy, and difficulties of its division for Uberto Foglieto or the archbishopric of Granada—Secretary Blosio and his pension on Corda—archbishop of Salerno and secretary Luis de Torres.

I have read the paragraph of your letter referring to Don Gaston,† and the orders received from the Emperor with regard to his business at Rome. I had also heard from Flanders about it, and knew that the Emperor had taken up the case. I can only say that for my own part I have done my best here for count de Salinas, for no sooner was I aware of the rumour circulating in this town, than I myself called upon Doña Maria de Ulloa, and wrote to the Count,‡ warning him not to mix themselves up with that affair, for it would unquestionably displease the Emperor, and I begged him not to take steps in the matter without the Emperor's permission. When after that I heard that Don Gaston was giving out that he had actually married the Count's daughter (Doña Maria), you may judge what my wonder was. I am very much annoyed at all this, especially because the Count has been my friend ever since I had to interfere in the marriage of Da. Ana Pimentel.§

Prince Philip has received the medals sent by Archinto.

I beg to recommend count Julio Novolara, who has gone thither on business.—Madrid, 29 July 1540.

Spanish. Original. Partly ciphered. pp. 15.

3 August. **115.** High Commander Covos to Secretary Juan Vazquez.

S. E., L. 49.
B. M. *Add.* 28,592, f. 199.

I was waiting to hear from your Worship, when Pedro de Avila arrived with your letter of the 17th July from Antwerp. The other, which you say was entrusted to the post-master for the merchants of that city, was never received.

Sorry to hear that Contador Manriquez could not do what we asked of him, and that Almaguer was not appointed; I

* Antonio Lunelli. *v. Gams.*

† D. Gaston de La Corda, second son of the duke de Medinaceli (D. Juan), who, according to Lopez de Haro, lib. V., cap. XIX., married into the family of the count of Salinas.

‡ D. Diego Gomez de Sarmiento y Villandrando, III. count de Salinas y Ribadeo, whose daughter, Doña Maria de Ulloa, had married without his will Don Gaston de la Corda.

§ Ana Pimentel, daughter of D. Juan Fernandez Manrique, marquis de Aguilar, married to the count de Salinas, D. Diego Gomez. *See* Lopez de Haro, lib. V., cap. XIX., p. 532.

1540.

have, however, nothing to say against the nomination of Pedro de Avila, who seems to me to be quite fit for the vacant post, since he is reputed to be both honest and able.

Half fruits:

Respecting Lope Hurtado and his business, I can only say that having by the last post written to secretary Idiaquez about it, I do not see why I should again trouble you with a narrative of his case. There can be no doubt that his honesty and fidelity have been sufficiently proved by his general conduct in Madame's service, as well as by the calumnious accusations brought against him by the friar [Pallavicino]—every one of which has been refuted. I should very much like to know how His Imperial Majesty has taken this affair, and what provision has been made for the future. I beg your Worship to do all you can in favor of Lope Hurtado, who is my friend.

We knew already here of Juanetin Doria's provision* concerning the fleet. As that of Barbarossa—amounting, as they say, to 27, between galleys, "*galeotas*" and *fustees*—is stronger than his, and will most probably do some harm on our coast, it will be better for that captain to remain where he is, and for Don Bernardino to go with his squadron to meet that corsair.

Bread is very scarce in Andalucia, and it was with the greatest difficulty that Don Bernardino's galleys could be supplied with a sufficient quantity of biscuit. Corn from Sicily is very much wanted.

England.—A very good joke of the king of England again divorcing his Queen. Not in vain does he pretend and assume spiritual superiority that he may at will decide upon matrimonial cases whenever he himself is concerned. Although this be a wicked and abominable thing to do, yet it must be owned that concerning—as it does the duke of Clèves—the Queen's sister, it is not so bad after all.

By the post-master's letter, I see that the landgrave of Hesse (Philip) and the duke of Saxony have quarrelled. I really think that God permits these things to bring all disputes on matters of Faith to a good end.

The Prince and the Infantas† are well, according to a letter from count Cifuentes‡ which I have just received. Fever and "*modorra*" prevails in Castille chiefly, but few die of it if properly attended to. The Queen (Joanna)§ also, if I am rightly informed, enjoys good health at Tordesillas, but about

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* "Ya acá teniamos la nueva de la persona (*sic* provision?) que hizo Juanetin Doria."

† That is Philip, born on the 21st May 1527; Maria on the 21st June 1528; and Juana (Joanna) on the 24th of the same month 1535.

‡ D. Fernando de Silva, count de Cifuentes, the same who had been Charles' ambassador at Rome until he was replaced by the marquis de Aguilar. On his return to Spain in 1537 he was appointed "camarero mayor de los Princepes," and died in 1546. *See* Introduction to Vol. V., Part II., p. xiv.

§ That is Joanna, the mother of Charles. She lived at Tordesillas till the eleventh of April 1555, at the age of 76.

1540.

a fortnight ago the Marquis* wrote that one man had died in the town of the reigning pestilential malady, and that another one had been struck. Every precautionary measure was then taken to have Her Highness removed to other quarters, but there has been no need since, for the Marquis writes that no more deaths have occurred. . . . . .

. . . . . Madrid, 3 Aug. 1540.

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

116. JUAN VAZQUEZ DE MOLINA to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. Alemania, L. 638, f. 165. B. M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 116.

Besides what your Signory will see by the copy of the letter to the king of the Romans (Ferdinand) respecting the conference (*colloquio*) of Vormes (Worms), Mr. de Granvelle tells me to write to you confidentially and under great reserve that the thirty and odd articles concerning our Faith therein discussed have been finally reduced to three or four only, the principal of them, that relating to Original Sin, having been already settled (*concordado*). Besides which he (Mr. de Granvelle) has had many assurances and promises on the part of the Separatists, there assembled, that they will do everything in their power to induce the princes and electors, whom they represent, to grant the rest of the points still unsettled. That the Lanzgrave† (Landgraf) has sent his chancellor with a paper signed by himself promising to return to the Faith, and try to induce others from among the Separatists do the same; but that it was necessary that the whole thing should be kept a profound secret till the meeting of the Diet, owing to the inconveniences that might arise should his (the Lanzgrave's) determination be made known.

Mr. de Granvelle is, therefore, of opinion that your Signory, and the cardinal archbishop of Seville,‡ and no one else, should read this letter together, as well as the answer sent to the king of the Romans thereupon, and having done so, and meditated on the whole, give us your opinion on the whole affair. Of what may happen afterwards Mr. de Granvelle will no doubt inform you through me; for it seems that the matter is in a fair way of being settled, at which he (Granvelle) is exceedingly pleased, and, indeed, he is right to be so, as all of us must be. May God guide and order things for the remedy these many evils require, for if your Signory saw how ruined the country we are going through is, you would be moved to pity!

Mr. de Granvelle has also requested me to write that in the present state of European politics, and the season being so advanced, he is afraid that before the Emperor can return

* That is D. Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, second marquis of Denia, and first count of Lerma, keeper at Tordesillas of Joanna the Crazy, widow of Philip and mother of Charles V.

† Philip, landgrave of Hesse.

‡ Cardinal Loaysa, one of the councillors, and archbishop of Seville, 1538–46.

1540.

to Spain, events may arise here to oblige him to show front (*hacer rostro*) in these foreign parts, and principally in Italy; as letters from that country advise that Rincon is back from Constantinople, and intends going thither again in three months' time to concert, as it is understood, what his master, the king of France, and the Grand Turk are to do next summer towards helping each other, and at the same time witness the great preparations for war being made at Constantinople. That is why Mr. de Granvelle thinks that your Signory and the rest of the privy councillors ought at once to write to the Emperor, earnestly begging him to shorten the business he has in these parts of Germany, and return as soon as possible to those kingdoms of Spain, without forgetting to point out to him the inconveniences and dangers of a contrary course. I myself am here procuring and preaching the same, and since your Signory* understands as well as I do with what difficulty any help could reach his Imperial Majesty from Spain, if any untoward event should happen here, I also beg and entreat, that when you next write to His Majesty, you represent to him in forcible terms the need there is of his presence in those realms.†

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

10 Aug. **117.** Mr. de St. Mauris to the Emperor.

P. Arch. Nat. Neg. et Pap. de Simancas. K. 1485, f. 167.

I have purposely delayed sending to Your Imperial Majesty my despatch of the 5th inst. until the departure of the gentleman bearer of this present, because, being important and not ciphered, it would have been imprudent on my part to entrust the former to other hands than those of this gentleman, who, besides being a confidential friend of mine, is much devoted to Your Majesty's service.

On the 6th inst., two hours before Your Imperial Majesty's messenger arrived with your letters of the 4th, asking for details of the affair of which I wrote in my ciphered letter. Having therefore in part answered the contents of that letter, this one will be principally of condolence with Your Majesty at the sharp and long attack of gout from which you are still suffering owing to your journey to Iceland, and I pray to God to restore you to health, and preserve you from that illness and its inconvenient results.

With regard to the Clèves' marriage, Your Majesty will see by my despatch of the 5th, as well as by that which I intend writing in two or three days hence, what little information I have been able to obtain on the subject. I shall, therefore, refer you to the said despatches, and will only add in this

* "Y pues V. S. vee quan bien podria Su Magestad ser soccorido, si algo succediere, estando por asá, yo tambien le suplico que sobresto se haga grand instancia, que no podrá dejar de hacer mucho fructo."

† The transcript of this letter is placed among those of 1541, but wrongly, since the date is evidently 1540.

1540.

present one that, to say the truth, I never thought that what the King told me at first, and afterwards repeated to Your Majesty when you passed through this kingdom, concerning the duke of Clèves could possibly have been said in earnest; and yet I wrote to Your Imperial Majesty at the time that the marriage spoken of between the Duke and the daughter of Mons. de Labrit (d'Albret) was open to suspicion, inasmuch as within eight or ten days the envoys of the duke of Saxony and landgrave of Hessen were expected to form a defensive league in the Duke's favor, should Your Majesty attempt to expel him from the duchy of Ghelders.

This information was imparted to me (as I then wrote) by Mons. d'Ezcurra, who had it from Mons. Antoine de la Cruz, Labret's bastard brother, to whom it appears Mme. de Navarre had spoken confidentially, complaining of the non-success of the Navarrese affair.* I do not doubt that the information, such as it is, comes straight from that lady; but it ought to be considered that if the marriage above-alluded to is really and truly the pivot on which turns the aforesaid negociation, Your Majesty's adversaries will soon know what the object and meaning of that marriage are; and, although Your Imperial Majesty writes that you cannot believe king Francis can afford any plausible excuse in promoting that marriage, I answer that it is not he, but his servants and ministers who are doing that mischief under his name, knowing very well that this sort of intrigue cannot last long, if the laws of friendship and alliance are to be observed, especially after the receipt of Your Majesty's last letter to cardinal Tournon, who, whenever I speak to him or to the King on politics, answers, as he did once to me or to Your Majesty, that he expected much, and nothing at all had been accomplished.

I understood perfectly well what the King meant, and what the sore part of his wound is, when he told me at Lunel that many promises had been made to him, not one of which had been fulfilled. That was then my reason for asking the Cardinal [de Lorraine]: "Pray, what did the King, your "master, expect from the Emperor, in which he has been dis-"appointed, or what did he want that the Emperor has not "immediately granted him? Has not my Imperial Master "done for your king and his family a good deal more than "could reasonably be expected of him?" The Cardinal's answer was: "No; I mean the duchy of Milan, which the "King, my master, thinks ought to have been given to him "openly and without difficulty, as the Emperor has often pro-"mised and written through his ambassadors in this country. "And yet (continued the Cardinal) nothing has come of that, "nor has the subject been alluded to verbally or in writing since

* "Ezcarra, Ezcarren (?) Segun que me ha dicho el S^r d'Escurra, que lo ha sabido del Señor Antonio de la Cruz, hermano bastardo del S^r de Labrit, al qual Madama de Navarra ha hablado confidentemente, y debido hacer cargo por la empresa de Navarra."

1540.

" his Imperial Majesty visited this kingdom in 1539. Instead " of that there has only been a talk about the Low Countries, " Burgundy and Charolois, in a manner, as the King's coun- " cillors think, highly inconvenient for the crown of France, " to the preservation and aggrandizement of which the King " is continually and exclusively devoted."

My answer to His Reverence was that Mons. de Pelux (Peloux) and myself at Lyons,* had really engaged to sign the treaty on such conditions as were once approved of by Mons. de Tarbes and Mons. de Brissach. We had not shewn to the King's ministers our instructions to that effect, but had declared so in writing. The copy of that declaration must be in the Royal ministers' hands. In the very same words, had Mons. de La Vaur,† and Hellin, the King's ambassadors in Spain, been addressed by us, and I was therefore right in concluding that they had not omitted to report upon it. The Cardinal replied that the King, his master, had never been informed of such a declaration; on the contrary, he had often heard him complain of want of reciprocal courtesy on that point. I retorted: " This is then the occasion to repair all faults, if there are any; it is not yet too late; the instructions which I can exhibit justify the Emperor as to that or any other similar charge. Your Reverence ought, if there is an opportunity, to give the King to understand the true meaning of my words—that in future there should be no more complaints of Your Imperial Majesty's conduct in the affair, since the principal basis of those accusations falls to the ground." The Cardinal promised to do so. I have since spoken to the Queen, whom I had previously informed of my conversation with the Cardinal, and have begged her to use her influence with the King. I have likewise called on the High Constable (Montmorency), and asked him whether it was true or not that I myself had made the proposal and sent in a copy of my instructions. He owned to me that I had, and that the offer had really come from me according to instructions received from home, and that he could not make out how the King, his master, could seem to ignore the fact. I cannot say whether the Cardinal has, or has not, spoken to the King on the subject, and if so, what the King has said to it, because I have not seen him since; nor have I deemed it necessary to speak to the King in the same terms; but if Your Majesty orders it I will do so.

I will take care that Mons. d'Ezcurra and the others, with whom I am in constant communication, do not act contrary to my instructions, but limit themselves to obtaining information on this particular point, namely, that of the marriage of Clèves.

* Here the copy from Paris reads *Lymours*. Could it be Limoges, Limouges, Limousin (?) or is it a blunder of the copyist?

† The original reads La Naur, which I think is a mistake for La Vaur; if so the bishop of Lavaur is meant.

1540.

As regards the Venetians, perceiving that I could not discover what they were negociating at this Court, I called yesterday on the High Constable (Montmorency), and told him that I heard with regret that the Signory's ambassador was in frequent communication with, and called more than ever on, the English one, and that this circumstance, joined to certain reports of Your Majesty's ambassadors, both in England and in Rome, made me suspect that something was being planned against Your Imperial Majesty; and that, although I was almost certain that nothing injurious to you could be treated at the conferences of which he (the High Constable), was not immediately informed, yet the duty imposed upon me was to ascertain what your enemies might be doing to impair the friendship and alliance between Your Imperial Majesty and the King, his master. That not knowing what the said Venetian and English ambassadors were about, and on what ground their hopes for such result as the breaking up of that friendship rested, I begged and entreated him to be so kind as to enlighten me on that particular, since he enjoyed the King's entire confidence. His answer was that on the side of England there were no news of importance; this he assured me on his honor. The Venetians (he said) have not yet made their arrangements with the Turk, and, therefore, not feeling secure on that side, they are naturally looking out for protection," by which words, the High Constable no doubt meant that the ambassador of the Signory was actually soliciting his help and influence in case of need. Pondering over the High Constable's quick and ready answer to my question respecting England and Venice, I cannot help thinking that there must be some other intrigue in which these Frenchmen are also concerned. I confess, however, that I am unable to guess what it may be. It is natural to infer that the negociations of the Venetians with the Grand Turk, and their need of this king's favor and influence in Constantinople, may have been the cause of their sending here at this present moment an extraordinary ambassador; but, if so, how is it that king Francis does so little towards securing a general truce?

As to the High Constable himself, his favor with the King continues the same; it certainly does not increase, but there is no evident diminution of it; enemies he has many, who are continually striving to unseat him, but hitherto they have been unsuccessful. The admiral (Brian Chabot) is still in Paris; the other day there was a talk of his coming over here, but I doubt whether his business there, which seems to be a long one, will allow him to come.

Respecting my keeping on good terms with the Chancellor, the cardinal de Tournon, and Mme. d'Etampes, I am doing my best according to Your Majesty's instructions. I fancy that the Chancellor and the lady are not much attached to Your Majesty or Your ministers, especially the latter, who has had nothing to do with Your Majesty's late resolution. I hear from

1540.

a good quarter that the reason for her angry feelings (*enojo*) is that when Your Majesty passed through this kingdom [to go to Flanders] you did not make so much of her as she expected, which has hardened her heart in such a way that it will be very difficult, nay, almost impossible, to appease her.

The archdeacon of Althona left a long time ago to return to his master; at present there is no English ambassador here; but only one secretary for the purpose of writing home the news of this court, of the negociations, and so forth. Owing to that I have been unable to ascertain why the negociations for the marriage of Monsr. le marquis de Pont, of which I wrote in one of my despatches, have suddenly been interrupted. If an opportunity offers, I will enquire from the Cardinal's secretary, who is a friend, but who happens now to be absent from Court in one of the Cardinal's abbeys.

Gaddi has many a time asked me, and urgently requested through his secretary, by what means he could procure that the embargo on his Neapolitan property, which Your Imperial Majesty granted him at this king's solicitation, should be raised. I knew not what to answer him until Your Majesty's last letter came to hand, wherein it is expressly said that orders have been forwarded to the viceroy of Naples (Toledo) to proceed with regard to the half-fruits of his *beneficios*, and their sequestration as king Francis will decide, to whom, as well as to the College of Cardinals, Your Majesty has written on the subject. Please Your Majesty to let me know what I am to do next to satisfy the Cardinal.

Cardinal Ferrara, through Mme. d'Etampes' influence, has obtained a place in the King's Privy Council; at which many here are surprised and disgusted, saying that important business of State ought not to be intrusted to foreigners, and especially to men of the stamp of the Cardinal.

There has been a rumour afloat here that Barbarossa has taken Andrea Doria prisoner; that the Arabs have retaken possession of Tunis; that prince Doria has sailed thither with 60 sail in order to succour La Goleta and take ammunition to the garrison; and lastly, that the king of Tunis has raised the siege of that capital.

The King will leave this place in eight days, but they say that he has changed the plan of his journey; he will no longer go from Rouen by the river, but will go to Rectavil to see some ordnance being made at that place of cast steel, and so highly polished inside and out that it is a wonderful thing to behold. He (the King) is determined to have a good many pieces of that ordnance cast. At the same time, in contravention to his treaties with the king of Portugal, he is openly granting licenses to all those who wish to go to the Indies to try their fortune there in the discovery and conquest of new lands.—Aug. 10, 1540.

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

1540.

21 Aug. **118.** LOPE HURTADO to the EMPEROR.

S. E., *Leg.* 868, *f.* 89.
B. M. *Add.* 28,592, f. 170.

This lady is doing well. After I wrote last, His Holiness sent bishop Duranti to visit her in his name, and on the 13th inst. Ottavio [Farnese] and count Santafiore arrived by post. The former alighted at Madame's palace, though it was supper time. He was invited to supper, but declined, and went to an inn, whither, by Madame's order, everything he might want was sent. After supper he (Ottavio) returned to the palace, and saw Mme., who received him more joyfully (*con mas regozijo*) than she is in the habit of doing. He then asked her to let him sleep at the palace,* but she excused herself by saying that Andalo (D'Andelot) had agreed with the Pope that, until an answer came from Your Majesty, things might remain in the same state as they were, and that, since he had come by post, and must be tired, he had better go to bed and rest. Next day, after dinner, he called again to take leave; he left for Rome, and thence, as it is said, went back to his usual quarters.

The monk's declaration as well as that of the Saluça are public property at Rome; even from Spain letters have come alluding to them. That is the reason why this lady wishes Your Majesty to have a proper inquiry instituted on the whole affair, as she herself sent to request the other day by Andalo (D'Andalot). She feels the more the necessity of an inquiry that this blow has come after she had complied with the wishes of the Farnese in every respect. It is, therefore, imperative that justice be done in this case, because all here know the friar's written declaration in the first instance, whereas what he himself has since said before a public notary in contradiction of his former statement is known only by a few, and, therefore, we (my wife and I) shall still appear criminal; neither will our lady and mistress remain entirely free from blame,† and, unless the case is cleared up, fresh calumnies will be raised against her. One of the women, who said to Andalo that she and her comrades had actually seen the head of a dead man side by side with that of the notary‡ before whom the legal proceedings against the friar are going on, is the very soul and confidant of the governor of Rome. That is why it is suspected that if head there was, that woman brought it in, or managed to put it in the room, that it might be shown to Madame's servant, who happens to be a friend of hers. Had any one but her brought the head in, the maid-servants, who never quitted Francesca's bedroom until she died, and

* "Pidiole que le dexase dormir en palacio; scusose con dezir que Andalo dexó concertado con Su Sant^{d} que hasta thener respuesta de V. M^{d} se estoviesen asi las cosas, y pues venia cansado de la posta que se fuese a reposar."

† "Es muy necesario que se haga justicia porque su dicho saven todos, y lo que despues del ha escrito por su mano lo desmiente el frayle por justicia con escrivano publicamente, es conocido de pocos de manera que nosotros siempre seremos culpados, y Madama no quedara libre."

‡ Que habian visto la cabeza enfonçada con el notario del Crimen.

1540.

who went thither very often, would certainly have seen it. From their saying so to Andalo after the friar's imprisonment and declaration, it seems evident that the whole was a treasonable intrigue well worthy of severe punishment. Indeed, if the parties are allowed to go scot-free, this lady will remain in greater danger and tribulation than before D'Andelot's arrival, and we ourselves shall be dishonored for ever.

His Holiness has been told that Madame knows already of the friar's declaration, and yet he has sent her no message about it, nor has Mme. attempted to broach the subject to the Pope or write to Your Imperial Majesty, waiting until she actually gets an answer to her former letter. When she has she will give you to understand how indebted we must feel in this, as in other things, to Your Majesty's servants here in Rome for their having represented our mistress as guilty, and us (my wife and myself) as thorough knaves,* since they refuse to have an inquiry instituted, as was their duty, and are trying to excuse the misdemeanors of these people, as Antonio, the bearer of this letter, will verbally tell. I beg Your Majesty to give him credence.—Tiboli, 21 Aug. 1540.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "From Lope Hurtado, 21 of August."

Spanish. Holograph.† *pp.* 2.

27 Aug. **119.** VAZQUEZ DE MOLINA to LUYS SARMIENTO.

S. E., Cor. de Cast., L. 49, f. 343. B. M. *Add.* 28,592, 166.

Your Worship does well in acquainting me with the news from France; we ourselves have had none for some time from that country, nor from Flanders either, though letters of the 22nd of July have been received, announcing that His Imperial Majesty was in Holland, and about to return to Brussels, and that political matters in France remained in the same state as before.

It was announced in those letters that the king of England was about to divorce the Princess he had lately taken to wife (a sister of the duke of Clèves), on the plea that she had been previously betrothed or married to another: which intelligence, after all, is not a bad piece of news, considering that the Duke, her brother, intended to ask that King's help and assistance for the occupation of the duchy of Ghelders‡ *to which he pretends to have a right.*

* "Ni escrevir a vrā Mt hasta thener su respuesta, que despues la hara entender [lo] que debemos en esto a los criados de V. Mt, que en las otras cosas por haber querido (*sic*) lebar culpada á [la hija de] vrā Mt y a nosotros por bellacos."

† The copy is in Bergenroth's hand, but either the handwriting of Hurtado was bad, or his style and orthography defective; the fact is that some passages of it are rather obscure.

‡ "Escriven que el Rey de Inglaterra dexava la hermana del duque de Clèves, con quien estava casado poco tiempo ha, diziendo que antes era casada con otro[y] desposada, que no es mala nueva para estar el duque de Clèves con intencion de valerse de aquel rey para la ocupacion de Gheldres."

1540.

It was also said that the lantzgrave (landgraf) of Hesse (Philip), after divorcing his wife, the daughter of the duke of Saxony, was about to take another* . . . . . Madrid, 6 of August 1540.

Addressed: "To Luys Sarmiento, Imperial ambassador in Portugal."

Spanish. Original draft. p 1.

30 August. **120.** The Imperial Ambassador in France to the Emperor.

P. Arc. Nat., Neg. Pap. de Sim., K. 1485, 13.
B. M. *Add.* 28,592, f. 162.

The King left Lunel† on the 16th ulto., *en route* for the port of Gratia,‡ and has only stayed three days at Naufbourg and the villages in the neighbourhood of that place, with such want of ease and comfort that matters could not be worse, especially as it was some time before the harvest. No provender could be procured for the horses, no wine or cider for the men; and, what is still worse, there was no water to be had on the road, as the wells were almost dry, so that we were obliged to drink polluted water, very injurious to health; owing to which, and to the excessive heat, there was great mortality among men and beasts, especially among the sheep, of which many must have died, for we found them lying dead both in the fields and in the houses of the villages and hamlets through which we passed. This has naturally diminished the number of courtiers, who, not being on duty, have voluntarily followed the King in this his journey, because in such cases every one looks out for his own convenience and pleasure, as well as for personal security, in the way of lodgings, provisions, and so forth. However, there are still here a good many sick, such as Mons. de Lautrech, and the eldest son of Mr. de Guise, who is very ill indeed; in fact, neither the one nor the other is considered by the physicians to be out of danger.§ Monsr. d'Orleans has had hemorrhage (*fluxo de sangre*); it was, however, stopped in time, and I hear he has since recovered, and is staying at Vateville, one long league from this place, where the King, his father, arrived on Friday, coming from the port of Gracia. The King himself is suffering from pains in his stomach, chiefly caused by his too great ardour for and indulgence in the pleasures of the chase, in which he delights, having lately spent no less than a fortnight or three weeks, doing nothing else but hunt. His in-

* The letter is only a minute and has no signature. There are, however, reasons to suppose that it was written by Vazquez de Molina, the secretary of the Council of Regency at this time. Luys Sarmiento [de Mendoza], to whom the letter is addressed, was Imperial ambassador in Portugal.

† *Ennet* in the copy—a very defective one, as almost all made for Bergenroth at Paris of papers proceeding from Simancas—but I have not hesitated in changing it to Lunel, in the dep. of Herault, where king Francis stayed for some time in 1540.

‡ Hâvre de Grace.

§ "Que está en el extremo, y no son el uno ni el otro asegurados hasta agora de la vida."

1540.

disposition, however, is of no consequence, and it is expected that he will soon get well.

After that he will pass by Rocion, where the road leads to Fontaineblau, in order to witness the vintage of the Royal vines there.* In short, neither in reality nor in appearance, does he show any lack of desire of attending to, or taking part in, the pastimes of his courtiers, or going away from them, but, on the contrary, attends daily to business; every day there is a council, which the King sometimes attends, holding long conferences with his High Chancellor and with cardinal Tournon, who, together with Mme. d'Etampes†—the real president of the King's most private and intimate Council—are continually with him, pointing out what they consider to be the right path to Christendom's welfare, that is peace, union, and good understanding with Your Imperial Majesty; for nowadays the common sentiment of all these courtiers, high and low, is that without that such a boon cannot be attained. Every day influential courtiers address me in this sense, observing that were this king to follow the advice of the contrary party, no longer in power, all would be lost. I always answer as modestly as I can the fears entertained by these latter, because I do not believe in them. No later than yesterday the King assured me of the contrary, and I know that he trusts implicitly in Your Imperial Majesty, who, besides, has given him no occasion to think otherwise. To this they answer that the King does not entirely open his heart to me, but has secret thoughts, which he only imparts to one or other of his favorite damsels, telling them how he is preparing for war, the means he has to carry it on successfully, the obstacles he can raise in Your Majesty's path, how he can promote the invasion of Hungary by the Grand Turk, Barbarossa's piratical excursions in the Mediterranean, and so forth. Of all these things I am perfectly aware, having lately obtained most reliable information from one of the said damsels.

In addition to the above, I must say that the ambassadors of England and Venice are more solicitous than ever, calling almost every day on the privy councillors, and negociating with them. What the negociations may be about I cannot tell—such is the secrecy kept—but to judge from appearances the subject must be an interesting‡ one for the parties concerned. Some think that it may be some league or other of the three powers; but, if so, for what purpose, or against whom? The Papal Nuncio, with whom I hold frequent conferences, is of my opinion, though I must say that he is both anxious and suspicious at the frequent meetings of the ambassadors. Were I to state my own

* "Despues passará por Rocion, por donde va el camino para Fontanebleu, a vendimiar la viña de dicho señor Rey."

† "Con M^me^ d'Etampes, que es cabeza del Consejo mas privado."

‡ "El asunto debe de interesar mucho."

1540.

opinion in the matter, I should say that a league and confederacy between France, England, and Venice is certainly being negociated nowadays; but I think, also, that until the present no conclusion whatever has been arrived at, at least with England, lest the king of that country should be charged one of these days with having broken his word. On the other hand, it seems as if some progress had been made, in order that, should the plan arrive at maturity, both the kings [of France and England] may meet half way, and then declare against Your Majesty.*

An ambassador of the duke of Saxony has arrived here, who, on his first audience from the King, remained for more than one hour and a half with him, the King's chancellor being also present. As far as I understand, the ambassador spoke, among other subjects, of the help and assistance which the Duke, his master, and other German princes intend giving the duke of Clèves in case of Your Imperial Majesty invading Ghelders. If this be true, there is réason to believe that the German princes above alluded to will make a league together, and, perhaps, also join that which is now being negociated here, under the excuse of the king of England's marriage with the daughter of Mr. de Labrit (d'Albret), which marriage, according to my own private information, has not yet been decided upon, for it appears that this king, upon consideration, is not so much in favor of it as he was at the beginning, and is now trying to delay his consent until he sees the result of the expedition against Ghelders, for which, as they believe, Your Imperial Majesty is already making preparations. The ambassadors who took to Clèves a copy of the stipulations of the treaty have not yet returned here, though I think the conditions are not of such a nature, or so hard, that the Duke can reject them, considering the stress in which he himself is, and the greatness of the protector he is trying to secure against Your Majesty.

Should these premises turn out true, Your Imperial Majesty may be sure that there will be war, for this king will help and assist, as much as he can, the Duke in retaining possession of Ghelders, whilst he will try, as he has done at other times, to recover the kingdom of Navarre, which he says belongs to France. This last he can do openly or underhand, by making Monsr. de Labrit (d'Albret) believe—for otherwise he could not—that he would never have consented to the English marriage without some engagement or promise respecting the above two points. Of these things there is already a talk, and the matter will be soon in everybody's mouth. As a proof of that, Mons. d'Ezcarra has lately informed me that the plan is

* "Quanto a mi, sire, segund que yo puedo conjeturar, se tracta de liga; mas pienso que la conclusion no se ha hecho hasta agora, á lo menos con Inglaterra, porque no se pueda al Rey imputar rotura de las cosas prometidas, u as paresce que se va ganando la delantera por sy se viniere á declarar tener la cosa medio hecha."

1540.

for the Duke to place 15,000 German foot and 1,300 men-at-arms on his frontier, whilst this King is to furnish a contingent of 6,000 adventurers, 500 men-at-arms, and 800 light cavalry, and as much ordnance as may be wanted; Mons. de Labrit 10,000 foot from Gascony, besides 500 men-at-arms, to accomplish which he has left Court and gone to his estates in the south of France, and has already made, with bankers and merchants of Lyons and other places, a secret contract to obtain a loan of 500 or perhaps one million of crowns on mortgage upon his property. With that money, and the help of his allies, Mons. de Labrit will try his luck, as a smaller number of Germans might be sufficient for all purposes, according to the time and season when the undertaking against Navarre begins. Mons. d'Ezcarra says that, such being the case, the King will take half his Germans, and, with 6,000 more Italians and 1,000 men at-arms, try and effect a diversion on the side of Perpignan. In this manner, by promoting war and attacking Your Majesty's frontiers, will king Francis obtain possession of Milan, in spite of Your Majesty, either by sending to Italy, at the head of his army, the duke of Orleans (Charles de Valois), or compelling you, as it were, to give him the investiture of the Duchy. Besides these and other means which the King has of aggravating Your Imperial Majesty, and forcing you to comply with his terms, he is now trying to ally himself for that purpose with the king of Denmark, the duke of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, and others, that they may help, with 10,000 Germans, to maintain the duke of Clèves in the possession of Ghelders.

Until now there has been no talk of the English king having joined the confederacy against Your Imperial Majesty, owing principally to his divorce from Anne de Clèves;* and yet the gentleman he lately sent to authorize in a certain manner the marriage of Labrit's daughter, is still here for the purpose, as it is said, of inducing the Most Christian king, whose friendship he wishes to preserve, to write an affectionate letter to the duke of Clèves, begging him to tolerate his sister's divorce without showing offence at it, that he (the Duke) may thereby secure the co-operation of England and the possession of Ghelders, by which means both the King and the Duke are, as it were, in this king's hands, and will ultimately serve his projects.

The above is in substance what Mons. d'Ezcurra tells me of the Most Christian's projects. He shows good will for Your Majesty's service, and wishes to be employed wherever he can be of use. I believe in what he says, and that this king wishes for an opportunity to declare war to Your Majesty openly. That is the general opinion here, and it is also mine; for a great personage of this realm was heard to say the other day that the King can now make war upon

* Anne de Clèves' divorce was made public on the 9th of July.

1540.

you with advantage, though there are two great drawbacks in the matter; one is lack of experienced captains to lead the men, or of a fit commander-in-chief for the army (alluding no doubt to the High Constable, who is both old and infirm); the other that there is not money enough to suffice for so many wants. In short, there are as many opinions on this point as there are winds.* I think, therefore, that the King will be unable to compass them all, much less undertake at once so many things; that fear, more than anything else, is what makes Monsr. d'Ezcurra speak out in this manner, and that what he wants is some remedy or other for the evils which he foresees are in store. That a radical one is necessary in all cases, and especially in this particular one, cannot be doubted, because, if I am to tell the truth, though I have done my best to penetrate this King's real intentions, I have hitherto been unable to guess what he is about. My impression is that he is more inclined to war than to peace with Your Imperial Majesty, and that, whenever he finds the opportunity, and considers it advantageous for himself, he will commence hostilities. Meanwhile, he will have Your Majesty molested and worried in your own dominions, both in Spain and in Flanders, so as to prevent in all possible ways your aggrandizement, of which he is remarkably envious. Indeed this jealousy of his, joined to his ambitious projects about Milan, which keep him in a continual state of irritation, are the cause of all those who know him despairing of a lasting peace between Your Imperial Majesty and him. As to present negociations, I cannot hope, from what I see and hear, that they will ever come to a satisfactory issue, because such are this King's ambition and lust of power, that he will never be satisfied; the more he has, the greater will be his pretensions for the future. This opinion of mine respecting king Francis and his projects is by no means intended to deter Your Imperial Majesty from treating with him of peace on terms equally advantageous for both the contracting parties, but only in order that Your Imperial Majesty may choose the best means of securing that peace. This very day, and whilst I am writing this despatch, the Dauphin's wife was suddenly attacked by a catarrh, which brought her within two inches of death, so much so, that she was senseless for a space of eight hours; she could neither hear nor speak, all those who attended on her giving her up for dead. Though she has since recovered from her attack, she is still in a precarious state.

The young Count Palatine has returned to his estates after accepting service under the Most Christian with an annual pension of 6,000 ducats, on condition of keeping always in readiness twenty battalions (*banderas*) of German infantry,

* "En una palabra son, tantas las opiniones y paresceres en la materia cuantos son los vientos en el quadrante."

1540.

which he is to command in case of war. This will show this King's military preparations. Some time before he had retained in his service a number of captains of that nation, whose names I transmitted to Your Majesty in a former despatch, granting them commissions for thirty other battalions (*banderas*) of infantry, and it is to be presumed that if war is declared, they will choose the oldest and most experienced soldiers that can be procured in Germany, unless Your Imperial Majesty orders a levy to be made beforehand. In addition to this there is still a talk of a marriage between the eldest son of the duke of Guise with the daughter of Pier Luigi [Farnese], and the rumour is that the negociations for that marriage will soon be resumed, for the purpose, as it is said, of detaching His Holiness from Your Majesty's alliance, and bringing him over to this king's side, on the plea that the house of Lorraine has a right to, and claim on, the kingdom of Sicily, and that the Pope may decide in favor of Guise. Such is the rumour afloat; although not well authenticated, there is some likelihood in it, to judge from what the Germans themselves are doing in favor of this king, by annoying and molesting Your Imperial Majesty in every possible way. Meanwhile the French are by this and other means trying to obtain from His Holiness the concession of the half-fruits on all ecclesiastical benefices (*beneficios*) in the kingdom, and in this manner the King will collect in France and other countries, in the space of six months, a sum of six millions of francs. Lastly, the count della Mirandola has lately received the Order of St. Michael, which this King has just sent him to keep him at his devotion.

The King sent some days ago Monsr. de Trumel, one of his chamberlains, to the frontier of Picardy, to inspect the fortified towns, their garrisons and ammunitions. I understand that this is done every year, and yet I cannot help thinking that this measure forms part of the military preparations above alluded to, and that Your Imperial Majesty must also be prepared with some useful alliances in that quarter, or else insist upon the fulfilment of the treaties between yourself and the king of France, in order that if the war breaks out, the rupture may not be ascribed to you, because, as said above, this king spares no money to fortify his frontiers, and especially those of Picardy.

Spanish. Original. pp. 6½.

3 Sept. **121.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to MR. DE GRANVELLE.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.* C. 232, ff. 1–2.

Your Signory must already have heard how some time ago this King, fearing lest war should break out, and his subjects being schismatics, be hindered and prevented from trading out of the kingdom, had thought of an expedient

1540.

likely to open the gate to the intercourse of trade, the importation and exportation of merchandize and so forth, without danger of injury to his subjects. To this end, about two years ago, he granted privileges to all foreign merchants residing in this country, to export from this kingdom or import into it all manner of merchandize without paying more custom or Royal dues than those paid by his own subjects, which measure proved highly beneficial at the time and most profitable to foreign merchants. Now-a-days, the King, perceiving that there is no longer danger of war, and wishing naturally to increase the number of his ships and seamen, and likewise to enrich shipowners and skippers, has issued an ordinance for all foreign merchants no longer to avail themselves of the said privilege, forbidding them to ship their merchandise otherwise than in English bottoms, which measure, whatever may be said to the contrary, will be highly detrimental to His Imperial Majesty's subjects, and principally to those residing in this country as merchants, who will thereby be obliged to pay a high rate of freight for the goods they may have to export or import in English vessels. True is it that the King, considering the immense loss which his subjects would have to sustain through that measure, were His Imperial Majesty in the Low Countries and in Spain and his other neighbours to retaliate in like manner, sent word to the foreign merchants residing in this country not to take the measure in bad part, and that Cromwell, himself, some time before he was imprisoned and beheaded, prayed them in the King's name not to make a fuss about it.* There was, however, no further mention made of the ordinance until yesterday, when it began to be enforced. But as the people of Antwerp, whom the measure concerns most, will no doubt by this time have informed your Signory of the mischief likely to be caused to their shipping interest by the said ordinance, I will forbear troubling you any longer with so disagreeable a subject, begging you only to let me know as soon as possible how I am to act should the merchants and shipowners of those Low Countries, as well as those of Spain and other Imperial dominions, come to me for the redress of what they consider a wrong done to them. —London, 3 Sept. 1540.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To Monseigneur, Monsieur de Grandvelle, &c., knight, first councillor of State, and Lord Privy Seal to the Emperor."

Indorsed: Engleterre. (*sic*) Reçeu a Cambray le iii^e^. de novembre XV^c^XL (1540).

French. Original. pp. 1½.

* "Et eust charge Crumuel (Cromwell) den faire la dite priere ung peu avant quel fust saisy (?) et depuis ne sen estoit faict mention."

1540.

4 Sept. **122.** MONSR. DE ST. VINCENT to the EMPEROR.

P. Arch. Nat. Neg. & Pap. de Simancas, K. 1,485, 19. B. M. *Add.* 28,592, f. 173.

Has in a former despatch informed His Imperial Majesty of the arrival here of the ambassadors of Saxony. Has since heard from Mr. de Labret that king Francis has actually consented to join the league and confederacy proposed by the duke [of Clèves] and others. Labret himself again presses for an answer from His Imperial Majesty, alleging the very same reasons and arguments used on former occasions, and adding that should the present opportunity be allowed to pass, it will be extremely difficult for him in future to take the Princess, his daughter, out of France. This much has Monsr. de Labret said to him, at the same time recounting the means and ways that seem to favor his plans now-a-days, as well as the many causes the king of France has given, and is still giving, for the Emperor to break off with him. In proof whereof he (Labret) says that the gentleman who went some time ago [to Constantinople] has returned therefrom, bringing letters from the Grand Turk, as sweet and amiable (*dulces y amigables*) as possible, offering his friendship, and promising to do the worst he can against Your Imperial Majesty, provided he be told and advised where he can do the Emperor most harm.

He (the Imperial ambassador) has not failed to look out for the confirmation of this news in other quarters. He has found that the gentleman above alluded to has really come back from Constantinople, whither he was sent by king Francis, and that the answer he has brought therefrom, as well as the Turk's offers, are substantially true. Indeed, Mons. d'Ezcurra has again given him all manner of securities as to the upright and sincere sentiments of Mons. de Labret, who, he says, is as much in earnest as he can be in the affair. Not only does he confirm the above statement, but maintains that the emissary was sent to Constantinople for no other purpose than to incite and stimulate the Grand Turk to make war on Your Majesty and on the king of the Romans, your brother. That the Grand Turk's answer has been that he is quite ready to do so, this being the reason why he has lately rejected all propositions of truce. That the duke of Clèves' ambassador has received particular orders from the king of France to enlist on his account as many lanskenets (*lansquineques*) as he possibly can, all with a view to mar His Imperial Majesty's designs in Germany, and that, although the High Constable (Montmorency) wishes to send a French gentleman on such a mission, king Francis insists upon the ambassador from Clèves being intrusted with it.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 1½.

7 Sept. **123.** LOPE HURTADO to the HIGH COMMANDER of LEON.

S. E., L. 1460, f. 17. B. M. *Add.* 28,592, f. 1,173.

Monsr. de Andalo arrived yesterday and brought me leave to quit. He shewed me His Holiness' proposition, and the Emperor's answer to it, as detailed in the instructions, of

1540.

which he himself is the bearer. Her Excellency, the Duchess, was particularly pleased, and I myself very glad and grateful to hear that the friar's malice and my own innocence are at last to be made patent, since the Emperor insists upon his being brought before a court of justice.

According to Andalo's statement the Emperor has not yet fixed upon the person who is to replace me. In the meantime, should I leave Rome, he is to fill my place until a new "mayordome" for the Duchess arrives. Where I am to go, and by what route, the Emperor does not say. Secretary Juan Vazquez writes that I ought to go to Spain; the Duchess would wish me to repair to Flanders, where the Emperor is still, that I may inform him verbally of many particulars concerning her case, and this I would do with great pleasure, were it for no other thing than to do service to the Duchess, to whom I am sincerely attached; but, on the other hand, I dare not disobey the orders received. I most humbly request your advice in the matter. A letter under cover to the Imperial ambassador at Genoa will safely reach me.—Tiboli, 7 Sept. 1540.

P.S.—Besides the bills on Alonso de Baeça for 2,000 ducats, my wife, Doña Margarita, is to receive 3,000 more from the hands of the Duchess. I thank you for all; I know very well that you have done for my sake more than I could reasonably expect.

On the 15th I wrote asking for the "*corregimiento*" of Burgos, now vacant by the death of Garcia Torquemada. Please bear my request in mind.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

9 Sept. **124.** The Marquis de Aguilar to the High Commander.

S. E., L. 869, f. 91.
B. M. *Add.* 28,592, f. 176.

Did not answer immediately your Signory's last letter owing to my having remained at Rome with a fit of the gout, whilst His Holiness was at Viterbo. Now that I have joined him, and transacted business as usual, I will answer both letters—that received at Rome, and that which came two days ago. I shall begin by Lope Hurtado's affair, which is the principal point in both your Signory's letters; your wishes respecting him will be so many imperative orders for me. They will be faithfully executed, and I will do my best on his behalf, as if he (Hurtado) had written about me in a different manner from what he has done. Neither he, nor any one else in the world, can say that I have in the least thwarted or opposed that official, though there may have been plenty of reasons and occasions for doing so.

About six days ago, Andalo (D'Andalot) arrived with the Emperor's final resolution. The Pope seems glad that Hurtado's recall has been decided upon, as well as that of his wife's, Doña Margarita, and that the settlement of the

1540.

Duchess' household is left entirely to him. He does not seem so pleased at His Majesty insisting upon a judicial inquiry into Lope Hurtado's conduct, as well as into the friar's accusations, because this would seem as if no credit was attached to his own words. Yet he has condescended to put aside the governor [of Rome], and to have him replaced by the Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber, and by another man to be appointed by him. As the Emperor wishes me to appoint two more, I have named four, for Lope Hurtado to choose among them the two he likes best, namely, Juan Luis Aragonia, His Majesty's advocate, and Anguiano, the proctor; the other two are auditor Mohedano, and bishop Pietro Bossio, both auditors of La Rota, and the Emperor's vassals. The latter is a Fleming, and Madame, the Duchess, is fond of him. I believe that Bossio will be one of the two selected, provided Lope Hurtado considers it necessary for the trial of his case; though I must say that were Lope to go away, and leave matters as they are, without insisting upon a judicial inquiry, both Bossio and the others would be glad of it, for they wish for nothing so much as for Hurtado's departure from Rome.

Andalot left five days ago for Tibuli, where Madame now is. I cannot say how His Majesty's determination of the affair will be taken, nor what the parties concerned intend doing in future. Perhaps the bearer of this letter, a servant of the archbishop of Santiago (Sarmiento), will take also Hurtado's, for the archbishop is his intimate friend.

Johan de Montepulchano arrived here six days before Andalot. I know for a fact that he said, among other things, that Hurtado's case had not been settled entirely to the Pope's satisfaction, owing to his (Hurtado) being in great favor with your Signory, and your having written to the Emperor in his commendation, saying that all charges brought against him were utterly false. This much did Montepulchano say to His Holiness, who wondered much at it, and, as I am informed, exclaimed: "Is it possible?" after which he frowned and beat his forehead, and remaining a few minutes silent and pensive, he added: "I daresay it is. I have no doubt that the person who is making war upon me is no other than the High Commander of Leon (Cobos)." Montepulchano's reply was that really and truly at the Imperial Court nothing was actually done without your Signory's advice, and that all Roman affairs, of whatever class or description, were generally remitted to your Signory to report upon. He (Montepulchano) further said, that owing to Don Luis de Avila [y Zuñiga] having, on his return, reported rather unfavorably on Hurtado's affairs in this capital, he had actually fallen into disgrace with your Signory on that account.

In addition to the above statements, I must frankly tell your Signory that until Andalot's arrival the Pope was anything but pleased with the turn the affair was taking; he is now more quiet; but when he comes to hear of the Emperor's

1540.

orders that a sum of 2,000 ducats be paid to him (Hurtado), there is no knowing what mischief may result therefrom, as these people will be confirmed in their idea that every thing that has happened has been done with Hurtado's knowledge.

The Emperor commands me to tell His Holiness that since, previously to his going to the Diet at Worms, certain ministers must necessarily meet together as agreed, both on the part of the Catholics and of the Separatists, it would be advisable for him to send thither some person of authority, accompanied by five or six lawyers, especially as he (the Emperor) intends doing the same. According as His Holiness' selection might be, so would he (the Emperor) choose proper persons to represent him at the Diet, and that he was thinking of sending thither Mr. de Granvelle. In obedience to His Imperial Majesty's commands, I spoke to His Holiness on the subject, and Andalot did also. The Pope accepted the suggestion, saying, that he would choose at once one of his cardinals there present to represent him; but on that official replying that the Separatists objected to a cardinal being sent, nothing more was said in the matter, nor do I know how the Pope can get out of the difficulty, for there are few cardinals at Rome just now, and none so qualified for such a mission as it is desirable that he should be. Indeed, the Pope informs me that having consulted the Cardinals' College as to the fittest person to be sent to the Diet of Worms, they have pointed out to him the bishop of Feltro (Feltre),* brother of cardinal Campeggio. Cardinal Farnese, however, said this morning to the Pope in my very presence that the Emperor had so complained to him of that bishop's behaviour whilst at the Imperial Court, that he doubted whether he would be at all an acceptable person for the task.

Your Signory must be aware by my last despatches that negociations for a marriage of Victoria Farnese, the Pope's grand-daughter, with a son of Mr. de Guis[e] are going on at the present moment, and that several persons have come to me begging I would interfere and prevent it, if possible. I have no doubt that these repeated messages come from Pier Luigi himself; but as I had no instructions from the Emperor, I did not act in the matter. Montepulchano, however, having told the Pope that on mentioning this thing at the Imperial court, His Majesty, the Emperor, answered without hesitation that such a marriage would never take place, it appears that there is no longer any great anxiety for it. The general rumour here is that king Francis promised at first plenty of lands and estates for a dower, but that now he backs out of it. And it is further said, as cardinal Farnese assures me, that the Emperor has within his Royal Chamber a person, who secretly informs him of whatever takes place at the French court, that being the reason why he (the Emperor) told

* Thomasso Campeggi, 1520–59.

1540.

Montepulchano so positively that the marriage talked of would never take place.

Previously to Andalot speaking to the Pope on the subject, he asked me if I considered the marriage as contracted between the parties. My answer was that so the people of Rome and the Pope's own confidential servants said, adding that Latino Juvenal with Morlu (?) had already started on a mission to that effect. Andalot then said to me that during the journey he had imagined that the son of the duke of Bavaria would be glad to marry Victoria Farnese, and that he and I might propose it to the Duke, her father. My answer was that I had no instructions whatever on that point; on the contrary, the Emperor's orders to me were to say that he would be glad of any marriage the Pope proposed for his grand-daughter, at the same time cautioning him against French stratagems. After this Andalot called on cardinal Farnese, and after delivering the Emperor's letter, and referring to the Imperial decision in Madame's affairs, asked him point blank whether his sister's marriage was a settled thing or not. The Cardinal's answer was, that he considered the marriage as accomplished, inasmuch as the Pope was intent upon it. Andalot then replied that on his journey hither he had been thinking that the duke Philip of Bavaria might prove a very good match for Victoria Farnese, since that prince was closely related to His Imperial Majesty, and that in his opinion, the Pope ought to procure it, provided the negociations for the French marriage were not too far advanced. The Cardinal retorted: "All I know about the matter is that having, whilst at Toledo, told the Emperor that a marriage was in contemplation, he answered me that I could dispose of my sister's hand, and marry her to whomsoever I pleased, and yet I took no notice whatever of the offer at the time. When the duke of Savoy (Carlo III.) asked her for his son, the Prince of Piedmont, the Emperor objected that the Duke could not be trusted upon, for he was of a very fickle nature and versatile humour. As the Duke has not renewed his application since, there is every reason to believe that it was the Emperor who prevented the marriage."

Such language did the Cardinal hold to Andalot, and I must add that the very same arguments have since been reproduced to me, whenever I have had occasion to speak on the subject of the French marriage. Nothing, therefore, will persuade the Pope's family that the Emperor is not opposed to it.

To the Pope himself I have said that he and his family ought on the contrary to be grateful for what His Imperial Majesty had done in this matter. At the time when the marriage was proposed, the Prince of Piedmont was only eleven years old; three more were wanting to have the marriage consummated, and in my opinion, and under the circumstances, this was a kind act on the Emperor's part rather than otherwise. At

1540.

any rate, there can be no doubt that these people are much touched at the Duke's not having renewed his offer.

However, it would appear that Andalot's conversation with the Cardinal has produced some effect, for after hearing of it, the Pope stated in public that the French marriage will not take effect. This was on Saturday last. On the following Sunday the Pope went out in very good spirits, and said to the General of the Franciscans:* "Believe me, my die is cast. I will follow the Emperor's fortunes to the last. I am determined to act so because I know there is truth in him."

9 Sept. **125.** The MARQUIS DE AGUILAR to the HIGH COMMANDER.

L. 869, L. 91, f. 176.

The Pope cannot be much pleased with me just now, for although the other day I passed two hours with him, he never alluded to, nor have I said a word to him concerning, his own family affairs, or the message brought by Andalot. All I did was to bring forward Don Johan de la Cerda's suit against Don Gaston.† I wonder whether count Cifuentes‡ will ever credit me for what I have done in favour of the former!

But I cannot bring this letter to an end without reporting at full on the various constructions of this French marriage and its probable results. Some say that as the duke of Lorraine belongs to the house of Anjou, he is willing enough to renounce his right to Naples in favour of his own nephew, Mons. de Guise; that in the event of Madame's marriage not being consummated,§ the Pope will give the investiture of Naples to his future son-in-law, who, with the latter's favor and the assistance of France, will then conquer the kingdom of Naples. It is also rumoured that in the event of this Pope dying—and he is now upwards of eighty years old—cardinal de Lorraine is sure to succeed him, for having, as he has, 12 or 13 cardinals at his disposal, their votes, joined to those of the Farnese and Santa Fiore families, are sure to give him a majority, &c. These, of course, are vague rumours of idle politicians, without any solid foundation, and yet I have thought it worth while to report them, that you may judge what these people's aspirations and the daily conversations in Campo di Fiore are.

We have been 15 days out of Rome, and another fortnight will certainly pass before we return home.

Viceroy of Naples—Roca Guillerma.—Viterbo, 9 Sept. 1540.

Signed: "El Marques de Aguilar."

Addressed: "To the High Commander of Leon."

Spanish. Original. pp. 10.

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* Fray Vincencio Lunel (?).

† Both members of the house of Medina Celi.

‡ As to the count of Cifuentes, who was by this time in Spain, *see* Vol. V. *passim*.

§ "Y que no habiendo efecto lo de Madama, que el Papa dará la embestidura (*sic* for *investidura*) al yerno, y con su favor y con el de Francia ganarian el Regno [de Napoles]."

1540.

22 Sept. **126.** The High Commander of Leon to Secretary Idiaquez.

S. E., L. 49, ff. 126–7. B. M. *Add.* 28,592, f. 181.

I am in receipt of two of your letters, dated the 4th and 19th of August, and glad to hear the news of that country, and that His Majesty, as well as you and the rest of my friends, are in good health. Gonzalo Perez hears frequently from Doña Gracia, and he tells me that both she and her child are doing well. Here [at Madrid] we all are getting on, though at times I myself am troubled with sciatica. Glad also to hear of the recovery of the High Commander of Alcantara, as well as of Mons. de Granvelle's good health, whom I beg you to compliment in my name, showing him my letters, &c.

At the reports which you say have reached the Emperor's Court respecting the affairs of Naples and the doings of the Viceroy I am very much concerned. I trust that you will do all you can in favor of that Viceroy, who is a friend of mine. I also beg to commend to you the affairs of the treasurer at Naples, Alonso Sanchez.

Sorry to hear what you tell me about the marquis del Gasto. I failed not at the time to represent to him that his mode of living and his immoderate expenditure had caused much dissatisfaction. Since then Lope de Soria wrote that he was certainly amending, had considerably curtailed his expenses, and that altogether His Imperial Majesty's revenue in the duchy of Milan was improving; but since you tell me that there are fresh complaints against him, I have no more to say. I will, however, write to him and remonstrate, &c.

The treasurer of Aragon, Antonio Gabriel Sanchez, died the other day, leaving one maiden daughter, in whom the dukes of Alba (Don Fernando) and Alburquerque (Don Beltran de la Cueva), Don Enrique de Aragon,* and many other gentlemen, take much interest. I beg you to ask His Imperial Majesty to give the vacant office to whomsoever should marry her. In the meantime, and pending the Emperor's resolution, the office has been intrusted to one Celdran, who used to fill that post whilst the deceased was ill or absent.

Cardinal Cornaro—Bishopric of Ampurias. The letters were given to Dr. Scoriazo—The abbacy of Arles for Gonçalo Perez, who really wants it. Mons. de Granvelle is in his favor.

The two offices which Olasso held—one at Naples, the other in the Provenzia (Provence)—are vacated through his death. Gonçalo Perez will write about this and other matters.

The prince of Salerno's servant has not yet arrived. The countess of Ribagorza is here on the same business. At one time she seemed inclined to come to terms with the Prince, but now she insists upon having justice done to her claims. We shall see when the Prince's servant arrives what can be done for the best.

* A descendant of Ferdinand, the Catholic, and son of the duke of Segorbe.

1540.

Juan de Enciso and the Encomienda—My barber's brother and his petition—Marquis del Gasto and Thomasso de Forne. The former writes from Milan that he is glad that Thomasso is going back. I beg particularly to recommend him to you and to Granvelle.

The answer made to the gentleman who came here on behalf of the queen of Poland seemed to me very *à propos*. The Queen wrote to me on the subject, and I answered her through secretary Vazquez de Molina, who sent me her letter.

I am glad to hear that Lope Hurtado's case has come to a good end, and that Madame's affairs have also improved. I was sure, as I wrote to you, that the accusations brought against him and his wife would end in smoke—a mountain made out of a mole's hill, a tissue of wickedness and boy's tricks, which might have been washed away with a drop of holy water.* I approve of his quitting Rome and the Duchess' service also; he could not remain there longer, except with great danger to his life. I beg to recommend him to you. As to the commission given to Andalot to try and make the Marquis and Lope friends, nothing could be better.

Your Worship's answer respecting the proposed marriage seems to me excellent, as well as the determination of making Ottavio Farnese attend the Imperial court. I may add that I should advise that the person who is henceforwards to take charge of the Duchess be a person of rank; even then God knows whether His Holiness will be satisfied.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 9.

22 Sept. **127.** The SAME to MR. DE GRANVELLE.

S. E., Cor. de Cast. L. 49, f. 137.
B. M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 187.

Has seen what His Imp. Majesty has resolved in the case of Lope Hurtado, and thinks that his removal from Rome is a very wise measure under present circumstances. Ever since His Holiness took a dislike to Hurtado, he (Cobos) was of opinion that he ought to be recalled. Even now he fears, in view of the many calumnious charges brought against him, that he will not be allowed to leave Rome. He (Cobos) does not hesitate to say and affirm that not only has Hurtado not done the things imputed to him, but that they never even crossed his mind, and that the reason why the Marquis and Valençuela have not been on good terms with him from the beginning is Madame, the Duchess', refusal to sign the deed which the Marquis sent in to her. Hurtado was very right in consulting His Imperial Majesty in the matter without letting the Marquis know of it.

Nothing could be better than Andalot's provisional appointment to fill Hurtado's place, for he is both honest and faithful, but in future, he (Cobos) does not hesitate to say that another person of greater weight and value will be required; because

* "Y que todo fué maldad y niñorias, que se podian quitar con agua bendita."

1540.

the lady is young, she is alone, and in daily communication with a devilish set of people (*gente del Infierno*). Indeed, to judge from what has already taken place there can be no doubt that greater scandals still are in store, likely to cause her much annoyance and trouble.*

What is being done with Hurtado at present is, in his (Cobos') opinion, excellent; yet he would beg from His Majesty to think of him when some vacancy occurs, for he has served well and is still in condition and health to serve efficiently. As to the judicial inquiry into the misdeeds of which he is accused, His Majesty should order the trial to take place, if possible, out of Rome. If the Pope thought that it was inconvenient to take the case to Naples, it might be referred to D. Juan de Luna at Florence, because at Rome, to judge from the state in which the affair is, it will be impossible to get at the truth.—Madrid, 22 September 1540.

Signed: "Cobos."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

23 Sept. **128.** The PRIVY COUNCIL to the EMPEROR.

S. E., L. 47, f. 227.
B. M. *Add.* 28,591, f. 274.

In consequence of differences between the inhabitants of the town of Aroche and Encinasola, in the province of Seville, and those of Mora in Portugal, as to the ownership of certain territories and pasture lands, lic^do^ Otalora, judge of Grados at Seville, was despatched conjointly with another lawyer of His most Serene Highness, the king of Portugal, for the purpose of investigating the matter and settling the existing differences to the satisfaction of the parties. Each of the judges, after inquiry and information, proposed his award, but there was no agreement. Then lic^do^ Otalora came and laid before the Council the plan of the disputed pasture lands, which enabled us to write to Seville and enjoin that the authorities of that city should procure that the pasture and lands on that part of the Portuguese frontier should remain in possession, as hitherto, of each party until Your Majesty and the king of Portugal should decide.

The city of Malaga complains that the bishop† has not resided there for many years, nor has he visited his diocese for twenty.

Certain inhabitants of Seville have presented a petition in Council stating that close to the Cape of Alguer a caravel carrying a sum of gold, a quantity of amber, and other mer-

* "Lo que V. M^d^ ha proveydo en el entretanto de la persona de Andalot me paresca bien por su fidelidad y bondad; pero para adelante advierta V. M^d^ que es menestar posser alli una persona da mucha sustancia, que aquella señora es moça, y está sola, y trata con gente del Infierno, y segun las cosas han pasado, no puede dexar de hauer adelante muchas otras que causaran gran descontentamiento."

† Cesar Riario, patriarch of Alexandria, who was appointed bishop by Leo X. in 1519, and died in 1540.

1540.

chandize to the value of upwards of 5,000 ducats, was captured by a large ship and a sloop manned by Englishmen.* The petitioners have asked for letters of reprisal (*cartas de represalias*) against all English vessels in general; and accordingly orders have been forwarded to England for the Imperial ambassador in that country to demand the restitution of the captured vessel and cargo, together with a sum of money for the damage and losses sustained by the parties.

A similar application has been made by and received from certain inhabitants of the country of Biscay, stating that in the month of July of the year 1538, two Biscayan "*zabras*"† at anchor within Aliaporte, a port of England, were boarded by certain French corsairs, from Blaover and Ambert in the country of Brittany, who plundered their cargoes. That the Most Christian King had been applied to for redress, but that up to this day no justice had been done, nor any answer to their application received. The councillors cannot but refer to this fact, and observe that since people coming from France with claims of that sort obtain ready justice in this country, it is but just that our countrymen should be equally well attended to in France.

In consequence of last year's bad harvest, and the privations to which the poor have been subjected, much illness—almost amounting to a plague—prevails in several provinces of this monarchy, the consequences being that many thousands are flocking to this capital for the purpose of getting food and health. Physicians, however, and medical men have been of opinion that unless proper lodgings and wholesome food are prepared for the multitude of hungry beggars and sick who enter daily this capital, there is great danger of infection. Hospitals have, therefore, been provided for the cure of the sick, as well as for the feeding of the poor, of whatever nationality they may be, with this proviso, that such houses are instituted solely for the real poor and sick, and that they are not to beg in churches or in streets, because experience shows that many who are in good health, and do not actually want food, are in the habit of frequenting churches and other places of worship, or else begging for alms in the streets, without, however, attending mass, confessing, or taking the sacrament, to the great injury of others, who may be contaminated by their bad example.

The marquis de Cortes,‡ civil governor of Seville, wrote on the 13th ulto. to the most Revd. Cardinal [Tavera] that Da. Juana de Guzman§ was dying at a place near that city. She had a daughter, who, being very rich, was asked in

* Por una nao gruesa y chalupa de ingleses.

† Zabra, a small rigged vessel resembling a cutter, then used on the coast of Biscay.

‡ Pedro de Navarra "el Mariscal," first Marquis de Cortes, from 1538 to 1542.

§ Dª Juana de Guzman of the house of Medina Sidonia.

1540.

marriage by the duke of Medina Sidonia,* the count of Ureña,† and the duke of Arcos.‡ Were the Duchess to die, as apprehended, it is necessary (says the governor of Seville) to make some provision or other to prevent her daughter from falling into the power of any of the three noblemen. The Council, therefore, in Your Majesty's name ordered that in the event of the Duchess dying, a king's officer should be sent to the fortress of Marchenilla, or wherever Doña Mariana, the daughter, and other ladies of the Duchess' family might be residing at the time, and take measures for all and every one of them to remain in the same position and with the same liberty of action, which they enjoyed during the Duchess' lifetime, and that no one should dare to interfere with her or them, or cause them to be removed elsewhere. Should this have been effected before the arrival of our warrant, Da. Mariana and the ladies of her suit to be restored to their liberty and former mode of living.

Again on the 6th inst. the governor wrote that on hearing of the Duchess' demise, he himself went to Arahal, where the Duchess was residing at the time of her death, together with her daughter, and Da. Ana de la Cruz, daughter of the duke de Arcos; but that on reaching the place, he found there only Doña Mariana, not Doña Ana de la Cruz, though the count of Ureña, the count of Olivares,§ and the count of Castellar‖ were in the town. He (the Governor) ascertained that Don Francisco Ponce de Leon,¶ brother of the duke of Arcos [D. Rodrigo], deceased, had approached Arahal at night, scaled the walls of that fortress, and taken Doña Ana to the town of Moron. When the governor of Seville heard of that, he required the count of Ureña, in Your Majesty's name, at once to set Doña Ana at liberty according to the letter of the warrant. This, however, the count would not comply with, alleging that he was the curator and ward of Doña Ana. The Governor insisted, ordering him to present himself within 20 days at this court. The Count appealed, &c. The Council might have decided the case against the Count, and got possession of Da. Ana, but the affair is so grave that they have suspended all proceedings until Your Majesty's pleasure be made known to them. Meanwhile Da. Mariana** herself was secured and placed [in a convent] until Your Imperial Majesty decides who is to marry her. Many are,

* The tenth duke, whose name was D. Juan de Guzman.

† D. Pedro Tellez-Giron, IV. Count de Ureña, who succeeded to the estate on the 26th of April 1531. He had married Maria de la Cueva, daughter of the duke of Alburquerque [D. Beltran], and died on the 19th May 1558.

‡ D. Luis Christovel Ponce de Leon, II. Duke of Arcos.

§ D. Pedro de Guzman, I. Count of Olivares, brother of the Duke of Medina Sidonia (D. Juan).

‖ D. Juan Arias de Saavedra, I. Count de Castellar, who married Dª Maria [Ana] de Guzman.

¶ D. Francisco Ponce de Leon, brother of the third Duke of Arcos (D. Rodrigo).

** Y que el Consejo puso en cobro á Dª Mariana.

1540.

as Your Majesty will see, the pretenders to her hand, as will appear from the Governor's letters, and other papers appended, especially the duke of Medina-Sidonia, and the count of Olivares.

After this Pedro de Villanueva, the solicitor, presented a petition in the name of the count of Ureña, appealing against the above warrant. The deeds were examined, and after consulting the cardinal [Tavera] and the governor [of Seville] on the subject, a warrant was issued for the Count, notwithstanding the appeal, to deliver up Doña Ana de la Cruz, and let her keep company and live with Da. Mariana as before. Another warrant was issued for Don Francisco Ponce to appear personally at Court, and once there not to absent himself without Your Majesty's permission. Lastly, that should the count of Ureña deliver Da. Ana de la Cruz to the governor of Seville, the latter is to pass her over, together with Da. Mariana, the Duchess' daughter, to Don Pedro de Çuñiga y de Sandoval, to whom the Duchess commended the care of her daughter, until she should be placed in the hands of the curators named in her will. The Governor to receive the oath, security, and fealty (*plesto omenage*), to have her in such deposit, and that neither he, nor any one else in his name, could dispose of her hand without Your Majesty's permission, and that he should appoint for her escort and service, according to her rank, such trusty servants of both sexes as he might think proper. He was to send authentic copies of the will and codicils granted by the Duchess, as well as that of the duke of Arcos, that the curatorship should be cleared up.

At the same time a warrant was issued for the duke of Medina-Sidonia, the counts of Olivares and Castellar to dismiss the men they have collected, and altogether quit the territory where Da. Mariana is now residing, under certain pains, ordering all the grandees and knights of Andalucia, if need be, to help and assist the said Governor in the execution of the warrant, which was sent post-haste on the 11th inst.

After this, on the 17th, Don Lorenço de Figueroa presented a petition asking that Doña Ana should be placed under the power of count de Ureña, on the plea that the affair concerned the High Commander of Leon (Covos), although it must be said that hitherto the latter has neither mentioned the affair to us, nor showed himself a party to it. Our answer has been that should the count of Ureña obey the injunction issued, justice will be done.

On the same day D. Francisco Ponce de Leon appeared personally in Council, and presented a petition. He was examined, and the Council decided that he should be a prisoner in this court, and not quit it without Your Majesty's permission.

Renunciation of the office of Diego de Soto, scrivener to the Council, in favor of his son Diego.—Madrid, 23 Sept. 1540.

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

1540.

Oct. 1. **129.** D'ANDALOT to the MARQUIS DE AGUILAR.

S. E., L. 869, ff. 201–2. B. M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 190.

The mode and form of the proceedings which I, Andalot, propose instituting in order to ascertain the truth of Fath. Palavicino's deposition against Lope Hurtado, his wife, and other persons of Madame's household, is as follows:—

That Fath. Palavicino be examined by me (Andalot) in the presence of persons qualified and chosen for that purpose, according to the instructions received from His Imperial Majesty, and the truth of the charges he (the Father) once brought—and which he has since disowned by holograph letters of his own—against Lope Hurtado and his wife be inquired into.

Should he (Palavicino) declare that the letters contradicting his former testimony are true and authentic, then, in that case, I, together with the judges appointed for the purpose, will bear witness that Lope Hurtado, his wife, and the rest concerned in the accusation, are to be declared free and innocent of the charges brought against them; and moreover will recommend that, with His Holiness' approval, a letter be written to His Imperial Majesty, as well as a Papal breve to Lope Hurtado, stating that he may go away from Rome whenever he pleases with His Holiness' good grace and that of his (the Farnese) family. And that it is His Holiness' wish that the friar Palavicino be no further examined in the case, and that the proceedings against Lope Hurtado, his wife, and the said friar be stayed.

Having shown this to Lope Hurtado, and asked whether he was satisfied with the above outline of what I (Andalot) propose doing in the affair, he [Don Lope] answered that he was pleased with the arrangement, provided His Holiness gave his consent to it all.

The friar once examined in the manner proposed by me (Andalot), his declarations to be placed in the hands of two cardinals, for them to decide whether there be culpability on the part of Lope Hurtado and his wife or not; if there be any, let them be indicted and defend themselves against the accusation, and should the defence be considered sufficient, let His Holiness absolve them *de procenatu* and annul *omnes confessiones ac processus factos* in the cause. Lope Hurtado having read the above memorandum, he also approved of it entirely, adding that should His Holiness disapprove of the former, and choose this latter mode of proceeding in the affair, he (Hurtado) should have no objection whatever to offer.

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

n.d. **130.** The ARTICLES drawn out by GIOVANNE MONTEPULCHANO for JEAN DE ANDALOT.

S. E., L. 869. B. M. *Add.* 28.593, f. 192.

The judicial way of proceeding against Don Lope [Hurtado], his wife, and the rest named in the declaration of Frate Palavicino, would be that, charged as he and the rest

1540.

are with very grievous offences against the honor of His Holiness and also that of the Emperor, Don Lope and the others should at once surrender themselves prisoners. That the wife of the former should also be secluded in a monastery of nuns, there to be examined, and, upon their denying the facts, be confronted with friar Palavicino, who has said and declared again and again that he is ready to appear and be confronted with the accused, sure as he (Palavicino) is that they will not dare deny the facts in his presence. Should it be found, after such confronting, that friar Palavicino is a liar, let the parties, that is Lope Hurtado, his wife, and the rest, be absolved by sentence. Should the contrary appear, justice must have its course, and a time be fixed for the accused to prepare their defence, &c.

[This is followed by letters from Andalot to Lope Hurtado, and from the latter to Andalot and Montepulchano, some in Italian, others in Spanish.]

Italian. Original. pp. 5.

Oct. 11. **131.** CARDINAL TAVERA to the EMPEROR.

S E., L. 119, f. 166–70.
B. M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 194.

Your Majesty's letter of the 16th ulto. came duly to hand, after dispatching the last messenger with our answer to previous letters. That will dispense us from writing on the points then referred to. With regard to Bona, things must have passed as Your Majesty says. When Francisco Duarte wrote that it was wise to keep Bona until the negociation (*platica*) with Barbarossa should come to an end one way or another—lest it should be said hereafter that Your Majesty had failed in your promises to that corsair-captain—neither prince Doria nor the viceroy of Sicily (Gonzaga) had received Your Majesty's orders from Lovayna (Louvain), enjoining them to attend to Duarte's advice. In case of the negociation with Barbarossa coming to an end, they were to accept the terms offered by the king of Tunis, on condition, however, of the coral-fisheries in the island of Tabarca remaining, as they are now, at Your Majesty's disposal, and Bona itself receiving a garrison of Spanish infantry, till it should be known whether Barbarossa was in earnest or was acting with duplicity. It must be said, however, that, considering the evidence in our hands; considering that Barbarossa has lately had his son married in Constantinople, and what Juan de Aguirre, and Hernando de Segura have since related, on the authority of Dr. Romero, very little reliance, if any, can be placed on that corsair's words. Indeed, prince Doria has since written that it is far preferable for Your Majesty's service, and the security of your own dominions, that the king of Tunis should remain in possession of Bona, than let that place fall into the hands of the Turks, who are apt to break their word whenever it suits them; in

1540.

addition to which the possession of that town would enable them to do greater harm to Christendom. That is why Your Imperial Majesty's resolution that the Spanish infantry when once in Naples or Sicily should go to Bona—if not to Susa or Monesterio—for winter quarters seems to us a very wise one. Besides which Naples and Sicily will thus be relieved from the expense of victualling the Spaniards, and they themselves will be more at hand in case of emergency on that coast, though, on the other hand, it is not probable that they will remain long in Africa without pay, and with their daily food only.

It appears that the captain, whom Joanetin Doria took prisoner of war, declared, when interrogated by him, that when captured he was going to Algiers to join the fleet in that port, and then invade our eastern coast, which intelligence agrees well with that received from other parts, and if it be true, as Barbarossa asserts, that he has ordered his galleys not to move from that port, one of two things must be inferred, either that the corsair's commands are no longer obeyed at Algiers, or else that he is guilty of double-dealing with us.

Owing to the above reasons, we all here are of opinion that the undertaking against Susa, Monesterio (Monastir), and other towns occupied by the Turks in Africa, which prince Doria recommended some time ago, ought by no means to be abandoned, and that the Spanish infantry should be employed in preventing the Turks from penetrating into the kingdom of Tunis, and that Bona itself be either restored to the King on favorable conditions or abandoned altogether, after razing its fortifications to the ground, which, after all, seems to us the best expedient to adopt, for it is quite certain that should that town fall next winter into the hands of the Turks, they will thereby become masters of all the African coast, having, as they have, possession already of the kingdom of Algiers, and Your Majesty will be obliged to prepare another powerful fleet and army for the purpose of defending or recovering the said kingdom of Tunis, as it may be; for although the keeping of Bona with a sufficient garrison of Spaniards might still be of use, as above stated, for defending that kingdom from Turkish invasion, yet it must be borne in mind that the garrison will be unable to remain long in it with food only; the men will also require money for dress, for they cannot possibly be in winter without clothing and shoes and other articles of indispensable necessity.

Your Majesty's orders to the viceroy of Sicily (Gonzaga) respecting the victualling of La Goleta and Tunis were immediately forwarded, with such recommendations on our part as were then deemed necessary. We sent him also the memoranda of Don Francisco de Tobar and Alvar Gomez. The same was done respecting the fortifications of La Goleta; the orders were sent to the viceroy of Sicily and to prince Doria.

1540.

On the arrival of Alvar Gomez, who has been recalled, Your Majesty's orders respecting him shall be punctually executed. At present, if what Commander Giron, as well as Martin Niño and the others, writes about him turns out true, there is cause for proceeding against him. The whole inquiry will be placed in the hands of the Commander.

Scarcity and dearth of bread in Andalucia; yet, with the mere announcement of the provision that is to come from Sicily, the price has gone down to seven, eight, and ten reals the "*fanega*" (sack) in Andalucia, and in Extramadura to one ducat. It is to be hoped that on the arrival of the corn the price will be still lower, as I wrote by Don Pedro de la Guerra. The viceroy of Sicily sent the other day 1,000 "*salmas*" of it to Mallorca, to make biscuit for the imperial galleys—a very wise measure, under the circumstances, considering that the galleys lose the greater part of the summer in sailing backwards and forwards to Malaga to load biscuit. The Viceroy and Regent* in the island have been written to on the subject, and 800 ducats forwarded to pay for the "*nolitas*" (freights) of the ships that brought the corn from Sicily.

Half-fruits—Mesta.†

All the letters and despatches of Your Majesty's ambassadors relating to the affairs of France—the marriage of the duke of Clèves with the daughter of Mr. de Labrit, and the league made, as it was understood, for the defence of the duchy of Ghelders; the overtures of Mr. de Labrit himself to the Imperial ambassador, offering the hand of his daughter for the Prince [Philip], son of Your Majesty, and declaring what steps he meant to take in order to get her out of king Francis' hands, and what his conditions were should the offer of marriage be accepted—have been duly received and examined in Council, and our opinion concerning the last, and perhaps too the most important, point is this: There can be no doubt that the proposed marriage has its advantages, if carried into effect with king Francis' consent, for prince Philip might thereby be greatly benefited in what touches Navarre and the French claims upon it; but, on the other hand, it is very unlikely that such a marriage can take place without that King's knowledge, for in the first place it appears almost impossible to take the bride out of France, either by land or sea, without people becoming aware of it, especially if the people placed next her person are, as it is right to suppose, chosen by king Francis himself, or by his sister, Madame de Labrit (Marguerite). Even supposing that they were not so, and that they might be bribed, the lady could not leave France without the King being made aware of it, thus giving a pretext and excuse for the King to break

* By Regent (Regente) the president of the Audiencia or Audit's Court is meant.

† Mesta was the name of a corporation of sheep-owners.

1540.

the truce. Nor could we, in such an event, allege as a sufficient justification for our connivance in her escape from France what Mr. de Labrit himself has said to the Imperial ambassador concerning the league between king Francis, the dukes of Clèves and Saxony, and the landgraf of Hesse for the defence of Ghelders, for no sooner would king Francis hear of it than he would invade and occupy Mr. de Labrit's dominions without the least opposition. Indeed, we cannot see what defence that Prince could make, nor how we ourselves could assist him during the winter, and when the passes (*puertos*) in the Pyrenees are closed by the snow. On the other hand, Don Enrique's conditions are such that whatever lands king Francis took from him would be so much loss of reputation for your Majesty, if you allowed it. Even supposing that the daughter was safe out of France, and could be married to the Prince, we cannot see what security there is—should his wife, who, as Your Majesty knows is old, die—of the prince not marrying again; for if he did so, and had children by his second wife, who shall say that, notwithstanding all renunciations, cessions of rights and donations, the legitimate sons of his second marriage, if any, would not claim the very same right that their father had or pretended to have on Navarre?

Besides, the very exorbitance of the conditions proposed is such that we are inclined to think that Mr. de Labrit does not desire it as much as he says, for otherwise he would have been more moderate in his demands, and not let us suspect, as we all do, that perhaps the proposition has been made with the King's consent and knowledge, or at least with that of his sister, which comes to nearly the same.

Our opinion, therefore, has been, and is still, that the difficulty, not to say total impossibility, of accomplishing the said marriage is so notoriously evident, and at the same time so fraught with danger of all kinds, that the idea of such a marriage ought to be abandoned. Indeed, the despatches of Your Imperial Majesty's ambassador in France, as well as the intelligence since received from other quarters, tend to prove that king Francis is planning and intriguing everywhere, all with a view to oblige Your Imperial Majesty to accede to his wishes, and grant him what he wants.

From the contents of the letter which Mr. de Granvelle wrote to his brother-in-law, the ambassador, and which we have perused attentively, it is evident that the offer which Your Imperial Majesty has made of the person of your own son, prince Philip, for the daughter of king Francis—an offer so liberal and handsome that it could not emanate from political or interested views, but merely from your own good wishes, as a Christian prince, your love of peace, and your abhorrence of the evils caused by war—could not be surpassed, whereas king Francis' refusal to accept such liberal terms for the consolidation of peace show clearly that he is

1540.

aiming solely and exclusively at the possession of Milan, not, indeed, for the duke of Orleans, as before, with the securities and conditions stipulated, but to incorporate the same into the crown of France.

We wrote last respecting the orders sent to the viceroys of Naples and Catalonia, as well as to Sancho Martinez de Leyva, and to the captains and governors of Roussillon, enjoining them to go and inspect the castles and fortresses of their respective frontiers. The viceroy of Catalonia had not visited his since taking the command of that province. New orders have again been issued for each of them to make a visit of inspection, and the governors of Navarre and Guipuzcoa have been told to be ready in case of emergency, but to make their preparations as secretly as possible. With regard to D. Francés de Beamonte, whom Your Majesty has ordered to the Roussillon frontier, with express commands to the governor of Perpignan to deliver that fortress and town into his hands, and take that of Salses instead: after mature deliberation, the Council has resolved, as announced by Don Pedro de la Guerra, not to execute that order until Your Imperial Majesty is again consulted thereupon, for the said Don Francés is so disliked and hated in that town and province, and the dissensions and scandals between him and the people of Perpignan have reached such a pitch, that they have earnestly requested and begged that he should be removed and sent somewhere else. Should an invasion of the enemy take place on that side of the frontier, not only would the said Don Francés be unable to get the citizens to help him, but he would require a special guard to defend his person. For the above reason we venture to say that Don Francés is the last person to whom the defence of Perpignan could be entrusted under the circumstances, and therefore beg Your Majesty to reconsider the matter, and send Don Francés de Beamont, who is otherwise able to do good service, elsewhere. Meanwhile an order has been sent to the viceroy of Catalonia to repair to the frontier of Roussillon, and do the work required until Your Majesty decides who is to go thither.

Don Juan de Albion, governor (*alcayde*) of Perpignan, had orders from us to go to Salses and inspect its fortifications. He did so, but the lieutenant-governor of the latter fortress delayed so long the delivery of the place that it was necessary to write to the Viceroy and to Juan Muñoz de Salazar about it. It would be necessary also for the better security of the town of Perpignan, should the French, as they threaten, invade on that side, to grant an annuity to the many citizens who, for one cause or other, are fugitives from the place, with the exception, perhaps, of two or three of them, whose crimes are enormous. The viceroy of Catalonia, or the person Your Imperial Majesty might appoint to the charge of captain-general and the inspection of Roussillon, might, on his arrival, grant the annuity, as if it had been obtained at his intercession.

1540.

The above-mentioned despatches of the Imperial ambassador at the Court of France allude also to certain licences granted by king Francis to his subjects to sail for the East and West Indies. Immediately after the receipt of Your Majesty's letter on this subject, we wrote to Luis Sarmiento, enclosing a copy of that letter, and requesting him to call on the King, and ascertain from him what measure he intends to take against the injury intended. No answer has yet come, but, slow as the Portuguese generally are in their deliberations, it is not yet too late to expect it.

Of the recess of the Haghenau Diet, the conferences (*colloquio*) of Vormes, the departure of Mr. de Grandvelle from Ghent,* the Diet convoked for Ratisbone, and Your Imperial Majesty's determination to visit all those towns of the Low Countries previously visited, so as to be at Milan next spring, we have been duly informed.

The death of king John of Hungary could not have happened at a worse time, considering the state in which the affairs of Christendom are. Please God that the determination of the king of the Romans may be successful, for it is to be feared that the intrigues of the French king will mar the effect, for already it is asserted that a message has been sent to the Grand Turk advising him to take under his protection the son of the late king.

After the departure of Pedro de la Guerra with the news of the capture by Don Bernardino de Mendoza of the galleys and galeotas which had sacked Gibraltar, one of those that were in the fight has come and related that Don Bernardino had anchored at Malaga, that the wound he had received in the head was not dangerous, and that he was already recovering from it. It had not yet been ascertained how many Turks had died, nor how many were still alive and prisoners; but it was believed that their number would amount to 500 between Turks and Moors, besides 600 or 700 Christian slaves manning the oars, who had been released from captivity. Our loss consisted of about 100 killed, many more wounded.

Luis Sarmiento has been written to concerning the false doubloons (*doblones*), and the fleet of war-ships for the Indies.—Madrid, xi Oct. 1540.

Spanish. Original. pp. 24.

14 Oct. **132.** The Marquis de Aguilar to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 869, f. 100.
B. M. *Add.* 28,592, f. 206.

Wrote on the 19th in answer to the letters and papers brought by Mons. de Andalot. Since then His Imperial Majesty's letter of the 13th has come to hand. Was about to send an express messenger to advise His Holiness' answer, and what had been done in the affair concerning Madame, the Duchess, when his brother, the Cardinal, was suddenly taken so ill

* "Y yda de Monsr de Grandvelle delante (de Gante?)."

1540.

that within the week it pleased God to take him. The Emperor has lost in him a good servant, and his death has also been much felt by His Holiness, as well as by all his colleagues in the Sacred College. As to himself (the Marquis) and his sons the loss is wholly irreparable. The Cardinal's death was caused by a pestilential fever, caught no doubt from cardinal Borja at the time lodging with him, and whom he attended during the short illness which carried him off. After cardinal Borja's death cardinal Manrique never rallied, and went on rapidly declining until he himself died, from which some people have inferred that both had died of poison. The former account, however, seems the more probable one.

Alluded in one of the 22nd ulto. to the fact that His Holiness had been pleased to revoke the nomination of Giovan Matheo [Gibesti], the bishop of Verona, for the Diet (*colloquio*) of Worms.

18 Oct. **133.** The Same and Mr. de Granvelle to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 869, f. 104.
B. M. *Add.* 28,592, f. 216.

His Holiness was thankful for his inquiries on the health of the duke of Camarino. The application for the 2,000 infantry in aid of the Hungarian campaign was renewed. Should the Turk invade that country, as it is believed he will do, notwithstanding the truce made with the king of the Romans, the Pope promised to send thither the stipulated contingent. With regard to his contribution in money His Holiness answered in general words, but without specifying the sum he intended giving.

The confirmation of the Catholic League, and the sum His Holiness is to contribute towards it, was likewise discussed, when, after many excuses, the matter was satisfactorily settled.

As to sending a prelate to Germany for the reformation of ecclesiastics, His Holiness made no difficulty at all, proposing at once the bishops of Verona and Modena, besides one Venetian; the final election to be made on the Pope's return to Rome. Meanwhile the instructions for those elected will be prepared.

The Council, &c.—The truce with France—No hope whatever of the defensive Italian League against Francis, nor of the Pope contributingt o its expenses—Archbishop of Valencia.

No movement to be apprehended for the present in Italy as far as the French are concerned. True is it that a rumour is afloat of their trying to procure bills on Germany for 600,000 ducats, and 600,000 more on other countries; but there is no foundation for it. At Bologna, however, they are trying to get 100,000.

There is also a talk of Xatillon (Chastillon) going to Portugal to ask for the hand of the Infanta Doña Maria, on the plea that the queen of France (Eleanor), her mother, wishes to have her in her company, and that a safe-conduct has accordingly been applied for, that the Bishop may travel through Castille.

1540.

The abbey of St. Michel, belonging to the duke of Savoy, is still occupied by king Francis. They (Aguilar and Granvelle) have remonstrated against it.

Sfrondato, the Milanese senator, has gone to Sena fully instructed by us as to what he is to do there.

Complained of the late Papal bull granted to cardinal Triulzo, giving him ecclesiastical jurisdiction over certain castles of the Astesan, and compelling the garrisons and inhabitants to swear fidelity and obedience to him as bishop of that territory. The answer was that the Archbishop's proceedings had been suspended until the matter should be looked into.

His Holiness is much pleased at his son the Cardinal having been appointed protector of Germany at Rome. As to his Nuncio Pogio* having been named by His Imperial Majesty for the bishopric of Tropea, that is a favor which the Pope values more than if it had been granted to one of his own grandsons.—[Rome], 18 Oct. 1540.

Signed: "El Marques de Aguilar."

23 Oct. **134.** CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

W., Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, ff. 3–4.

On the 12th inst. the packet containing the grievances complained of by some of the Emperor's subjects came to hand. I immediately applied for an audience from the King's Privy Council, which was granted for the next day, two of its principal members, namely, the Admiral, and the Lord Privy Seal, having been deputed to call first upon me to know what my business was. When the two said councillors had heard from my lips the nature of the complaints of the ship-owners and merchants of Antwerp and other places, they at once gave me hope of redress, and promised to do everything in their power to obtain the same. Indeed, the councillors having on the very same day reported on the nature of my claim, the King gave orders to examine the treaties of commerce between England and the Low Countries, and again report to him thereupon, promising besides that whatever the opinion of his Privy Council might be, he himself would mediate in favor of my application.

I will do my best to get as favorable an answer as the case requires, and, although the packet containing the memorials and papers of the Antwerp merchants came rather late—having been upwards of 15 days on the road—I hope to be able in two or three days to say what the resolution of the Council has been, and at the same time state my own opinion of the whole matter.

These councillors' daily doings and sayings make me believe that their alliance with the French has somewhat cooled of

* That is Giovanni Poggio, Papal Nuncio to the Emperor from 1534 to 1540. *See* Vol. V., Part II., p. 277. He was appointed bishop of Tropea in August 1540, cardinal in 1551; he died in 1556.

1540.

late, and that their aim at present is to introduce some sort of jealousy and suspicion between the Emperor and king Francis. Indeed, they keep telling me on every occasion that at all times their friendship and confederacy with His Imperial Majesty had been more solidly and firmly established than any of the French with the Empire, giving as a proof of their assertion the unjustifiable practices of their king with the Turk, with the Pope, the Venetians, and the duke of Clèves, as Your Majesty will more readily understand by my long letters to the Emperor on the subject. From these hints and innuendoes on the part of the privy councillors I tried at first to disengage myself as graciously as possible by appearing to take no notice of them, as the present alliance and friendship between the Emperor and the king of England seems to demand; but the councillors, observing my reluctance to go further into the question, went on saying that, according to a rumour sprung up in France, my return to England, as Imperial ambassador, was for the purpose of soliciting and bringing forward the Emperor's marriage to the Princess (Mary), which, if achieved, would be a great source of displeasure for the French. And they proceeded to say that if my mission was such I ought no longer to tarry, but seize the opportunity and declare it at once, for the King, their master, was disposed to do anything for the sake of maintaining and binding anew the present alliance.

All this the councillors told me for no other purpose, as I take it, than to hear whether I had any overtures to make. Nor can I say with certainty whether they spoke in the King's name, or for their own profit and advancement—Your Majesty's superior judgment will decide.

After hearing the request and demand of the Dunkercke merchants, the King sent me word that they may send for the quantity of timber they want,* and that when seen and inspected by the custom-house officers, an equally convenient settlement will be made.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "To the Queen. From the ambassador in England. Received at Cambray, the 3rd of November 1540."

French. Original. pp. 2.

31 Oct. **135.** CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien Impl. Arch. *Rep.* P., C. *Fasc.* 332, ff. 6–9.

Although I have almost incessantly solicited from these people an answer to my note respecting the novelties and oppressive measures introduced in their tariff, there was no possibility of obtaining one until yesterday morning, when I received from the Privy Council an official notice to this effect: That the King,

* "Que les dits de Dunkercke eussent a envoyer le nombre de bois quilz demandent leuer, et icellui veult leur accordera ce quil trouvera convenir."

1540.

after weighing and considering the substance, as well as the letter, of the treaties between Your Majesty and himself, did not think that either the statutes of his kingdom or the ordinances lately promulgated contravened the former, or impaired in the least the good and reciprocal unity and mutual good understanding. He (the King) thought that it was allowable—nay, necessary—for him to introduce such policy in his kingdom as might purge the land from a number of wicked and scandalous people infected with heresy, who were continually coming to England. As to merchants and other worthy people from foreign parts, the measures were in nowise intended against them; the King does not expel them from his kingdom; on the contrary he wishes them to remain, and will give them every opportunity of doing so to their profit.

With regard to the grant and subsidy, which the merchants of this kingdom have lately granted him, the King intends making such use of it that Your Majesty's subjects may have no occasion whatever to complain.

As to the ordinance forbidding foreign merchants to lade goods or merchandize except in English bottoms, unless they pay the usual custom-duties in full, the measure (the Council asserted) did not affect in the least or injure Your Majesty's subjects; on the contrary, the measure was highly beneficial to them, inasmuch as should Your Majesty be pleased to do the same in your dominions, neither the King nor the Council would object in the least; they would only wish Your Majesty to grant the merchants of these countries the privilege of lading goods in the Low Countries, as well as in Spain, in vessels owned by Your Majesty's subjects.* This is the substance of the answer I have just received from the King's Privy Council, couched in the most polite and flattering terms, begging me to use my best offices towards Your Majesty for the whole to be accepted.

The same sort of answer, as to substance and terms, was yesterday put into the hands of the French ambassador, although, as I had the honour to say in my last despatch but one, that which he had previously received was rather sharp. Yet, with all that, and notwithstanding the fine words and persuasions of the Privy Council, the ambassador has not been convinced, and holds that the statutes and new ordinances in commercial affairs are in contravention of the treaties between this King and the Most Christian. So dissatisfied seems the ambassador to be with the answer he has received, that having this very morning expressly sent to him one of my own men to ask what remedy he thought the King, his master, would apply to the evil, he answered that he did not know yet, but was sure that measures of retaliation would be

* "Bien entendu quilz vouldroint que vre. majesté donnast aucuns privileges a ceulx des pays de par deça, que chargeroyent aux pays de vre. maieste dans vaisseaulx des subjects dicelle."

1540.

taken promptly. Were I to be asked to state my opinion on the subject, I should not hesitate to say, under correction, that the two first points in the note do not seem to me of such importance as to necessitate a revise, as I have already stated in my last despatches. That forbidding foreign vessels to trade with this country seems to me to be highly detrimental to Your Majesty's subjects, and especially to the ship-owners (*maronniers*) of Antwerp, who cannot easily employ their vessels except in the trade with this country, whence they must needs return without a cargo to their great loss.* True is it that this state of things cannot last longer than five years, which is the period of time assigned in the ordinance, and yet such a privilege to the English merchants would be injurious to the skippers of the Low Countries. It would be advisable, therefore, that Your Majesty ordered the same thing to be practised in your dominions, for, as I pointed out in my last despatch, the shipping interest in Spain, the Low Countries, and the rest of Your Majesty's dominions would be greatly benefited by the measure; skippers would become rich, and those of this country be ruined, and if the king of France promulgated a similar ordinance in his kingdom, the English would look twice before they enforced theirs. I fancy that there is in Spain a rescript (*pragmatica*) forbidding foreign vessels to load merchandize as long as there are in port national ones; indeed, I am almost sure of it, for I recollect very well this King and his Admiral of the Sea begging me on more than one occasion to intercede with Your Majesty that the said prohibitory rescript should not be carried out. I am not aware whether the said Royal ordinance is or is not in vigor in the Low Countries; if it is not, no better opportunity could be offered than the present to introduce it, since the English themselves give us occasion for it. This could easily be managed, even without invalidating former commercial treaties with this country, or inviting the king of France, who is equally interested, to join in the attempt. I doubt whether in the present state of affairs Christendom might not suffer from measures likely to over-irritate the king of England against Your Imperial Majesty, but since he himself, as I have already observed, owns that you can do the same in your dominions, I do not see much harm in it. Indeed, should this king consider it an offence and resent it, this might be the cause of his trying to become the friend of king Francis, towards whom he now shows some ill-will, and should Your Majesty retaliate, it would not be amiss for the ship-owners of Antwerp, who are most interested in the affair, if an ordinance were promulgated to this effect: that no English merchant should be entitled to maritime privileges unless he loaded on Antwerp ships.

* "Et mesmes pour les maronniers danvers, que ne se peuvent bonnement servir de leur charrues sinon pour venir içi, dou sont contrains (constreins ?) retourner sans charge a leur grosse perte."

1540.

Respecting the tax which the late Emperor Maximilian imposed upon English cloth introduced into Brabant of two florins for each piece, the Lord Privy Seal and the admiral of England spoke to me as if it were a most violent measure, and one opposed to the treaties of commerce between the two countries. As to the proposed inspection of woollen-stuffs at their passage through the Low Countries, neither the two above-mentioned officials nor the remainder of the privy councillors have hitherto made any answer, and therefore it is natural to conclude that those passing on into Spain will be subjected to the same tax. It is likewise just that for want of such formality all woollen-clothes should be confiscated, as the attempt was made in Spain four years ago, which the English merchants were astonished to hear of.

I cannot omit to mention what happened the other day. Having sent one of my men with a message to the Admiral, begging him for a brief answer to the above points, lest in the meantime some retaliatory measures should be taken in the Low Countries, in accordance with the note which Your Majesty was pleased to forward to me, he (the Admiral) told my man that there was no hurry, and that even if the queen regent of Hungary (Mary) and the States General of the Low Countries should decree some measure injurious to the trade of this country, as they had threatened in past times, Your Majesty would not be long in repairing the damage done—which shows that the confidence these people have in Your Majesty emboldens them to this and many other acts.

Last week an Italian physician attached to this King's household, and very familiar with the Lord Privy Seal, came to dine at this embassy on four different days. He is the King's spy, and has come, as I have reason to think, for no other purpose than to learn what I am about, and persuade me to intercede with Your Majesty for a closer and particular friendship and alliance to be made with him and to procure also the Princess' marriage. The Italian at first dissembled as much as he could, trying to make me believe that the suggestions came from him, not from anyone else; yet I had no difficulty in guessing, by various loose remarks he made, who had sent him on to me; for in the course of conversation he alluded to certain facts and words which could not be known to him except through the channel of the Lord Privy Seal.—London, the last day of October 1540.

Addressed: "To the Queen."

French. Original, partly ciphered. pp. 5.

31 Oct. **136.** The Same to the Queen of Hungary.

Wien Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.* 232, f. 5.

By the enclosed despatch to the Emperor Your Majesty will be able to gather what these people are aiming at now, and what their answer has been to my representations respecting

1540.

the innovations lately made in their tariff, as well as their oppression of foreign merchants. My own opinion on the subject is also enclosed, according to Your Majesty's wishes.—London, the last day of October 1540.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

3 Nov. **137.** The Emperor to the Marquis de Aguilar.

S. E., L. 869, f. 116.
B. M. *Add.* 28,592, f. 221.

The enclosed was already closed and sealed, and about to be given to this courier who goes to Naples, when yours of the 14th ulto. came to hand. We condole with you on the death of your brother the Cardinal.* Idiaquez has spoken to Us of your petition; it shall be attended to. No particular answer is required, except to recommend to you the settlement of the 150,000 ducats on the daughters of Ottavio Farnese and Our daughter, the Duchess, in case of their leaving no male children behind; the settlement to be made in the manner established by Us and approved by the Pope. We have written to Naples about Rocca Guillerma.—Gante (Ghent), 3 Nov. 1540.

We were about to sign this letter when the Papal Nuncio came in, and shewed Us those he had received from Rome; the news of the Duchess [of Camarino], &c. He also spoke to Us about the election of the bishop of Feltre (Laurencio Campeggio), for the conferences of Germany in the room of the archbishop of Verona (Giberti). We dare say that the election is good, and that with Granvelle's advice and experience the matters to be discussed will go on much better than they did in the time of his brother, the Cardinal, at the Diet of Augsburgh, for although his intentions were good, that prelate did not obtain all that could have been obtained from that assembly.†

The Nuncio also spoke to Us of the German protectorate at Rome for cardinal Farnese, saying that the latter would consider it a great favor under present circumstances, especially when a marriage is being arranged between his own sister and Mr. de Guise, thus giving people to understand that he still adheres closely to Our person. The answer was that We had already selected for that office cardinal Santa Croce, whose services We were anxious to remunerate; but still We would reconsider the matter and see what could be done for his sake. All this you will tell him, without either giving him hopes or taking them away from him.

After this the conversation turned on the projected marriage of Mr. de Guise and His Holiness' granddaughter, the Nuncio assuring Us that the marriage was not yet concluded as you once wrote to Us, and that by Our providing a suitable

* *See* above, p. 279.

† "Que aunque tenia buena intencion no se huvo tan bien quanto con viniera."

1540.

husband for the lady, and granting besides some ecclesiastical benefice or other to cardinal Sanctaflor, all His Holiness' wishes in temporal matters would be accomplished, and he might then devote his sole and exclusive attention to spiritual matters and the welfare of Christendom. Hearing this from the Nuncio's lips, We could not refrain from telling him that His Holiness had began to negociate the said marriage at a time when the Duchess, Our daughter, shewed some discontent, and it might be suspected that by refusing the consummation of marriage to his grandson Ottavio, she might be acting by Our orders. It was then that in order to annoy and put a pressure on Us the Pope had begun to negociate that other marriage in France. But let it be understood (said We to the Nuncio) that were the Duchess' conscience and honor to be safe-guarded, and were it possible to undo what has been done, We should not feel the least difficulty about it, were it for no other reason or purpose than to let His Holiness know that such is not the way of dealing with Us, and that if His Holiness is disposed to act towards Us as a good father, We will be his good son; otherwise, We will, whilst we remain good Christians, attend to what is most convenient for Our interest.* That though His Holiness once said to Us that he was a good Roman, he nevertheless followed in the steps, and observed the same conduct, as his predecessor in office, Pope Clement VII., who whilst treating of a marriage between his own niece (Caterina) with a relative of Ours, all of a sudden had her married to the second son of Francis.† His Holiness is now doing the very same thing to worry and molest Us, as stated, trying all the time to make Us believe that notwithstanding the most brilliant offers from other quarters, he still intends making Us the arbiter as it were of his grand-daughter's marriage, alleging that if he has listened to French overtures on that score, it is owing to the negligence of Our ministers, who having first proposed to have her married to the prince of Piedmont, and afterwards to Cosmo dé Medici, the duke of Florence, have not decided for one or the other of the said marriages. But the fact of the matter is that the duke of Savoy (Carlo), when interrogated by Our ambassador on the subject, answered that the above-mentioned marriage had been proposed to him by His Holiness, but that he

* "Porque Su Santidad entendiera que por estos medios no se ha de tractar ni acabar nada con nos, pero que hallando que para complir con las dos cosas dichas no podia dexar de aver (haber) effecto ordenamos y proveimos lo que para ello convenia, como se ha visto. Y que si Su Sanct^{d} como lo merescemos de la dignidad pontifical y sede Apostolica por nuestras obras en beneficio comun de la Xpiandad y favor della, y particularmente por su Sancta persona, por la observancia y respeto que le havemos tenido, y tenemos por las otras causas de conjunction que entre nos ay, nos fuere buen padre, nos le seriamos buen hijo, y quando de otra manera nos tractare todavia seremos Xpiano, pero haremos lo que nos conviene."

† That is to Henri de Valois, then duke of Orleans, and subsequently Dauphin of France. Clement's niece was Caterina dé Medici.

1540.

himself (the Duke) felt no inclination at all towards it; that being precisely the reason why no more was said about it at the time. As to the duke of Florence (Cosmo), when the overtures were made to Our ambassador at Rome (Manrique), he was already engaged to the daughter of the marquis de Villafranca. The count of Benavente (D. Juan Alonso Pimentel) had also aspired to his grand-daughter's hand, and certainly his nobility, rank, and fortune were not inferior to those of Mr. de Guise. If Royal blood be required, certainly the duke of Berganza (Braganza, in Portugal) is not wanting in it; he might also have been addressed on the subject as the son of the duke of Guise has. In short, all this was done by His Holiness to compel Us to make him some offer to be accepted by him, if preferable or more convenient than the Lorraine marriage, so as to bind Us to gratitude by saying that out of respect for Us he had refused the other, which seemed to him far more advantageous.

In short We told the Nuncio that such ways and tricks (*medios y mañas*) would not do with Us; that was not the way to treat political and other affairs with Us.

Having touched on the death of your brother and the other cardinals whom God has been pleased to call to His presence, We said to the Nuncio by way of a joke: "Now I have no doubt that the king of France, considering the number of cardinals he has at his devotion, will have no difficulty in making him of Lorraine Pope, as the rumour is; but if the election falls on him, I fancy that it will be an easier job to expel him and all his parentage from Rome, than send Us out of Our own house."

This is in substance what has passed between Us and His Holiness' Nuncio. As We have no doubt that he will write home, We have deemed it necessary to inform you beforehand. The Nuncio bears Us some affection; We are sure that in writing to His Holiness he will use the most moderate terms with regard to Our complaints. Should His Holiness make any allusion to the subject, let your answer be as prudent, modest, and courteous as possible, and yet expressive of Our feelings in the matter. His Holiness ought not to treat Us in the manner he is doing. We consider Ourselves fully entitled to more respect and consideration than that which is shown towards Us.—Cortray (Coutray), 3 Nov. 1540.

Spanish. Original minute, unsigned. pp. 7.

3 Nov. **138.** The Florentine Ambassador in Rome to Duke Cosmo.

S. Pat. Real Div. Cap. c. Pont. y otra Pot. de Ital. Cap. c., L. 595. B. M. *Add.* 28,592, f. 220.

Went to attend mass in honor of the Pope's coronation last evening, with the other ambassadors. The Master of Ceremonies came to tell him that the Pope had heard his voice, and wanted to speak to him. Went accordingly to the Pope's rooms; who said to him calmly and "*sotto voce*" that he had news that the Twenty-five of Perugia had assembled, and intended to do something against that city. Ridulphi had

1540.

gone thither by way of Cortona and joined them. After this the Pope changed his tone, and began by degrees to speak in so loud a voice, that all those who were in the adjoining rooms could hear him, openly accusing him (the duke of Florence) of being the promoter of that revolution, and saying before the cardinals there present that he could not suffer such indignity, and that retaliation must ensue, &c. He (the ambassador) replied in anger: "If such be the case, let His Holiness send first a declaration of war, and then commence hostilities."—Rome, iii. Nov. 1540.

Italian. Original. p. 1.

4 Nov. **139.** The MARQUIS DE AGUILAR to the EMPEROR.

S. E., L. 869, f. 115. B. M. *Add.* 28,592, f. 225.

By Polidoro, who left on the xvth ult., I wrote to Your Imperial Majesty answering the letters of the 13th and 16th Sept. No other has since been received.

Micer Latino Juvenal, His Holiness' chamberlain, who went on a mission to France for the purpose of concluding the marriage of the Pope's grand-daughter with the son of Mr. de Guise, has returned. I hear from a very good source that there are great differences respecting the lady's dowry, they of the house of Lorraine asking 150,000 ducats, whilst His Holiness will not give more than 50,000. The duke of Castro, it is true, says that king Francis has written that he will try to prevail on the bridegroom to be contented with 100,000. On this very business cardinal Neocort* went to France at the end of October.

The duke of Castro keeps telling me that his wish is that his daughter may be married at Your Majesty's pleasure, and as it were by your own hand. That some offer or other ought to be made to His Holiness; if so, he (Pier Luigi) would prevail on him to relinquish his negociations with France. He also suggested that the prince of Piedmont would be very acceptable, and that, although for the time being the contract of marriage, if made, ought to be kept secret—His Holiness' dignity and office preventing its publicity—yet it would be very beneficial for Your Majesty's affairs in Italy, for the Pope could not do less than help the Prince to recover his father's estate, &c.

Cardinal Sancta Croce died at a village 40 miles from Rome after eight days' illness. He had gone thither post-haste to visit my brother, the Cardinal, on his death-bed,† and fulfilled well his promise to him, for he said: "I only came to see you off in your journey to the other world; I shall follow you soon." The death within a short space of time of three

* "Sobre esto es partido el cardinal de Neocourt á Francia á ultimos del passado."

† Pedro Fernandez Manrique, bishop of Cordoba; he died on the 7th of October 1540. He had been appointed Cardinal of St. John and St. Paul in March 1538, and in the same year, in December, "protector for Germany." *See* above, p. 280.

1540.

Spanish-born cardinals, so distinguished as they were, cannot but be felt in the College for the transaction of Your Imperial Majesty's affairs, both ecclesiastical and political; and as it is almost certain that His Holiness will make a new creation this next December, I beg to be instructed, as soon as possible, as to which Spanish prelates Your Majesty wishes me to recommend. Should the instructions not come in time, though I have no doubt there are in Spain many prelates well worthy of that dignity, I might venture to propose the bishops of Jaen* and Pamplona,† who being both men of letters, of good family and fortune, and having great experience of the affairs of this Roman Court, owing to their having resided some time in it, might be of use, especially if Your Majesty recalled him of Santiago, who, being in bad health, cannot attend to business. Your Majesty must be aware that for some time back His Holiness has engaged to grant two cardinals' hats: one to the Infante of Portugal, and another one for a prelate of Your Majesty's election, provided neither archbishop Colonna nor the abbot of Farfa were the candidates.

His Holiness has told me this very morning that an express from Perosa (Perugia) has arrived with letters of the bishop of Puçol, (Puzzuolo) Bernardino Barba, informing him that Rodolpho Ballon had returned to Cortona with the Perugian "*fuorusciti*" and others from Florence, and had been the cause of great disturbances in Perugia. The garrison of that city was only 500 strong, and the governor wanted reinforcement, if he was to keep it under Papal obedience. On this occasion His Holiness indignantly remarked to me that, setting aside Rodolpho Baglione's treachery, he had to complain much of Cosmo de Medici, who, he said, had sent word through his ambassador that he promised not to take Baglione into his pay, or countenance him in the least; and now, instead of keeping him under surveillance in Florence, or in some remote town of Tuscany, he has allowed him to march on Cortona at the head of the *fuorusciti* of Perugia and Florence, most perfidious and treacherous conduct (he said) on the part of Cosmo, who, he says, had written to Your Majesty in favor of the said Baglione. Last night he ordered Juan Baptista Sabello to go to Perugia with the light cavalry, and such infantry as he could pick up on the way. He also sent thither all the captains who are now here with the duke of Castro, and wrote to Alessandro Vitello to go with them. I myself sent for the Florentine ambassador and told him of the ill-humour in which His Holiness was against his master, and intend also writing to duke Cosmo about it.

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* The see of Jaen in Andalucia was then filled by Francisco de Mendoça, who died at Spires in 1543.

† Pedro Pacheco, bishop of Pamplona from 1539 to 1545, was promoted to Siguenza in 1554. He did not become cardinal until 1545, attended the Council of Trent, and died at Rome in 1560.

1540.

His Holiness complains also of the viceroy of Sicily (Gonzaga) respecting the hats.

The marriage of the Duchess and Ottavio Farnese was consummated on the 18th ulto., at which His Holiness is much pleased. According to Mos. de Andalot the mutual discontent is being remedied and there is a decided improvement. Last night, Coronation day, the Duchess supped with His Holiness, who presented her with a jewel (*joyel*) and a ring.

At the next consistory, and previous to the consignation of 150,000 ducats for the daughters, in case of there being no males, the duchy of Camarino is to be made over to Ottavio Farnese.

The viceroy of Naples—Rocha Guillerma—Giovanne di Montepulchano—Purchase of Altamura and Castellamare.

Your Majesty must be in receipt of news from Genoa, advising the taking of Susa and Monesterio in Africa. I myself have not heard from the viceroy of Sicily nor from prince Doria, but have had letters from Francisco Duarte announcing the loss of those towns. Nor is it known here what happened, for since the departure of the viceroy with his 20 galleys to La Mahometana to take up the king of Tunis and convey him to Monesterio no news has been received.

The report of Don Bernardino de Mendoça's victory over the corsair and the Turkish sails that had some time ago done damage at Gibraltar the Pope was glad to hear, as well as the intelligence lately received that his own galleys have taken a galley belonging to one of the most formidable corsairs of these parts named Xiroco.—Rome, 4 Nov. 1540.

P.S.—I hear this very moment that Jeronimo Ursino (Girolamo Orsini), the son-in-law of Mme. Constanza, is dead after five days' illness.

Signed: "Aguilar."

Spanish. Original. pp. 9.

7 Nov. **140.** The Duke of Florence (Cosmo di Medici) to the Marquis del Gasto.

S. E., L. 869, B. M. 28,592, f. 220.

Incloses a letter from his ambassador at Rome. Complains bitterly of the dastardly manner in which the Pope has treated him, not only on this occasion, but on all others for a long time since. Can easily defeat the Pope's accusations; but if attacked, he must defend himself.—Firenze, vii. November 1540.

Italian. Holograph. p. 1.

16 Nov. **141.** High Commander Cobos to Luis Sarmiento de Mendoza.

S. E., L. 49, f. 328. B. M. *Add.* 28,592, f. 230.

Will answer your letters of the 3, 6, 11 and 20 ulto. To begin with the last received, the death of the Infante of Portu-

1540.

gal, Dom Duarte, has been much felt here by all of us. The Prince, our lord, has deputed you for the customary visit of condolence.

Glad to hear that the King has been pleased with what was done at Rome on behalf of the bishop of Viseu, and also of the arrangement made for his return to Portugal. The marquis de Aguilar writes from Rome that His Holiness had assured him that no amount of money, however considerable, would help that Bishop to obtain a cardinal's hat; he (the Pope) had never consented to open such a door to ecclesiastical ambition, and cardinals' hats were not for sale.

False doubloons—The gentleman of the queen of France returning from that kingdom passed through this town. He does not seem much satisfied with the answer he has received, saying that he has met only with fine words and no corresponding action. He thought that the King, his master, would shortly send an ambassador of his to France, because the Infanta is no longer of an age to wait. I agreed with him on all points; but I fancy that he goes away rather disappointed and displeased with the reception he has had.

Of what passed between that King and you respecting the fears of a naval expedition of the French against the Indies, we are aware both by your own despatches and by private letters. His Highness, however, is in my opinion right; there is no fear at all of their undertaking anything of the sort this present winter, but it must be borne in mind that when the spring sets in, and the weather is fine and the winds are favorable, they may all of a sudden be tempted to carry out their bad intentions.

For the orders given by His Most Serene Highness, the king of Portugal, to the captains of ships sailing for Malagueta to favor and assist the Emperor's subjects on their return as much as they can, I beg you to thank him in the Imperial name.

With regard to the Infante Dom Luiz, and what you write to us on the subject, we should very much like to know what foundation there is for it. It is for you, with your usual dexterity, to try and find out what his grounds for complaint are, for I myself cannot guess what reason he may have for such an act.

The money for the redemption of Christian captives in pursuance of the late Empress' will is ready, and about to be remitted to you in a few days, that with the King's concurrence the redemption may take place as economically as possible.

I wrote to you once about Lope Hurtado and Paravicino,* the friar. The upshot of the affair has been that the latter denied every charge he had brought against Lope, and all he himself had declared under torture. So His Heliness sent for Don Lope and gave him his blessing, immediately after which

* Palavicino, Pallavicino.

1540.

the latter left Rome. He is now at Viterbo, and writes that he intends soon to return here with his wife, Da. Margarita, but that he must go first to kiss the Emperor's hands and inform him verbally of all that has passed. It has been a most miraculous and providential discovery that of Lope's innocence of the wicked charges brought against him, and I take this opportunity of apprizing you of the result of the suit, knowing, as I do, that in that, as well as in other courts, there has been a variety of rumours about it.

No news from Flanders save that on the 22nd ulto. the Emperor was in good health and purposed to leave for Germany on the 26th, intending to visit on his road thither the provinces he had not seen before. Granvelle had already started for the diet (*colloquio*) of Worms. The king of the Roman's affairs are now in good trim. It was confidently expected that the army he had sent to the relief of Buda would soon take possession of the place, for the Turk would not be able to relieve it on account of the winter season having already set in.

The fleet under the command of Doria and Ferrante Gonzaga [the viceroy of Sicily] had retaken two cities on the coast of Barbary, called Susa and Manasterio (Monastir), whose inhabitants, owing to there being only a handful of Turks in them, had been persuaded to shake off the yoke of the king of Tunis.

From the Levant the news is that the Sophi of Persia, Thamasp II. was going on prosperously against the Turk, and had already recovered the fortresses which the latter had taken from him—all except Bagdad—and that Cásim-baxá, who the year before had deserted him and gone over to the Turk, had now come back with twelve more *sangiacs*.

Towards the Red Sea the Portuguese fleet had taken possession of several places belonging to the Grand Turk. The news has come from the Imperial ambassador in Venice, but I dare say there, where you are, more is known about these achievements of the Portuguese.—Madrid, 11 Nov. 1540.

Signed: "Francisco de los Cobos."

Spanish. Original. p. 5.

24 Nov. **142.** Luis Sarmiento de Mendoza to the High Commander of Leon.

S. E., L. 50, f. 169.
B. M. *Add.* 28,592, f. 233.

Has paid the customary visits of condolence on the death of the Princess.

With regard to the fleet which this King sent to the coast of Malagueta, the news is as follows:—It sailed away upwards of 25 days ago with 700 men on board. We have since heard that a few days after it encountered a most terrific storm at sea, and that one of the ships foundered with all hands on board; that two more went to the coast of Galicia, and that of the rest nothing is known. Intelligence has been

1540.

received here that several war-vessels had left the shores of France, and the King told me also that a ship lately arrived from the Canaries had met at sea, not far from those islands, several French privateers, &c. If in such months as November the French venture so far from their own coasts, what, I ask, will they do in the spring? I have forcibly spread out the argument to the King and to the Infante Dom Luiz, but I am sorry to say have not met with the warm response that I expected. The latter, especially, who in former times was so warm and expansive is now cold and dissembling. I see therefore no chance for the present of the Portuguese consenting to join their fleet to that of the Emperor, and should the war with France break out—which I hope will not be for many a year—I fear these people will do every thing they can to keep neutral, though, on the other hand, should the Emperor put some pressure upon them they will hardly dare to decide for the French.

If a vessel from France happens to meet with bad weather at sea she makes for the coasts of this kingdom, shelters and takes in provisions. The same thing they do, as if they were the friends and confederates of Portugal, in the lands and territories which this King has on the other side, such as the Terceiras and the island of Madeira, and there prowl about for Spanish vessels returning from the Indies. Should it be known and published that these Portuguese are the friends and allies of the Emperor, the French would not venture on such expeditions.

I am certain that His Imperial Majesty never gave any cause to Dom Luiz to be angry and disappointed, and yet I cannot help thinking that his discontent, if he really has any, must proceed from a letter which Alvaro Mendez wrote to him, when the duke Francesco Sforza died, announcing that the Emperor was about to invest him with the duchy of Milan. As this has never taken place, I fancy that the Infante's disappointment must have been great; besides that, as the King himself is losing one by one all his sons, and the one now living is sickly (*dolentejo*) and has no hopes of a long life, he thinks of nothing short of gaining the affections of the people for the future, and marrying his own niece, the King's daughter, of which there is at present great talk.

Spanish. Original. pp. 6.

5 Dec. **143.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, ff. 10-2.

Though nothing important has occurred since my last,* yet not to be taxed with negligence in my official duties, I would not let the opportunity of this messenger pass without writing to Your Majesty, and advising that two days ago this king's privy councillors prayed me as affectionately as possible to beg and entreat His Imperial Majesty that in Spain, at least, the

* Chapuys' last letter is dated the 16th.

1540.

servants and subjects of their master should be treated with a little more favor and kindness than they had been for some time back by the officers of the Inquisition and others. At the same time intimating that the good fellowship, long and continuous friendship between the two crowns—which they expected to see shortly as flourishing and close as it ever was—demanded better and kinder treatment on the part of the Emperor's officers; and, certainly, I must say that until now I have found these privy councillors very affectionately disposed towards His Imperial Majesty, and asking for news of the bishop of Winchester,* whose good qualities and inclinations they are continually praising to me, without, however, saying one word about the charge with which he has been intrusted.

The Princess, having heard from me that the attempt lately made to take away from her two of her maid servants proceeded entirely from this new Queen, who was rather offended at her not treating her with the same respect as the two preceding ones, has found some means of conciliation with her, so that she thinks that for the present, at least, her two maids will not be dismissed from her service. The Princess, however, enjoys at present good health. May God be praised for it!

The ambassador of France sent me word by his cousin that the King, his master, had written to say that the Turk, whom the ambassador called almost always "le Grand Seigneur," had concluded a peace with the Venetians, for the purpose of being more disengaged, and thereby able to undertake the invasion of Hungary, and help the son of king John,† to whose assistance he had already dispatched various *sangiacs*. The pleasing countenance with which the ambassador's cousin communicated the above intelligence to me, makes me fear that he had previously been sent to the King on a similar errand, under the impression that the latter would be pleased to hear the news. London, 5 December 1540.

P.S.—I forgot to inform Your Majesty that this King has sent to Calais some soldiers and many of his own pioneers, and that there is a rumour that he intends having a fortress erected close to Ardres, on the river side, not far from the spot where the French themselves had a few months ago built a bridge, which was afterwards demolished by the English.‡

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "To the Queen." Received at Valenciennes on the xvi. of December 1540.

Indorsed: A la Royne. Reçue a Valenciennes le xvi. de Decembre XV^{c}XL (1541).

French. Original. pp. 2.

* "L'evesque de Vuynchestre," that is Stephen Gardiner, often mentioned in the pages of this Calendar. About his mission to the Emperor, *see* above, pp. 12, 205.

† Zapoli or Zapolsky died in this very year.

‡ Qui leur fust desmoli.

1540.

23 Dec. **144.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, f. 118.

The day before yesterday (the 24th) this King caused a letter to be written to me from his Privy Council stating that he had many things to say, and would be glad to see me next day at Anthoncourt (Hampton Court), where I should be welcome. I made no delay in obeying the King's summons, and presented myself at the place, where I was, as the King had said, welcomed and favorably treated; for not only was I most comfortably lodged at a house plentifully provided with every convenience, and all the necessaries of life, but by the King's express commands one mule of his own riding, handsomely caparisoned and harnessed, had been sent to a village half a league from Anthoncourt, and a barge also in case I should choose to travel by water, though neither was wanted, for I was already provided with both those means of conveyance.* From the village I was accompanied to Anthoncourt by Mylord Park, and by another gentleman, the same who had once been this King's ambassador to the queen of Hungary in Flanders. Arrived at the place, I was received by the King's privy councillors, with whom I conversed for a length of time, until a message came from the King to say that on his way to the Queen, with whom he was to dine, he would pass by the hall where I was, though merely to greet me, and that as it was late in the day, and I must be hungry, he would not then and there fatigue me with a long conversation, nor would he accompany me to the Queen's apartments, but that the count of Harfort (Seymour) would keep me company whilst the privy councillors were with him.

Which words the King, immediately after his coming out of the Council room, repeated to me, saying, after a most gracious welcome and greeting, that he was sorry he should have to speak to me, not indeed of pastimes and pleasure, but of matters of serious import. He could not do less than communicate certain matters which did not sound well to him, as I should hear after dinner.

On his return from the Queen's apartments the King was still more amiable, and taking me by the hand he led me into his chamber, where, in the presence of his councillors, he began to say that a good number of his subjects had complained most bitterly to him against a certain edict or proclamation of Your Majesty lately issued in the Low Countries forbidding goods or merchandize of any sort to be exported from the ports thereof in English vessels, which he much wondered at, as the measure was in direct contravention to the treaties, leagues, and confederacies between Your Majesty and him. He wondered still more at Your Majesty not having previously

* Comme de menvoyer jusques a ung villaige aupres du dit Anthoncourt une sienne mule tres bien arnachee et caparisonnee, et oultre ça une barge, si je voulois aller devers luy par eau, oires quil nen fust besoing, car jestois pourvu de lung et de lautre."

1540.

written to him, and remonstrated against the injury which Your Majesty's subjects in the Low Countries had, or pretended to have, sustained through the ordinances lately framed by his Parliament, nor had Your Majesty announced to him what sort of provision you intended making in order to redress the pretended injury.

My answer was that, as to the last point touched upon, Your Majesty had sufficiently acquitted yourself, as the Lord Privy Seal and the Admiral there present could testify, who, as honourable and upright gentlemen, would not fail to confirm my statement and repeat my very words. This answer of mine by no means pleased the King, for as one of the above named councillors (the Lord Privy Seal) attempted to produce a testimony in my favor, the King interrupted him twice or three times, without letting him finish what he had to say.

As to the second point (I continued) there was no great difficulty, for Your Majesty had perfect right to do so, since his Parliament, in virtue of the above mentioned edicts had been the first to innovate and alter the sense of the general treaties, wherein it is expressly said that Your Majesty's subjects may come to and reside in this country, negociate, trade, and send wherever they please their own merchandize in vessels of their own or of other people, neither more nor less than if they were natives of this kingdom, and living in Spain, Flanders, and other dominions of the Emperor. Yet (said I) notwithstanding those express articles, already a good many of the said merchants, subjects of the Emperor, have been expelled from England, and such among the rest who choose to live in this country are prevented from negociating and trading freely, as is notorious; nor can they export their merchandize, as before, according to the letter of the treaties. So that on all these three points, I maintained, there had been contravention to the said treaties, and, therefore, Your Majesty had been perfectly justified in issuing the said ordinance about the shipping, especially when the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner) had sent me a message in the King's own name, and in answer to the communications I had with the Lord Privy Seal and the Admiral, that Your Majesty could do exactly the same in your dominions, and that if that was done, neither the King nor his Privy Council would find fault with it, resent or complain of the measure.

I further said to the King that if his arguments rested only on that treaty of commerce, which was evidently greatly in favor of the English, His Imperial Majesty held such like treaties to be null and void, inasmuch as your own deputies had at the last meeting resolutely protested against it. Upon which the King would forcibly give me to understand that by the treaty of Cambray it was stipulated and declared that all previous commercial stipulations would remain in vigour, force, and value as they had been before the challenge and war that ensued, unless deputies from both sides assembled for its

1540.

amendment. But although I told him that there had been an assembly of deputies on both sides, and I pointed out to him the time and place of that assembly, and who the English and Flemish deputies were, naming them one by one, he would not hear of it in the least, and we disputed for some time, until he said that he declined to debate any longer on matters which his Privy Council could and would explain to me more fully than himself. He was sure that his councillors would not be displeased and find fault with what Your Majesty had ordered, yet he expected me for many considerations to interpose my good offices, so that it should be known on what side justice and reason were. He hoped also that Your Majesty would have the said proclamation and edict revoked. Having said which, he again begged me in the most gracious and flattering words to try and procure as soon as possible the revocation of the "edict," for the English merchants (said he) were so astonished, and in such a state of perplexity and doubt, that they did not know what to do nor how to employ their capital, to their great damage and injury.

After this the King bade his Privy Councillors withdraw, and taking me by the hand led me to the embrasure of the next window, made me sit down near him, and said, among other things: That Your Majesty cared very little for your own affairs, and was rather unlucky in your choice of friends, since, after observing the deceitful practices of the French to obtain such an end, you were quite indifferent to their doings. They (the French) had already suborned and won over to their side not only almost all the princes in Christendom but even the Turk, through whose means they have secured the co-operation of the Venetians, as well as of the king of Poland, who lately accepted the guardianship of the Waywode's son.† The French, continued the King, had serious intrigues in Germany and in Switzerland, and Your Imperial Majesty was much mistaken if you thought that you could ever be at peace unless Milan was restored to them; much less after that restoration, as they call it, for then they would also attack Naples and Florence, which they pretend belong to them. "For my part (added the King) I have always laughed at those who imagine that the means of securing a solid and firm peace between the Empire and the French can ever be found. Even now their King is soliciting a marriage between Mons. d'Angoulême and the grand daughter of the Pope, with what intentions God only knows. He is at present fortifying his frontiers, as the Emperor knows, whether against him or against me I cannot exactly say. The Emperor is obliged to return to Spain, and if so, God knows

* Upon the death, in 1540, of John Zapoli or Zapolsky, the Waywode of Transylvania, his son John Sigismund succeeded him, under the tutorship, as above stated, of the king of Poland, Sigismund II. (1506–48). *See* above, pp. 103, 113, 118.

1540.

in what state the Low Countries will remain if left without friends and allies to defend them; whereas if there was real, sincere, and intimate friendship between the Emperor and me, king Francis would think twice before he undertook anything against Your Majesty." The King ended his speech by saying that he could not do less than remind me of the above-mentioned facts, but that he dared not, and would not, go beyond that or interfere in the affair, for fear people should think that his wish was to sow dissension between Your Majesty and the king of France, and also for another reason, which was that he fancied that all the king of France or he himself said was immediately reported. On the whole, he thought that it was for those who were in need of friendly assistance and help to look out for themselves. Had he (the King) chosen to listen to French proposals, he might long ago have made the best of bargains, and when once he reproached king Francis for his friendship and dealings with the Turk, his answer was that he could not help it, inasmuch as no other Prince had tendered him help in times of need.

Should Your Majesty think seriously about these things (the King went on to say) you might confidentially declare yourself, under the security that the most profound secrecy shall be kept in the matter, and that even if the French get scent of it, that will be rather beneficial to Your Majesty than otherwise, for that the fear of him will render the French more tractable.

To the above remarks and observations of the King my answer was the same as when, some months ago, the Lord Privy Seal and the Admiral of England spoke to me in almost similar terms: I begged him to express candidly his opinion, and tender his advice as to what Your Majesty had better do under the circumstances, and that, although he said that it was only in times of great tribulation and affliction that his words had been listened to, whereas in prosperity no notice whatever had been taken of him and his advice, he (the King) knew as well as I did that men ought never to be tired of doing good to their fellow creatures; and that even in one's own private affairs advocates and friends were always wanted; that in less than half a day men's opinions might change, and that he himself, who feared no one, and had knowledge and experience, as well as leisure and opportunities enough to look at and watch the game of others, could better than any other prince in Christendom work for its general peace and welfare. The King then replied that he thought so; but that Your Majesty had at this juncture, and in a bad hour, caused an edict and proclamation to be made public in the seaports of your dominions, which made people believe that there is no good-will and amity between you and him, though he thought by what the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner) had written to him that Your Majesty had not decreed the measure of your own free will, but at the importunities of the people of the

1540.

Low Countries, whom Your Imperial Majesty wished to favor on that score in reward for the substantial aid they had given you at other times.

After that the King said to me that he wondered why it was that neither his ambassadors at the Imperial Court, nor those who represented him in France, had written a word to him about my return here with an important charge, and that I had not yet made any overtures. Owing to that, and perceiving that I had nothing particular to say for myself, he had dispatched the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner) to Your Majesty, firstly to ascertain Your Majesty's inclinations, and according to that attend to the proper direction of mutual affairs, and secondly to wash out the calumnies cast on his conduct concerning his last divorce as well as his views on religious affairs. He had not written to the Bishop to ask for the revocation of the edict, because he trusted more to my own letters than to any remonstrances or prayers of that ecclesiastic, his ambassador, and he again begged me most earnestly to write in that sense and recommend the revocation.

My audience at an end, I went to the Privy Council, where a memorandum was put into my hands of the substantial points contained in their statutes for the regulation and intercourse of trade, of which a copy is enclosed, and after debating the matter for some time, the members begged me to insist on the revocation of the edict. I answered that, affectionately inclined as I was to their master's service, my advice was that they themselves should revoke their statutes—which proposition, by the way, some of the members, the wisest and most experienced among them—owned to me was not only admissible but perfectly just. It will be Your Imperial Majesty's pleasure to decide what is to be done in reference to this affair, taking into account what I myself have written for the last three months.*

About a week ago the Admiral came to dine with me, and after dinner we had a long conversation respecting this King's reconciliation with the Apostolic See. He told me plainly that, as far as his master was concerned, there was no chance at all of such reconciliation; it was all lost time, the King would not hear of it. I must say, however, that no one in this kingdom advocates the said reconciliation more strongly than the said Admiral, and yet I am determined not to speak to the King on the subject save incidentally, and the opportunity being favorable; for, according to the opinion of the said advocate, were I to make any proposal to that effect it might be badly construed, and delay the conclusion of some other good affair in hand.

Your Majesty, with your incomparable good sense and clear-sightedness, will easily conceive the state of confusion and

* Not to be found in the packet.

1540.

perplexity in which this king and his ministers now are on account of Your Majesty's edict, especially by its having come at such a juncture, when the King wishes to persuade the French that he is on better terms than ever with Your Majesty, and has a great influence over you. No doubt he imagines that the French will laugh and sneer at his going to the expense of sending such a solemn embassy to Your Majesty, and only, after all, to hear the proclamation of the edict which took place at Anvers (Antwerp) on the very same day that the bishop of Winchester and his colleague reached that town. The more unfavorable and inopportune was that embassy, that this king's differences with France respecting the limits of Guynes (Guisnes) and Ardres are still unsettled, since I hear that two arbitrators, one on each side, are soon to be deputed to define the same. Indeed, I take it, that the King and his Privy Council would have paid a very large sum of money that the said ordinances had never been issued here, thinking no doubt that Your Majesty might have endured that, as you have endured many other wrongs from them, without attempting to retaliate. That is why I have not pressed more for the revocation thereof, nor insisted any longer on the justification of the measures adopted by Your Majesty. My reasons for acting thus are twofold, namely, to court this King's benevolence and gain credit with him; otherwise he might have imagined that I was one of the chief promoters of the affair, and wished to continue in opposition to him as heretofore; and, secondly, it seems to me more profitable and convenient for Your Majesty that they do not for the present revoke their statutes, since Your Majesty's subjects will ultimately be the gainers, as I once wrote in one of my despatches.

Nor have I for the same two reasons disputed with the merchants residing here, and who are Your Majesty's subjects—who, after all, are no more than six—as to the urgency of the revocation or the non-payment of the tax imposed upon them, considering that Your Majesty will thereby be justified in doing the same in your dominions, and in confiscating the property of Englishmen residing in Spain or in the Low Countries, who are without comparison in much greater number, especially if the present commercial treaties remain a dead letter owing to the many infractions of them.

In my opinion the time and opportunity to solicit and demand the abolition of the commercial treaties to which I allude is now or never; and I venture to say, under correction, that it would have been preferable not to have made the edict than to have to revoke it entirely, unless it was thought expedient to mitigate and amend the same according to the prohibition contained in the English statutes, for if so, these people would become too proud and arrogant through it, and would go on doing worse, and once launched in the midst of the dance we must have gone on with it. It might be that these people made some show of discontent, and bragged and threatened to put

1540.

a stop to it in some way or other; but my opinion is that if we keep firm all will end in smoke, and they will knock under, especially when they hear that equal prohibitions are posted up in Spain, which is what concerns them most. I must own, however, that hitherto I have not seen or perceived that the King or his privy councillors have used in this matter any but the most gracious prayers and entreaties, as people who know well what they are about.

The king of Scotland, after the Parliament of his kingdom had terminated its labours, sent Sir Jehan Camail (Campbell ?) as ambassador to the court of France, and to other courts also, as it is generally reported Sir John is expected here in a couple of days. I have yet been unable to learn what the object of his mission may be, but should I obtain any reliable information, I will apprize Your Majesty thereof, as well as of any other political event worth mentioning.—London, 23 December 1540.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

23 Dec. **145.** The SAME to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, f. 13.

I am in receipt of Your Imperial Majesty's letter of the 26th of last month, and the documents attached to it, of which I shall not fail to make use according to my instructions. With regard to the continuation of this King's will in the matter, which he has lately proposed to Your Imperial Majesty through his ambassadors, it is my opinion that there is neither coldness nor change in him, and that there is nothing he desires more in this world than to be entirely reconciled to Your Imperial Majesty, so as to be sure of your friendship, by removing the obstacle of two great causes for scruple and fear, which stand in the way of that sincere friendship, which he has good reason to dread he will never surmount;* the divorce and its immediate consequence is one, and his disobedience to the Apostolic See the other. This last is, in my opinion, the one which annoys and stimulates him the most, knowing perfectly well, as he does, that with regard to matters concerning the Holy See Your Imperial Majesty is not bound by any of the preceding treaties. Notwithstanding this, I will take all possible care to guess what his real intentions are, and what conditions he is ready to grant, although I am afraid that it will be rather a difficult task to bring him to reasonable and equal terms, if I am to judge by precedents in other important negociations. Had it not been that since his return from the Northern counties, he has given his privy councillors leave to go for change of air to their respective country houses until All Saints, I would have looked out for

* "A sçavoir le dyvorce, et la substraction du siege apostolicque."

1540.

some good excuse to go to Court for that very purpose, and see whether the King himself or those of his Privy Council who are there broached the matter to me, principally that of Your Imperial Majesty's conversation with the Pope with regard to him, for that is a thing he will not hear of, as he would, I am sure, like to treat with Your Majesty without the Pope being mentioned at all. There will be always time to inform him of the steps taken by Your Majesty with His Holiness at Rome after Mr. Grandvelle has heard what the King's resolution is in pending matters, without, however, giving him (the King) any cause for displeasure; for when this last summer he ratified the promise made to Your Imperial Majesty by his ambassadors, he protested strongly and expressly against it, saying that had he known that Your Majesty made the foundation stone of the treaty with him his previous reconciliation with the Pope, which you yourself would propose and recommend, he would certainly not have been the first to solicit such a treaty. Should he make inquiries about that, he must be told that Your Imperial Majesty had really a conversation with the Pope respecting him, but that Mr. de Grandvelle is the man who really knows of it; otherwise he might think that Your Majesty has no wish to treat with him.—London, 26 December 1540.

French. Original. pp. 3.

Indorsed: "Copy of Chapuy's letter to the Emperor."

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England."

26 Dec. **146.** The SAME to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, f. 15-29.

By the enclosed to the Emperor, Your Majesty will be apprized of late occurrences in this country.—London, 26 December 1540.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To Her Majesty, the queen of Hungary, Regent in the Low Countries."

French. Holograph. p. ¼.

26 Dec. **147.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, f. 13.

The copy of my despatch of this date to the Emperor will acquaint Your Majesty with the latest occurrences here.—London, 26 Dec. 1540.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the dowager queen of Hungary, Regent of the Low Countries."

French. Holograph.

1541.

2 Jan. **148.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN REGENT.

Vien. Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.* C. 232, ff. 1-6.

On the 23rd ult. I wrote to Your Imperial Majesty, and gave an account of what had passed at Antomcour (Hampton Court), between this king, his council, and myself, with regard to the proclamation (*placard*) on the lading of vessels and other mercantile matters then under discussion. Since then, that is on the 27th, Your Imperial Majesty's letter of the 16th of December has come to hand, as well as the memorandum of Secretary Bave, respecting the provision made for the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner) when he wished to go to Valenciennes. On hearing which this king was marvellously pleased, and glad to hear, through me, of the bishop's journey thither.*

All the pirates who captured the *caravel* described in the memorandum inclosed in Your Majesty's letter, have been seized and imprisoned since the Admiral dined last with me, owing to their having captured another Spanish vessel. They will no doubt be tried and promptly executed, only that no money or property has been found in their hands to indemnify the losers. To obviate in future such evils as this, I will try my utmost to obtain from these people a statute to this effect, that no armed ship or vessel shall be allowed to sail from the ports of England for Brazil or similar countries [in America] without the commanders of such ships giving security not to attack nor offend Your Imperial Majesty's subjects.

Respecting the ship of the king of Portugal which some time ago was wrecked on this coast, I had already, and before Your Imperial Majesty's letter came to hand, spoken about it to the Admiral, who immediately made enquiries, and imprisoned some of the parties concerned in the robbery. I have since presented in Council Your Majesty's formal request, and the Admiral has sent me his vice-admiral and the Admiralty judge, ordering them to concert with me as to the provision to be made in this case.

As to the bishop of Winchester, I fancy that whatever be the answer to his overtures and representations, he will follow Your Majesty to Germany for the purpose mentioned in my last despatches; for although the King, his master, is not so afraid of the decisions of the German diets while Your Imperial Majesty is in that country, as he was at one time, yet he still has his misgivings about them. Indeed, he must have heard what the French are proclaiming and affirming everywhere, namely, that they are sure that nothing important will be done or concluded, either at Worms or at Reynsburg (Regensburgh), respecting the Christian religion;

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* "Et aussi ce quil a pleu a vre mate me faire escripre par le secretaire Baue touchant le complement (*sic*) quavoit este faict a levesque de Vuynchestre quand il voulust aller a Valenciennes, du quel complement ce dit roy sest monstre merveilleusement content et satisfaict, et ma sçeu tres bon grand gre de len avoir averty."

1541.

for Your Imperial Majesty being in a hurry to return to Spain, Hungary being in great need of Germany's succour and assistance against the Turk, besides Your Majesty's unwillingness to over-irritate the Lutherans at this juncture, will mar any attempt on your part to innovate in such matters, especially if the obstinacy of the Lutherans be taken into consideration, and likewise that Your Majesty will be glad to have the same truce and abstinence from war that was granted to them at the last Frankfort Diet renewed.

On the third day of Easter the Scotch ambassador—who is going to Your Imperial Majesty for the purpose, as he gives these people, as well as the French ambassador, to understand, of begging Your Majesty that your Spanish and Flemish subjects do not come to fish in Scotch waters—arrived, and was well received and feasted by this king, whose Council, moreover, has been for the last thirty-six hours so busily engaged with the affair in question, that during that time they have positively refused to transact any other business.

Dame Anne de Clèves has been recalled to Richmond, for which reason, added to the fact that she seems happier and more contented than before, and that the present queen is not yet in the family way, some are of opinion that some sort of reconciliation may still take place between her and the King. I myself see no chance or sign of that, but should there be any, I will seize every opportunity of indirectly thwarting it. —London, 4 Jan. 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original, partly ciphered. pp. 2.

8 Jan. **149.** The SAME to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Vien. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, ff. 1-3.

My letter of the 2nd inst. must have apprized Your Majesty of recent events in this country. Since then, on the 3rd, Lady Anne of Clèves sent to the king as a new year's present, two fine and large horses caparisoned in mauve velvet, with trappings and so forth to match,* whilst she herself has made her appearance at Antoncourt (Hampton Court), where she arrived with her own retinue only, and no other courtier about her person except, perhaps, Milord Guillaume, the duke of Norfolk's brother, who, having met her on the road to this city, could not well, for courtesy's sake, refuse to accompany her to the gates of Antoncourt. At the door of the quarters prepared for her, Lady Anne was received by the duchess of Suffolk (Margaret), the countess Darfort, and certain other ladies,† who, after conducting her to the rooms destined for her lodging, took her to the Queen's

* "Envoya presenter a ce roy pour son novel an deux beaulx grans chevaulx avec leurs couvertes de vellours violet et la reste à ladvenant."

† "La duchesse de Suffocq, la contesse Darfort, et certaines autres dames la reçeurent et conduirent en sa chambre."

1541.

apartments. There she had to wait a while until the Chancellor (Audeley) and the earl of Succez (Sussex) had fully instructed the Queen as to the manner in which she was to receive and treat her visitor. Having entered the room, Lady Anne approached the Queen with as much reverence and punctilious ceremony as if she herself were the most insignificant damsel about Court, all the time addressing the Queen on her knees, notwithstanding the prayers and entreaties of the latter, who received her most kindly, showing her great favor and courtesy.*

At this time the King entered the room, and, after making a very low bow to Lady Anne, embraced and kissed her, upon which he and his queen sat down to supper in their usual places, whilst their visitor was made to occupy a seat near the bottom of the table, all the time keeping as good a mien and countenance, and looking as unconcerned as if there had been nothing between them. After supper all three conversed for a while in the most gracious manner, and when the King retired to his own apartments, the Queen and Lady Anne first danced together, and then separately, each with a partner chosen among the King's gentlemen. Next day the three dined together; there was again conversation, amusement, and mirth, and on the King retiring to his apartments, as on the previous night, the Queen and Lady Anne danced together. Whilst thus engaged, the King sent to his queen by one of his confidential chamberlains a present, consisting of a ring and two small dogs,† which present she passed over to Lady Anne—whether in the King's name or in her own I cannot say, though, most likely, as is generally believed, it was in her own, since the King has separately presented Lady Anne with an annual rent of one thousand ducats.

After dinner on that day Lady Anne retired to her apartments, and two hours afterwards she mounted her horse to return to Richmond.

The Princess has not yet visited the new queen, though she has on this New Year's day sent her a present, at which the King, her father, has been much pleased, as well as at one he himself has received from her. And as I have been told by the messenger who took both the presents, not only was the King extremely delighted, but he has sent her back by the same bearer two most magnificent new year's gifts, as I am given to understand, both from himself and from his queen.

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* "Et luy fust besoing seiourner ung peu a la porte jusques le chancellier et le conte de Succez eussent instruit la dite royne des contenances et propos quelle deburoit tenir a la dite dame Anne, la quelle venant a entrer devers la dite royne usa tant de reverences et serimonies que la moindre demoyselle de leans sçauroit fere, jusques a non vouloir parler a la dite royne sinon a genoulx, quoique la dite royne luy sçeust dire ne prier, la quelle royne se parforçoit en son endroit a luy fere toutes courtoisies, et faveurs, et monstrer toute humanité."

† "Lequel pendant que les dites dames dançoient envoya par son chambrier secret une bague a la royne avec deux petits chiens."

1541.

A courier has come with despatches from the bishop of Winchester* giving an account of the audience he had from Your Majesty. This king and the members of his Privy Council have since been deliberating two days running upon the contents of that despatch, as well as on the answer to be returned to it, together with the expediency of sending to France, &c. Indeed, within the last three days, they have dispatched to that country two messengers, and have decided also to send as ambassador thither the above-mentioned Milord Guillaume, the duke of Norfolk's half-brother†—a good young gentleman, but not at all suited for business—who is to leave in two or three days' time, when Master Valoupt‡ will come back to take the command and be governor of Guisnes (at least, so he has been told), though I hear that some time ago that office was given to Master Uvignefild (Wingfield), vice-chamberlain and captain of this King's body guard, who is already making preparations to go thither. *Many suspect that Master Valoupt has been recalled for fear he himself should withdraw from his embassy in France, as the arch-deacon of Lincoln did before him, and as people suspected; when he returned to that country this King sent various agents to ascertain the truth of the matter, and apply a remedy to the then existing difficulties.*§

I have heard nothing unpleasant yet concerning Your Majesty's answer to the bishop of Winchester; these people seem satisfied with it. The bishop has made his excuses for not having entered Valenchiennes (Valenciennes) and spoken to Your Majesty sooner respecting the above-mentioned arch-deacon, whose withdrawal from Court the privy councillors have been trying to keep as secret as possible, forbidding the courier under heavy penalties to say anything about it, and ordering all private letters to be opened at the Post Office to see whether in any of them mention is made of the said withdrawal.

The French ambassador sent me word yesterday that he was thinking of repairing to Court this very day for the express purpose of presenting this king with three venison pies made of the largest wild-boar that was ever killed in France, which the King, his master, has sent to this one by a master pastrycook of his.—London, 4 Jan. 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "Letter to the Queen."

French. Original. pp. 3.

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* Stephen Gardiner. *See* above, p. 304.

† Lord William Howard, the duke's half-brother.

‡ Sir John Wallop, about whom *see* Vol. V., Part I., p. 992, and Part II., pp. 197–8.

§ "Il y en a pluseurs que suspeçonnent que le dit Valopt a este appelle pour crainte quil ne se retire comme larchidiacre de Lincoln, ainsi quil en avoit este suspeçonne au commencement quil retournast en France, ou lors ce roy envoya diverses gens pour en sçavoir la verite et y remedier selon le besoing."

1541.

17 Jan. **150.** The SAME to the SAME.

Vienna Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 282, f. 4.

Just at this moment, and when the courier bearer of this despatch is about to start, I am told by someone, an eye witness of the whole affair, that a gentleman, who five or six years ago had been this king's gentleman-in-waiting and his ambassador to Scotland—one of the two officials into whose hands Crumuel (Cromwell) a short time before his fall had resigned the office of principal Secretary—has now been confined to the Tower. Also that one hour ago Master Huet (Wyatt) was arrested in his own house, and forthwith lodged in the very same prison, and, what is worse, that the house of the latter has been searched, and the King's seals have been placed on the chest and cupboards. In addition to this, for the last four days couriers have been dispatched to Spain to recall one, Master Mason, secretary of the said Master Huet, once sent as ambassador to that country for the exclusive purpose of forwarding the two points, of which I have had the honor to inform Your Majesty,* namely, that of the release of the horses which this king had purchased in Flanders, and at the same time request the Inquisitors [of Spain] to deal more mildly with this king's subjects. The Secretary's recall has been decided upon on the plea that the horses had already arrived at Harlen (Haarlem), that the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner) had had a satisfactory answer from the Emperor, and that there was no longer need of applying to Spain for the purpose.† I shall not fail to apprize Your Majesty of the end of this affair, and in the meantime, as the courier is about to start, I put an end to this letter.—London, 17 Jan. 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. p. 1.

6 Feb. **151.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 282, f. 6.

Those who I said in my last were about to leave town, namely, the duke of Norfolk for the borders of Scotland, and his brother Guillaume for France as ambassador, besides the earl of Harfort for the delimitation of the frontier of Ghynez (Guisnes) and Ardres, have already departed for their destination, in addition to which ordnance and ammunition have been sent to the borders of Scotland.

As far as I can hear from authentic sources no substantial charge has yet been brought against Master Huyet, and with the exception of words, which elsewhere than here would not have been noticed, nothing has been proved against him;

* "Et que depuys quatre jours en ça lon ait envoye courrier pour rapeller ung m^e Mason, que estoit secretaire du m^e Hoyet, estant ambassadeur vers sa ma^te, et envoye en Espaigne pour les deux poinctz, dont ay adnerti vre mai^te."

† "Et a este faict le dit rappel soubz ombre que les dit chevaulz seroient arrivez a Harlen, et que de la reste levesque de Uvincestre en auroit eu si bonnes parolles de sa ma^te que ne seroit ja (desja?) besoign de recourir a ceuls d'Espaigne."

1541.

but these people are so suspicious that they are apt to qualify as mortal sin any innocent doing and saying that may at the time thwart their political plans.

Eight days ago there came here a Spanish soldier (*soudart*) named Dez Guignonez,* for the purpose of applying for a neutral field against the marquis del Gasto and certain others, which application this king has refused to grant, as has also king Francis, to whom the Spaniard applied first. Also a gentleman from Provence, who brings letters of favor from the most Christian for this king, as well as for the French ambassador residing here. His object, as I am given to understand, is to ask for a safe-conduct for certain knights of Rhodes, sent here by the Grand Master to persuade this king to restore to their rights certain knights of that Order, who have been entirely suppressed and deprived (*extraintz et abolyz.*) I believe there will be no difficulty at all in granting them the safe-conduct asked for, but as to their restoration it will be, in my opinion, time lost.

The Princess recommends herself most humbly to Your Majesty's good graces. She is, thank God, in good health just now, though exceedingly distressed and sad at the death of one of her damsels, who has actually died of grief at her having been removed from her service by the King's order.— London, 6 Feb. 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. p. 1.

6 Feb. **152.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 282, ff. 8-11.

After closing the despatch which goes along with this, and immediately after the departure of the courier, Your Majesty's letters came duly to hand, at the same time as the copy of that addressed by Your Majesty to the Emperor. *I could never sufficiently thank you for the very courteous, wise, and prudent language of those letters, calculated, as they are, to excuse and exonerate me, and at the same time allay the suspicions of these councillors, with whom one must always proceed with adequate dissimulation and caution. It seems to me that Your Majesty has taken the right course with regard to the proclamation emanating from the Emperor on the lading of foreign ships, and that by taking such a step Your Majesty has found the real way to assist the progress of the commercial measures which these people are daily introducing against Your Majesty's subjects, thus obliging them to consent to the new treaty of commerce which Your*

* D. Juan de Quiñones, knight commander of Ocaña in the order of Santiago, or Don Gaspar, "valerosisimo caballero," as Lopez de Haro calls him in his *Nobiliario Genealogico*, lib. V., cap. XI. Both were sons of D. Bernardino, II. count of Luna, and nephews of D. Francisco, the general of the Franciscans and cardinal at Rome, who died in 1540. *See* above, p. 280.

1541.

Majesty desires to establish. But, in my humble opinion, in order that the wise measures adopted by the Emperor and by Your Majesty should produce the desired effect, it would be highly desirable that the Emperor should order the old ordinances (pragmaticas) *relating to the confiscation of imitation cloths—as most of those woven here and introduced into Spain are—to be again re-established in their full vigor. This would be a just punishment* (bastonnade) *to these English, and a great advantage for the Spaniards, and not less for the natives of Flanders and the Low Countries, who, for one piece of cloth which they now sell in Spain, might then sell ten. It seems to me as if without the measure to which I allude Your Majesty might be frustrated of your good intentions towards the reform of the commercial treaties with this country, and that the merchants and ship-owners, subjects of Your Majesty, would be equally injured; for after all this king, in order to defeat the proclamation issued by the Emperor, might very well revoke his own edicts, and at the same time annul or revoke the privileges granted to foreign merchants trading in his kingdom. Yet I think, under correction, that though this king agreed to the navigation going on as before informally, as in old times, yet there ought to be no revocation until it was found whether the additional amount which he has lately ordered to be paid by foreign merchants, subjects of the Emperor, that is to say, the double of the former tax—and the threat of expelling them from England—is or is not in contravention to the treaties between the Emperor and this king, as it appears to me to be. These are, in my opinion, the two fundamental points on which, for want of better argument, our defence ought to rest; they are also those on which they are likely to insist, namely, the inequality of the prohibition decreed by the Emperor—affecting all foreign ships without modification of any sort, as that of this king has.*

I have no doubt that the first thing he will do as soon as he has read Your Majesty's answer will be to attack me on this point. I will obey Your Majesty's commands according to instructions, and try as much as possible to ascertain how the King takes the thing, and what his intentions are; but I beg and entreat that the utmost secrecy be kept, so that these people may never say that I have been suggesting and soliciting what I consider really favorable and advantageous for them.—London, 6 Feb. 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph, almost entirely in cipher. pp. 2.

22 Feb. **153.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 282. f. 12.

Waiting for an opportunity, and owing to the arrival of letters from the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner), I have not yet been able to signify to this king, or to the members of his Privy Council, Your Majesty's answer respecting the

1541.

revocation of the edict or proclamation on the freight of vessels. True is it that I have conversed with the privy councillors on the subject, and told them that a particular friend of mine, and member of Your Majesty's Council at Brussels, had sent me a private message to the effect that all my efforts to obtain the revocation of the said edict would be in vain, as there was not the least appearance either of reason or equity in my application. Upon which these privy councillors, not only at the request of the ship-owners of this country, but also of the people in general, have made a provision specifying that even in the case of there being here no English ships to export merchandize to Flanders and the Low Countries, those of that country would not be allowed, as before, to take such merchandize on board. As to ships of other nations,—namely, Spanish, French, and others—there has been no innovation. The Privy Council has, moreover, resolved to forbid, under pain of confiscation of body and property, the exportation of prohibited goods from this country, which amounts to a total prohibition of all kinds of merchandize except woollen cloth, lead, and tin (*estain lavource*), so that there is no hope for the present of the inhabitants of those countries being able to enjoy other English commodities; for although the exportation of them in foreign bottoms had been strictly prohibited, yet as there was no other penalty for the transgressors except the confiscation and loss of such prohibited goods, when found on board of foreign vessels, many skippers ventured to export from this country corn, beer, leather, cheese, timber, and other articles, which they will now take good care not to do under the new provision, thus causing much injury to the Emperor's subjects in Spain and the Low Countries. It would be just and reasonable that His Imperial Majesty's subjects could barter and negociate here as freely as the English do there, especially in those commodities and merchandize which were not prohibited at the time that the treaties between the Emperor's ancestors and those of the king of England were made.

The French ambassador has not visited Court since the Christmas festivities; neither has he for a long time received letters from his master, except the one announcing the arrival in France of Millort Vulliem,* at which king Francis seemed much pleased, not only on account of the new ambassador's rank, but because he has always considered his half-brother, the duke of Norfolk, as a friend of his. *Yet I fancy that hitherto there has been no practice or intelligence between the French and the English.*

Having heard from a friend that Your Majesty wished still to secure the services of a secretary well versed in

* Milord, Mylorde Guillaulme, as in preceding despatches, that is, Lord William Howard, the duke of Norfolk's half-brother.

1541.

languages, especially Latin and German, I think it my duty to recommend one, who, as far as I can gather from his frequent visits, is as able, discreet, learned, virtuous and well-qualified for that office as any young man of his age. His name is Guillaume Zenocarus, of Bruges. — London, 22 February, 1541.*

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph.

3 March. **154.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 282, f. 18.

I enclose the summary of a statute made here some time ago, and promulgated just now, forbidding the exportation of articles of food and other goods from this kingdom, as well as that of wool, highly-priced manufactured cloth without dressing, and several other articles contained in previously issued statutes.† That will show to Your Majesty what little chance there is for the inhabitants of those Low Countries and other subjects of His Imperial Majesty to carry on trade with this country and enjoy English commodities. *Should the Emperor be pleased to order the very same thing in Spain, and not allow anything to go out of the country without permission, I have no doubt that a greater revenue would be derived from that than from the permissions to export wheat from Sicily. That would, in my opinion, oblige these people to be more reasonable, and if by next season the export of hops* (hobelon) *from Flanders, and cochineal* (grance) *from Spain, were strictly forbidden, I make sure that these people would soon cry out and come to terms. This would, moreover, be most beneficial for the poor people of the Low Countries, who are, as it were, in the hands of ten or twelve avaricious merchants of this place, who combining together to buy those articles as cheap as possible and bring them to this country, would be obliged, the prohibition once promulgated, to pay a much higher price for those articles; and as the prohibition would never last more than two or three months, they would in the meantime grant anything that was asked of them, for they cannot possibly do without those, especially without hops, which they cannot procure elsewhere.*

Nothing new worth mentioning has occurred since the date of my last despatch, except that this King, at the departure of the Sieur de Tes, gave him 300 crs., and that he has recalled near his person, with a very favorable and amicable letter, Me. Huyet et Me. Vualopt—who, as I said in one of my former despatches, had been imprisoned.—London, 3 Mars 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. p. 1.

* 1540 stilo currente.

† "Et ce oultre la prohibition des laynez, draptz de priz non appretez et pluseurs autres choses deffenduez par aultres statutz."

1541.

27 March. **155.** The SAME to the SAME.

Vien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, ff. 7–8.

Your Majesty's letter of the 19th ult., containing a copy of the proclamation (*placard*) forbidding English merchant ships to lade goods or merchandize in the ports of your dominions, both in Spain and in the Low Countries, has come to hand. This king has not yet said anything to me about it, nor have his privy councillors either; but, to make up for their silence, perceiving there was no other remedy, they have amplified and extended, as I have had the honor to advise by my last despatch, the prohibition already decreed here, so as to meet on all points that issued by Your Majesty. They have, moreover, renewed that of exporting almost any goods from this country except manufactured dressed cloth.* Instead of the defaulters' pain being, as formerly, loss of merchandize, the King has now added confiscation of property and imprisonment for those merchants who should contravene as well as for those who knew of, or consented to it.

As a beginning of the game they are about to play, some days ago this king's Privy Council ordered the confiscation of a Dutch ship and her cargo, because on her return from Andalucia with wine and other merchandize she was obliged by stress of weather to put up at Anthonne (Southampton), where an inhabitant of that port happened to give her captain five bales of wool, which the Dutch skipper, totally ignorant of the new commercial regulations and customs of this country, took innocently on board in plain daylight and before a number of people ready to proclaim his good faith and ignorance of the aforesaid prohibition. All remonstrances of mine have hitherto proved unavailing; and I very much doubt whether I shall be able to recover an indemnity for the skipper's losses, inasmuch as he has often been told by those who have this affair in hand that Your Majesty's proclamation (*placard*) was the real cause of the seizure of his ship.

About this time, too, this king's Privy Council showed some inclination to treat somewhat rudely the Spanish merchants residing here, by asking from them excessive sums of money on account of the grant and subsidy to the King, of which, however, they have hitherto paid nothing. But about a fortnight ago it was published that on pain of imprisonment and confiscation of property all foreign merchants, Spaniards and French not excepted,† should pay within three days' time what they owed to the King on account of the said grant and subsidy.

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* "Drapz adressez," elsewhere called "appretez."

† "Et puis quinze jours fust ici publie que sur paine de corps et biens tout le monde deust auoir paye en dedans trois jours, ce qu'estoit deu au dit Seigneur roy a loccasion du dit impost et subside [non] exceptant les marchans hispagnolz et françois." The words *exceptant les marchans*, &c. ought to have been preceded by the negative particle *non*, for the measure, as will be seen hereafter, was general, and comprised all foreign merchants.

1541.

About eight days ago a gentleman of the Chamber of king Francis, named the count of Tes,* sent, as far as I can gather, to visit this king on account of his last reported indisposition, arrived here. I have not yet been able to ascertain what sort of negociation there may be now pending between them; all I know is that the ambassador has not had long audiences from the King, nor has he either, that I am aware of, held frequent communications with the Privy Council. They have shown him the Tower of this city, as well as the palace of Anthoncourt, where the ambassador has been feasted and regaled by the King's command. He left yesterday for France, taking the road to Dover, where the King at present is attending to the repair (*restoration*) of the harbour and fortresses, which he has been constructing in that locality for some time back. After taking leave of the King the ambassador will embark for France.

The duke of Norfolk and the three gentlemen of the King's Chamber who went to the North, have been back in town for the last six days. They have done nothing there, but they leave behind an engineer to report on what kind of fortifications are to be raised on that frontier, and whereat.

The King lately took his queen to Greenwich, and as it was the first time after her marriage that she had to pass through London by the Thames, the people of this city honored her with a most splendid reception, the Tower saluting her with salvoes of artillery.† From this triumphal march the Queen took occasion and courage to beg and entreat the King for the release of Maistre Huyet (Whyat), a prisoner in the said Tower, which petition the King granted, though on rather hard conditions, the first of them being that the said Whyat should confess the guilt for which he had been arrested; and, secondly, that he was to resume conjugal relations with his wife, from whom he had been separated for upwards of fifteen years. Whyat had cast her away on account of adultery, and had not seen her for many years; he will now be obliged to receive her, and should he not do so, and not lead a conjugal life with her, or should he be found to keep up criminal relations with one or two other ladies that he has since loved, he is to suffer pain of death and confiscation of property.

On the same day full pardon and release from prison was granted to Master Waloup (Wallop), who since his return to England [from his French embassy] had been taken to the house of the Lord Privy Seal, and there detained till the hour of his pardon, as aforesaid. His detention, as far as I can learn, was due to his having said something in favor of Pope Paul.

* "Puys huyt jours en ça est içy arrive ung gentilhomme de la chambre du Roy de France, que sapelle le sieur de Tes."

† "Ceulx de ceste ville l'honorerent au mieulx quilz peuvent, et la tourd le salua planteusement (?) dartillerie."

1541.

Some time before the return of Maistre Wallop to London, another gentleman, under-warder of Calais,* of the name of Master Palmer, and two provosts from that town, were lodged in the Tower; upon what charge nobody yet knows.†—London, 27 March 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "Copy of letter from the ambassador in England to the Emperor."

French. Original. pp. 3.

17 April. **156.** The SAME to the EMPEROR.

Vien., Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, ff. 9–10.

By my last, dated the 27 March, I informed Your Imperial Majesty of this king's journey to Dover. During his stay in that port he dispatched Master Wallop to Guisnes as governor of the town, and resolved also to send thither as many as 2,000 men, pioneers and soldiers, under four captains, each of whom will have besides under his command 50 men;‡ the pioneers to be employed in the repair of the fortifications and defences of the place, as well as in the construction of four new bulwarks, which the King has ordered to be erected first of all in the neighbourhood of the said Guisnes. The King, moreover, has ordered that the said force of 2,000 men be provided on the spot with engineering tools and arms to defend themselves against any party that should try to impede their work and attack them. As far as I can hear from all sides, the intention of this king for the present is not to push on his defensive works beyond the said town of Guisnes and its castle, providing them with ordnance, ammunition, and every necessary. I hear that in the neighbourhood of that town, and close upon the sea-shore, the King's men are already making haste, and demolishing certain churches and religious houses situated on the sea border, the materials of which they intend carrying to Guisnes, so as to be employed in its new fortifications.

I cannot say whether this affair will be prosecuted with vigour or cool down, for I am told that a Portuguese engineer, whom the King had sent thither to report and direct the works, returned yesterday from those parts, affirming in the most positive manner, as I have been told by one who was present when he verbally reported to the King, that most certainly it would be impossible to fortify Guisnes in an efficient manner, owing to two hillocks commanding the avenues and all the streets of that town. And I have been told by my

* "Ung aultre gentilhomme, grand portier de Calais, nomme maistre Palmer." No doubt Sir Thomas Palmer, high porter of Calais. *See* Gardiner, *Letters and Papers*, Vol. XI., p. 70. I should say, however, that the charge of high porter must be a translation of "grand portier," or chief gate-keeper (in Span., *portero mayor*), the officer under whose particular care the gates of a fortified town were.

† "Et deux prestotz (prevots?) du meme lieu et ne sçait lon encoires bonnement pourquoy."

‡ "Lesquels auront davantaige chascun cinquantes souldars de guerre."

1541.

informer that when the King heard the engineer's report, he and the courtiers round him were much disgusted and angry, and that the King abused the engineer and called him a fool and an ass, saying that he did not understand his profession. Thus did the King receive the report of his engineer, which, however, must have come very much out of season, considering that the four captains above-mentioned and their men had already left for Guisnes.

Although the military preparations to which I have alluded were resolved upon during this king's last stay in Dover, yet something about them must have transpired, for king Francis wrote some time ago to his ambassador here to ask this King what he meant by sending a body of men across the Channel. The French ambassador, as it appears, did as he was bid, and the King said to him: "I may just as well ask from you in turn what your master means by sending men to Ardres."

Two days after that, on the King's return to Greenwich, the French ambassador again spoke to the King on the subject, and the latter replied that as all princes were fast fortifying their own frontier towns, he did not see why he should not do the same, and gave no further explanation of his orders. And I have been told that since then the French ambassador has received almost daily couriers from his master, and that on the 12th of April* he himself went to Court. Having asked him what he went thither for he told me that he had gone for no other purpose than to witness the solemn festivals on that day; but, as I gather from his own words to the Venetian secretary and others, he must have gone to Greenwich chiefly for the purpose of obtaining reliable information respecting the expeditionary force sent to Guisnes, and perhaps also to announce to the King, as I find he actually did, that the king of the Romans was in Hungary in full retreat for want of money and provisions, and that some Turkish cavalry had even overrun part of his territory, sacking and burning some towns and villages. Also that there was no sign or hope of any thing being settled or concluded at the diet of Reynesbourg (Regensburgh), which the duke of Saxony had not deigned to attend, no more than several other German princes. The King answered that as far as he could see, he himself was better informed by his ambassadors in Germany than his master, the king of France, since, according to the reports he had received from that country, he held it as certain that an agreement between the Catholics and Protestants would shortly be made, notwithstanding the duke of Saxony's absence from the Diet, which must have been caused by personal indisposition, or some other legitimate excuse, not by ill-will towards Your Imperial Majesty, or dis-

* Le jour de Pasques flories.

1541.

inclination to attend that assembly. On this point the King and the ambassador disputed for some time, and the former coming to particularize and detail some of the principal points of the agreement that was expected to take place between Rome and the Lutheran princes, said that concessions were made on either side, such as acknowledging the Pope's authority with some limitations, granting the communion *sub utraque specie*, and allowing the marriage of priests. After this, the King added: "I confess that of those three articles the last is the one that I dislike most, for it is the one which affects in a great measure all Christian princes, especially the king of France, for in the end priests will so increase in numbers by affinity and descent, that they will tyrannize over the very princes, and render the ecclesiastical benefices hereditary in their families."*

After this conversation with the French ambassador, the King sent for the four captains above-mentioned, who on that occasion appeared splendidly and gorgeously attired. When in his presence the King made them remove the cloaks (*louvieres*) they wore over their uniforms, that he and the French ambassadors might better see and inspect their accoutrements; the same being afterwards done with some of their soldiers.†

After the King had levied and received the tax on foreigners, to whom a respite had been granted till after these present festivities, which is the date fixed for their leaving this country, a rumour was circulated that all foreign merchants, without distinction, will have to leave, except those who choose to take out letters of naturalization, to obtain which they must pay down one third of all their fortune, besides the cost of seals and writing, which amounts to 10 ducats, and having to swear besides most strict fidelity to the King. Notwithstanding such oppressive and costly measures, an immense number of foreigners are actually taking out letters of naturalization, so that the King will be able to derive, from that source only, an incalculable sum of money. True is it that, as far as I am told, this King's commissioners—those whom the King has appointed for that service—do not proceed to extremities with your Majesty's subjects, nor are they as rigid and severe in the valuation of their property as they are with that of other foreign merchants, especially French, yet the measure is, as Your Majesty may imagine, exceedingly oppressive, and as it is almost impossible for the King's commissioners to draw out

* "Car a la longue les ditz prestres saccresceroint (saccroitreroint) si tant de affinite et lignee, quilz vouldroient tirannizer les mesmes princes, et fere hereditaires les benefices."

† "Les quels ce jour la sestoient accoustrez tout a neufz, et bien gorgiosement (*sic*) et bravement, et estans la venuz, il leur feist [de] pouser les louvieres quilz portoient, affin que luy et le dit ambassadeur aussi veissent mieulx les dits accoustrements, et le mesmes fust faict daulcungs des souldars."

1541.

and prepare such a number of letters of naturalization, the date for the expulsion of foreign merchants has been prorogued until St. John's Day, during which time those who choose to remain in England and wish to obtain such letters must needs have their names inscribed in the Chancery books, and take the oath of fealty.

Three days ago the King's privy councillors sent me a message to the following effect: At Nyeuport (Newport), in Flanders, no less than fourteen fishing smacks, with their respective crews, have been seized for no other reason than for their having sailed to that port, and there laded fish for the London market, as they have been accustomed to do in old times; and that the seizure has been made in virtue of the proclamation and edict lately emanating from Your Majesty, forbidding goods of any sort to be taken out of the Low Countries in English bottoms. The privy councillors further alleged that the Emperor's proclamation could not possibly extend to fish, and that consequently the custom-house officers at Newport had evidently misunderstood its meaning, and exceeded orders. I myself (said they) could testify to the fact that similar proclamations were never so rigorously enforced here in England, and that very often, and almost daily, at my intercession, Your Majesty's subjects in this country were, as regarded their interests, treated with all possible mildness. Should the people of the Low Countries go on with their present system, they (the English) would be obliged to retaliate, and enforce with extreme rigour the statutes and laws of England, all the time procuring and trying not to do nor attempt anything directly or indirectly against the treaties and confederations the King, their master, had with Your Imperial Majesty. The councillors' message ended by requesting that I would write to the queen regent of Flanders and the Low Countries begging for the release of the said smacks and crews. There was, however, no need for the councillors' recommendation, for, as I heard from a seaman of Newport, on the very same day that the aforesaid message was brought to me both the vessels and their crews were released.

Quite recently a conspiracy has been detected here. About fifty persons, among whom were six or seven priests, had determined to kill the bishop of Landaff, governor of the northern counties, intending to take possession of a fortress of the King, where he (the Bishop) resides, and strengthen themselves therein. The conspirators were perhaps emboldened and encouraged in their undertaking by the fact that for some time past there has been a rumour that the Scotch were stirring on the border, and thinking also that this King was already at war on the other side of the Channel, since he is sending thither troops. The conspirators, however, have been nearly all arrested, and, as is generally believed, there will be no grace for them. The King, moreover, fearing lest in the North there should exist other conspiracies of the same

1541.

kind, or perhaps more dangerous ones still, has announced his intention to go thither immediately after these festivities.—London, Easter-day 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "Copy of the letter of the ambassador in England to the Emperor."

French. Original. pp. 4½.

17 April. **157.** The SAME to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 282, f. 18.

By the enclosed letter, addressed by me to the Emperor, Your Majesty will be acquainted with late events in this country. I should have been glad, as was my duty, immediately to inform Your Majesty thereof, and principally of this king having actually dispatched a number of military men and others to his dominions across the Channel, had I not been unable to do so, owing to there being no courier for Flanders at the time, and also to my thinking that a movement of English troops of that sort on the frontiers of the Low Countries could not fail to have attracted the attention of your governors and officials there. There was still another consideration. I was afraid that the delay required to investigate the truth would be too long for my drawing up a report the day before the departure of the courier, which happened to be Easter Day, for when I obtained reliable information it was too late, and the courier had actually left. I might, perhaps, have dispatched a private messenger of my own, but, to tell Your Majesty the truth, I am so hard up, in consequence of that treasury not having remitted to me any of my salary for the last six months, that I have no money left for such a service, even if the news had been more important than it is. I therefore beg Your Majesty to order that I be paid my arrears, besides 126 florins which stand as a balance in my favor by last year's account.—London, 17th April 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. pp. 2.

1 May. **158.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, ff. 11–12.

Though nothing new or important has occurred since my last,* I will profit by the departure of this messenger to inform Your Majesty that this king has sent to the North for about 100 men-at arms, who have arrived here within the last week, accoutred and armed in the old fashion, that is to say, with their jacks or coats of mail, and their *secrettes* under their steel caps, and who, instead of long lances, are

* *See* above, No. 156, p. 315.

1541.

armed with small spears.* It is said that a still larger number is expected from those districts, and that the whole force is to cross over to reinforce the garrison of Guisnes.

The day before yesterday this King's privy councillors sent for the ambassador of France, in order to notify to him that their master, having had knowledge of the taunts and bravadoes with which the garrisons of Ardres and Guisnes are continually addressing each other, had deliberated to send thither his Lord Privy Seal to put a stop to such disorderly acts, and the ambassador has been requested to write to his master and persuade him to do the same on his side.

In France, as it appears, much notice has been taken of, and great sensation produced by, the landing of the 2,000 men, of whom I wrote in my despatch of the 17th of April, so much so that the French ambassador here says that in France the rumour is that upwards of 20,000 Englishmen have crossed the Channel and actually landed!! Some think that suspicion and fear of the English are the only causes of such exaggerated reports, whilst others imagine that the whole of it is a stratagem devised by this king for the purpose of having a better plea for reinforcing his garrisons and provisioning his towns and fortresses on that frontier, and, as the opportunity occurs, giving employment to his army.† At any rate, the better to color his sentiments, king Francis has, in writing to his ambassador, shown disappointment and discontent at his not having warned him of the great number of Englishmen who had crossed the Channel besides the 2,000 mentioned in my last despatch, in order that he may show his letter to this king, as he has done since. There is the more reason to think the whole of this to be a ruse of the French that, although their ambassador at this court has been continually sending couriers to France—sometimes his own cousin—to apprize the King of the said armaments, the latter has not ceased sending to that frontier, and has employed marvellous diligence to complete the fortifications of Ardres, where, if this ambassador's word is to be credited, no less than 3,000 pioneers are now working day and night.

For a long time back no one has rendered a greater service to this King than the man who detected the conspiracy mentioned in my last despatch ‡ for, as stated, it was far more dangerous than the former, not only because the people's

* "Comme ce roy a puys huiat jours faict icy venir du cartier du Nort enuiron de cent hommes de cheval armez a lantique, a sçauoir de leurs jaquez et petites secretes soubz leur bonnetz, et au lieu de lances portent picques."

† "Et ont faict courir le bruyt, selon quaffirme le dit ambassadeur quil descendoient plus de vingt mille, et pensent aucuns que la souspeçon et craincte a t engendre tel rumeur, mais aussi se pourroit il croyre que cela a este dressé par ruze pour avoir plus juste occasion les françois de renforçer leurs garrisons, et fournir toutes leurs places, et selon loccasion que se pourroit addonner employer leurs gens."

‡ See his letter to the Emperor, No. 156, p. 318, where the news of the conspiracy is given in almost similar terms.

1541.

indignation against the King has risen to a higher pitch since then, owing to the cruelties and exactions that followed the rebellion in the North, but because the season of the year was far more propitious and the opportunity more favorable for men to assemble together in arms, for there was to be a great fair at Pontfret (Pontefract)—the town in which the last rising took place—and the 40 or 50 conspirators, nearly twelve of whom were gentlemen, men of substance and mature age, or priests holding benefices from the English Church, purposed attending the said fair with their ordinary servants and retainers to the number of upwards of 300. Their plan was to gain over as many people as they possibly could to their views, and then denounce, and declare openly against, the King's bad government and tyranny, and after that attack and slay all those who should rise in defence of the commonwealth. The conspirators were not without some hope of being aided by the king of Scotland, who, if he would only nowadays make war on this king, would not meet on the part of the English with the resistance he has met with at other times. Most likely this king suspects something of that sort, for, not trusting much on the fidelity of his officers in the Northern counties, he has decided to have the border towns strongly fortified

Some one has just come to tell me that during the last 10 or 12 days a good number of Scotchmen have crossed the river and penetrated far enough into England, where they have taken, sacked, and set fire to a town, for no other apparent reason than that of recovering certain prisoners whom the inhabitants refused to give up, as the Scotch pretend they ought to have done according to the treaties and conventions between England and their country.—London, 1st May 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "To the queen regent in Flanders."

French. Original. pp. 2½.

1 May. **159.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, f. 20.

Not knowing what to add to the news conveyed in my letter to the Emperor,* of which I enclose a copy, I will only remark that most of the packets of letters addressed to me either by the Emperor or by Your Majesty, as well as those which come from the Imperial ministers and ambassadors in Italy, when delivered at Envers (Antwerp), are generally detained in that town much longer than is necessary, and that very often private letters from merchants of the said town are received here several days before my own official correspondence. The fault, as far as I can learn, does not lie in the

* Most likely the preceding, which, though addressed to the Queen, might very well be a copy only of that sent to the Emperor.

1541.

post-master, Anthoine de Taxis, but consists entirely in the faculty which the people of that town have of keeping post-horses and hiring them out to private couriers, the consequence being that several merchants send their letters on without letting the post-master know of it, and that official packets and other correspondence remain behind until there are enough letters to fill a bag. It seems to me, under correction, that the only sure remedy to obviate that inconvenience would be to order that no one in Antwerp should keep post-horses except the said Anthoine de Taxis.—Londres, 1 May 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. p. 1.

13 May. **160.** The MARQUIS DE AGUILAR to the EMPEROR.

S. E. Roma, L. 870, f. 53.
B. M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 1.

I hear that the Pope has recently held more frequent and familiar conferences than usual with the Venetian ambassador, and although I have not yet ascertained what the object and purpose of those conferences may be, I suspect that the fear he has of Your Imperial Majesty coming to Italy, and likewise his dread of the Diet, may be the cause.

I hear also that on the arrival here of the news that the English have crossed the Channel to Calais, he (the Pope), of his own accord, said to the French ambassador that if the king of England made war upon his master, he himself would assist France with all his power. The ambassador thanked him for his offer, and begged him to put it down in writing, that he might show it to a secretary of king Francis, who resides with him. This the Pope declined to do, saying that there was no necessity for that, but that if he (the ambassador) chose to write home and communicate his offer, he might do it with his entire approbation. Meanwhile, there came a courier from France stating that the king of England had answered the inquiries of a gentleman of Francis' Chamber, dispatched purposely to that effect, that the troops sent to Calais were not destined for an attack on his dominions, but merely to work at certain fortifications, &c.

His Holiness is now sending to France Hieronymo Capo di Ferro, his recently appointed Datary, who belongs to the Orsini faction, and although it is said that he goes thither merely to reside as Papal Nuncio, the fact is that his removal from such a prominent office as that of Datary, makes people here suspect that he must be going to France on some pressing and highly important business. I will try to ascertain what his mission may be.*

Last week a letter was read in Consistory from the Papal legate at the Imperial court, purporting that should the deliberations of the Diet be unusually prolonged without coming

* Elsewhere called one of Paul's "camarlenghi."

1541

to a decision, Your Imperial Majesty was thinking of coming over to Italy, leaving the king of the Romans, your brother, to preside over the Diet in your room; and that he (the Legate) wished to know whether, in case of your coming to Italy, he was to remain at the Diet, or come over. After the reading of which letter in Consistory, the cardinals present decided that should the matters of the Diet be at Your Majesty's departure in a fair way of settlement, he (the Legate) might remain behind. If, on the contrary, some delay was apprehended, he might come over in the Imperial suite; but that in either case he was to obtain Your Imperial Majesty's consent and approval.—Rome, 13 May 1541.

Signed: "El Marques de Aguilar."

Addressed: "To His Sacred Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original, mostly in cipher. pp. 2½.

17 May. **161.** Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, ff. 18–9.

Since the receipt of Your Imperial Majesty's letters of the 31st of April the account of recent occurrences in this country must have reached and be known at the Imperial court. I mentioned in my last despatch that this King, in order to avoid complications with France on account of any broil or dispute arising between the English garrison of Guisnes and the French one of Ardres, had determined to send to the former town his Lord Privy Seal, to see that nothing took place there likely to bring on war between the two nations; the principal cause of which determination being, as I have since heard, that the resident ambassador of this king at the court of France had written lately that certain French courtiers were saying publicly that it was possible that some cause for discontent and hostility might spring up soon between the English garrison of Guisnes and the French of Ardres, which might eventually be the cause of a war against this country. That was the thing they (the French) mostly desired, not only on account of the hatred, deeply rooted from times of old, which they bore against the English, as for the sake of God's service, as they would have to fight infidels worse than Turks, with considerable hope of success and profit.

Soon after the date of my last despatch, the Lord Privy Seal took his departure for Guisnes, accompanied by the earl of Surrey, son of the duke of Norfolk, and by the Admiral of England, who, however, did not remain long there, for they all came back about six days ago. Neither of them seems to have gone beyond Guisnes. True is it that some gentlemen of their suite, and among them the brother of the earl of Hartford,* disguised as civilians, went as far as Ardres,

* Robert Seymour?.

1541.

where the governor received and entertained them well; but, on the other hand, that of Boulogne refused to let them pass on to Calais, though he offered them good cheer if they would only visit him at Boulogne.

This King and Queen went a week ago to visit the Prince [Edward] at the request of the Princess (Mary), but chiefly at the intercession of the Queen herself. Upon that occasion the King granted the Princess full permission to reside at Court, and the Queen has countenanced it with a good grace.

About one month ago a German from Nüremberg, named Joachim Goderfinguer, agent of duke Philip, the Palatine, who had some business to negociate with this king, arrived here. It appears, however, that he has been unable to obtain an answer until now. *It would appear, as the agent himself says, that these people, who do not like to play at cards unless they see those of their adversary, have purposely delayed their answer until they see that the affairs of Germany have decidedly turned out well for Your Majesty. I am given to understand by those who are about the Princess that the answer to the agent has not been at all unfavorable, and that there is some chance of the duke Philip being recalled.*

Four days ago news came that in Spain the ordinance (*pragmatique*) forbidding foreign ships, and especially the English, to lade in the ports of the Peninsula, and elsewhere in Your Imperial Majesty's dominions, arrived here; hearing which the English merchants who have ships in Spain have been so disagreeably surprised that two of them have said to a person, who reported it to me, *that they would much prefer losing part of their fortune, and even having their ships burnt and wrecked, than be obliged to quit this country. And I suspect that unless these merchants be allowed to lade in the ports of Your Majesty's dominions, there will soon not be in this kingdom one-tenth of the ships they now have, but that, on the contrary, the ships and seamen of Your Imperial Majesty's subjects will greatly increase, and become a source of considerable profit.*—London, 17 May 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. pp. 2.

17 May. **162.** The SAME to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien., Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, f. 22.

Your Majesty will see by the enclosed copy of my letter to the Emperor a summary account of late events in this country. I have scarcely anything to add to it, except that some of the mutineers in the northern counties, of whom I wrote in my last despatch, have already been executed, and also that very lately this king has conferred the Order of the Garter on four noblemen* of this kingdom; namely, on the

* Henry Howard, Edward Seymour, Sir William Paulet, and Sir William Fitzwilliam.

1541.

earl of Sorrey (Surrey), son of the duke of Norphocq, the earl of Harfort, the Comptroller of the Royal Household, and the captain of the Royal body-guard.—London, 17 May 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. 1 *p.*

26 May. **163.** The Same to the Same.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, ff. 24–7.

Yesterday Your Majesty's letter of 18th inst. came to hand, together with the copy of this king's missive and note to Your Majesty, though that of Your Majesty's answer to him has not been received, owing, no doubt, to forgetfulness or some other cause. I therefore beg and entreat Your Majesty to cause it to be forwarded to me, that I may be able at all hazards, if necessary, to reply to this king or the members of his Privy Council in conformity with your answer, should any of them speak to me on the subject, although I do not believe that they will, considering that for one claim they may bring forward against us, I can produce endless ones on the part of the Emperor's subjects, *as I failed not to do some time ago, when this king's privy councillors asked me to write to Your Majesty, and request the release of the fourteen ships on which an embargo had been laid at Neufport (Newport). Neither the King nor his privy councillors did on that occasion speak so loud and boastingly as they have now done in the letters to Your Majesty, and I do really believe that had then the pains mentioned in Your Majesty's placard been executed on the masters of the said ships, this king would have used milder language in this fresh instance; for thinking, no doubt, that the release of the said ships had been effected through fear of his retaliating, and that the placard once infringed it would be easy to have it revoked altogether, he has now written in harsher terms about it.*

In my humble opinion the only way of lowering the pride and mitigating the frenzy of this king in the matter consists in making suddenly, and at once, some provision which may put a check to, and stop the exorbitant statutes lately made in this country, respecting which both the Emperor and Your Majesty can allege more honorable and conscientious reasons than this king can. As I once wrote, were it possible to forbid entirely the export of hops* (houbelon) *from the Low Countries, the measure would be highly beneficial in the end to the natives of those parts, for the English would then be obliged to buy their beer in Flanders, and pay for it in corn or in money, which transaction would be highly beneficial for the natives of the Low Countries, besides which, if the hops could*

* "En quoi vostres maiestes peuvent trop mieulx pretendre lhonneur et conscience que ne fait le dit roy que se y fonde."

1541.

not be exported without a license, as is the case here, Your Majesty could make a good sum of money through it. The same thing might be said of the grain (garance) *if the export of that article without a license were forbidden.*

Since the King in his letter talks of honor and conscience, it seems to me as if both the Emperor and Your Majesty ought in conscience to enact that woollen cloth woven and prepared as it is generally in this country, and then sent to those parts, should not be allowed to come in. That would be a very just measure, as well as a very profitable one, for the inhabitants of those countries, who would no longer be deceived, as well as for Your Majesty, who might profit by the confiscation of such woollen cloth. It would be at the same time the greatest blow (bastonnade) *for these people if their woollen cloth were thoroughly examined, as has been suggested there. And if a duty of one gold florin were imposed upon each piece of cloth of the right sort introduced from England into the Low Countries, that would be, in my opinion, as good a revenge for the iniquitous measure lately adopted in this country, and so frequently enforced, of making the Emperor's subjects pay double duties on the goods they buy in England, besides the price of the cloth they take from this country, which amounts to one ducat more than the English themselves and the Easterlings (Austrelins) pay, without counting other exactions and taxes, though these people pretend that they have a stipulation and treaty to that effect.**

With regard to the King's threat that unless the placard is revoked he will be obliged to adopt such remedy as he may deem convenient or opportune, I cannot imagine what else he can do against the Emperor's subjects, or how he can treat them worse than he has done up to the present time, unless he thinks of declaring war, which, in my opinion, is the thing in this world which he desires the least, for if he knew of any other country where his subjects could barter their merchandize, except the Emperor's dominions, he would willingly send them thither to sell their goods, even if his own revenue were diminished through it; he would find other marts where his people could take their goods, rather than suffer the retaliations to which the English merchants trading with the Emperor's dominions must and will be subjected. As a proof of this statement, about two months ago there was a deliberation in the Privy Council as to the expediency of sending two ships to the Northern seas for the purpose of discovering a passage between Islandt (Iceland) and Engronland (Greenland) for the Northern regions, where it was thought that, owing to the extreme cold, English woollen cloths would be very acceptable and sell for

* "Contre l'iniquite quilz usent de faire payer double impost si souvent aux subjetz de sa ma^te^ oultre ce quilz payent pour chacun drap quilz tirent dicy ung ducat daivantage plus que les Anglois et austrelins, sans diverses autres pilleries et rongeries, bien que ceulx cy pretendent avoir traicte sur le dit florin."

1541.

a good price. To this end the King has retained here for some time a pilot from Ciuille (Seville) well versed in affairs of the sea, though in the end the undertaking has been abandoned, all owing to the King not choosing to agree to the pilot's terms, so that for the present, at least, the city of Antwerp is sure of not losing the commerce of woollen cloth of English manufacture.

Some days ago a deputation of the weavers and merchants of woollen stuffs in England appeared before the Privy Council against the shearers, asking for the revocation of the statute forbidding the export of woollen cloth exceeding the price of three pounds sterling unless it were* accoustré *(dressed), and alleging that the shearers did their work so imperfectly that the people of the Low Countries would no longer buy English cloth; at any rate cloth* accoustré *(dressed) in this country fetched two ducats apiece less in the Low Countries than the undressed, owing to which merchants and dealers lost thereby two ducats on every piece, besides the two which they had to pay for the* apprest *(dressing) here. It appears that the majority of the privy councillors, taking into consideration the demands of the wool weavers and cloth merchants, are inclined to the revocation of the statute; but I doubt whether the King will consent to it for the sole and exclusive reason of not benefitting by it the people of those countries; and, therefore, English merchants and dealers would be glad that some proclamation should be made in Flanders and the Low Countries forbidding the importation of English woollen cloth, and see whether this king would not then accede to their request.*

As soon as the King, as I informed Your Majesty in one of my despatches, heard of this last conspiracy in the Northern counties, he announced his intention to go thither in person and visit the districts where the rising had taken place. Having lately had news that the affair might grow worse still unless he was personally on the spot, he has now decided to undertake the journey, and has already issued orders for stores of provisions, intending to repair to the Northern counties in pompous array (*pompeusement*), followed at least by 5,000 horse, to which end several lords and gentlemen have been summoned. His idea in thus marching with so considerable a train seems to be to gain reputation in provinces of his kingdom which he has never visited, and also that a good portion of the money spent will remain in the country, for it appears that the chief grievance

* "Il y a desia quelques jours que les faiseurs et marchands de drapz diçy estoient venuz devant le Conseil contre les tondeurs pour faire revocquer le statut que lon ne puist tirer de ce royaulme drapz passant trois livrez sterlins de pris quil ne soit accoutre, et alleguent les ditz marchands que les dits tondeurs les accoustroient si tres mal que ceulx de par de la ne les vouloient acheter, et que a tout le moings il ny avoit piece de drap accoustre de par de ça que ne se vendit de par de la deux ducats moings que si elle nestoit accoustrée, et venoient a perdre oultre les deux ducatz autres deux que leur coustoit les apprester içy."

1541.

of which the people of the North complain is, that there is no currency among them in consequence of the King having seized the rentals, not only of the abbeys and monasteries in those provinces, but likewise those of the principal lords in the land, like Nortamberlan (Northumberland) and various others, by which means all the money which formerly circulated in the Northern counties now comes here to this City of London.

*I hear from a good source that this queen being some days ago rather sad and thoughtful, and the King wishing to know the cause, she declared to him that it was all owing to some rumour or other afloat that he (the King) was about to take back Anne de Clèves as his wife. To which the King replied that she was wrong to believe such things [of him] or attach faith to reports of the kind; even if he had to marry again, he would never retake Mme. de Clèves, which is, in my opinion, most likely, considering the King's natural condition, which is never to feel affection for a person he has once loved and then abandoned, although it must be said that many here seem to think that for fear of king Francis making war upon him, at the solicitation and with the help of the duke of Clèves, as well as of the king of Scotland, this king might possibly some time or other effect his reconciliation with Anne.**

The post-master at Anvers (Antwerp) makes difficulties about paying the wonted two ducats for each packet of letters coming or going from this embassy. The couriers are daily importuning me with their complaints, and asking me to pay them their due, which is exceedingly inconvenient for me to do at this present moment, my funds being now exceedingly low. Even if I wished I could not do it, having no money for my own maintenance, merchants being tired of lending it me. That is why I beg Your Majesty to give orders that my arrears of seven months' pay, and something more in advance, be remitted to me as soon as possible.—London, 26 May 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original, partly in cipher. pp. .

29 May. **164.** Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 1317, f. 149. B. M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 3.

Has received the Emperor's letter of the 16th inst.

This Signory is still firm in her purpose not to assist any other power in a war against him (the Emperor). They are

* "Madame, il me este donne [a] entendre de bon lieu que, se trouvant ces jours [derniers] ceste royne ung peu pensive, [et] le dit roy voulut sçavoir dont cella procedoit, elle luy declaira estre pour quelque bruyt que courroit quil y avoit suspicion quil ne voulsist reprendre celle de Cleves, a quoy lui responda (?) icelluy seigneur [roy] quelle auoit tort de penser telles choses ny dy adjouster foy, et [que] quant il seroit bien a marier si navoit il garde de reprendre la dite de Clèves, ce quest a croire considerant sa nature de non retourner en affection de personne, quil aye habandonnee depuis lavoir une foys aimee, si estoit ce opinion de pluseurs que pour craincte que le roy de France ne luy esmeuve guerre avec layde et sollicitacion du duc de Clèves et aussi du roy descosse quil se reconcilleroit avec la dite de Clèves."

1541.

now reforming their administration, and have commenced by eliminating out of the Council of Pregay no less than one hundred and twenty of its members, who had got in merely by paying certain sums of money. These have been repaid, although the Signory is nowadays so poor that the money required could not be obtained except through a loan at 13 per cent.

The enclosed summary of news from the Levant will inform him [the Emperor] of the state of affairs in those parts.

The Pope, according to letters received from Rome, is seriously thinking of renewing with the Swiss the old treaty which Pope Julius made once with them, and is about to send to Switzerland an Italian captain who has lately been in the habit of recruiting men in that country. He (the Pope) had sent a message to these Venetians intimating that the Emperor was now so situated, and had such a work in hand, that he might easily, if he chose, become master of all Italy, and that it was prudent to be on the alert and try and prevent by all possible means such a contingency. He himself would do everything in his power to thwart the Emperor's ambitious designs provided they (the Venetians) helped him.

The viceroy of Naples (Marquis de Villafranca) having requested him (the Pope) to disarm, the latter has sent Capo di Ferro to France for the purpose of hastening, as much as possible, the marriage of his grand-daughter, and at the same time procuring a defensive league between himself, France, and Venice, which league any other prince or potentate who chooses may join.

Of the invasion of Hungary by the Turk there is no talk at present. It is believed that he will not pass beyond Andrinople, and, therefore, that his land forces will not be so considerable as was thought at first.—Venice, 29 May 1541.

Signed: "Don Diego de Mendoza."

Indorsed "Paragraphs of a letter from the ambassador at Venice to the Emperor."

Spanish. Original, partly in cipher. pp. 2.

1 June. **165.** KING FRANCIS to his AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, ff. 33–7.

I have perused the account of the conversation you have held with the duke of Noirfock (*sic*) respecting the affair of which I wrote to you, and although I have no doubt of your having followed strictly my instructions, and having also spoken to the Duke so cautiously as not to let him imagine that the overtures come from me, yet, as the English are naturally suspicious—more than any other nation in the world—the Duke's words, as reported by you, make me think that the King, from whom the Duke never conceals anything that passes between you two, may have conceived

1541.

some suspicion that the overtures in question come directly from me. If so, you must use all means in your power to dissuade them thereof, and should you be called upon by the Duke to repeat the overtures that you made to him, I beg and entreat that on no account is the Duke to tell the King that those overtures come from me, for that would be tantamount to making a fool of yourself, and turning the affectionate regard which you profess to have for that king, as well as your own desire of being useful to him, into such appearance of incapacity and want of power that would preclude your being employed and trusted by them in future. You must tell the Duke that the overtures you yourself have made to him are principally founded upon the kind and honest proposals which from time to time have been made to you, and that you are very desirous of doing something in your life that may be equally profitable for the king of England and for me, and likely to foster and increase our common friendship. That bearing a true and brotherly affection for him, and knowing besides what little trust can be placed on the Emperor—who thinks of nothing short of waxing greater and greater every day, and aspiring to that odious universal monarchy so detrimental to Christendom—you have been encouraged to make the said overtures. In saying so you will, of course, make use of the most gracious and flattering language possible, assuring the Duke that one of my greatest wishes in this world is to live in perfect harmony and everlasting friendship with the king of England, his master, who will always find in me his best friend and brother. Should the Duke wish to enter into more particulars, and ask you what means you would propose for the sake of rebinding and strengthening the said friendship, you might remind him, as if the idea originated entirely with you, of the proposal made at the last assembly of Calais, at which both he (the Duke) and the Admiral (Brion-Chabot) were present, and of which you must have heard something in that country. It was then and there said, in the course of conversation, that marriage was the surest means, as he (the Duke) knows, of cementing and fortifying alliances between princes, and accordingly an offer of one was then made. You will then tell him, by way of advice, and as coming from you, that as the king of England has a daughter, who is considered legitimate, and I myself have a son, the duke of Orleans, on whom I am ready to devolve my rights on Milan, and who is one of the best matches in all Christendom, a marriage might be arranged between the two. By means of that marriage many good things might be accomplished for the common advantage of both kingdoms, as by reason of that union the king of England might no longer insist upon the payment of the annual pension which France owes him, and of which they are continually reminding you there, and I could besides offer him in return many advantages, &c.

1541.

The King might consider these things, as well as the advice propounded by you, for I would not for anything in this world let the English think that the proposition came from me. It will be for you to let me know as soon as possible what answer they make to it.*

French. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

10 June. **166.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, ff. 23–9.

Your Majesty's letter of the 28th ult. came to hand, as well as the copy of this king's letters to Your Majesty, and the answer to them. I shall not fail, if the affair is mentioned, to follow Your Majesty's commands in every respect. This, I fancy, will take place soon, for there is a talk of my being summoned before the King two days hence, at which summons, however, I am exceedingly vexed, inasmuch as not having yet received the copy of Your Majesty's answer to this king, which, as stated in my dispatch of the 26th May,† had no doubt been left behind, I shall not be able to answer these people's arguments in conformity with Your Majesty's letter to the King. On my return from Court, I shall not fail to acquaint Your Majesty.

Since my last of the 26th May, the news of this place is that on the 27th following three of the chief promoters of the last conspiracy in the Northern counties—an abbot and two gentlemen—were hung and quartered.‡ About the same time, the very strange and lamentable execution of Mme. de Salisbury, the daughter of the duke of Clarence, and mother of Cardinal Pole, took place at the Tower in the presence of the Lord Mayor of London and about 150 persons more. At first, when the sentence of death was made known to her, she found the thing very strange, not knowing of what crime she was accused, nor how she had been sentenced; but at last, perceiving that there was no remedy, and that die she must, she went out of the dungeon where she was detained, and walked towards the midst of the space in front of the Tower, where there was no scaffold erected nor anything except a small block. Arrived there, after commending her soul to her Creator, she asked those present to pray for the King, the Queen, the Prince (Edward) and the Princess, to all of whom she wished to be particularly commended, and more especially to the latter, whose god-mother she had been. She sent her blessing

* If this be the letter alluded to in Chapuys' following despatch of the 18th of June, the passage or passages concerning Mary of Hungary must have been omitted or not transcribed by Chapuys, otherwise the sentence underlined in that despatch: "par ou vostre m^te verra le bon zesle (zele) quilz portent de ce couste la a sa m^te," has no meaning. If, however, instead of *vrē ma^te*, as in the copy before me, *sa m^te* is substituted, the observation may apply to the Emperor, who is there accused of aiming at universal monarchy.

† *See* above, No. 163, p. 325.

‡ The execution took place on the 17th of May. Neville and five priests were hung and quartered.

1541.

to her, and begged also for hers. After which words she was told to make haste and place her neck on the block, which she did. But as the ordinary executor of justice was absent doing his work in the North, a wretched and blundering youth (*garçonneau*) was chosen, who literally hacked her head and shoulders to pieces in the most pitiful manner. May God in His high grace pardon her soul, for certainly she was a most virtuous and honorable lady, and there was no need or haste to bring so ignominious a death upon her, considering that as she was then nearly ninety years old, she could not in the ordinary course of nature live long. When her death had been resolved upon, her nephew, the son of Mr. de Montagu,* who had occasionally permission to go about within the precincts of the Tower, was placed in close confinement, and it is supposed that he will soon follow his father and grandmother. May God help him!

I have, within a packet of letters from Venice, found the enclosed for Your Majesty.—London, 10 June 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 6.

18 June. **167.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, ff. 30—2.

Your Majesty has no doubt been informed that this King's ambassadors [at the Imperial Court] have lately been soliciting that a treaty of closer friendship and confederation with the Emperor be made within a period of six, eight, or ten months, at the will and pleasure of the latter, provided in the interval neither of the two parties should treat to the prejudice of the other, and that His Imperial Majesty had condescended and made such a promise to the English ambassadors, on condition that their master would also do the same before me. To that effect on Sunday last I repaired to this king's court, who with very good will and grace made the reciprocal declaration and promise in my presence; and, the better to manifest his ardent wish for the treaty in contemplation, requested me to go to his Privy Council, where (he said) the draft of his letter to the ambassadors would be shown to me in order that my own despatch and his should be in conformity, lest the dissonance between them should give rise to scruples, mar, and impede the projected closer alliance. For this purpose I again yesterday went to Court, where, as on the previous day, more caresses were made to me than I can possibly describe, the privy councillors telling me all manner of sweet things, thus showing their ardent desire that the treaty in question should be concluded, whilst the King held a conversation with me, the substance of which is as follows:—

The King said that he wondered much how His Imperial Majesty could have agreed to the marriage of the dowager duchess of Milan with the marquis de Pont†, inasmuch as the

* Sir Henry Pole.

† Pont à Mousson, that is Francois de Lorraine.

1541

Emperor could never expect any assistance from Lorraine against France, the cardinal of Lorraine and Mr. de Guise being both too partial to Francis, as was well known, and, therefore, most unfit for the redress of political affairs and the preservation of the friendship between the Emperor and king Francis. They (the Cardinal and Mr. de Guise) had lost reputation and authority by working the ruin of the High Constable of France [Anne de Montmorency], to whose fall they had chiefly contributed, together with cardinals Tournon and Ferrara, besides the admiral of France, and principally Mme. Destampes. "In addition to that (the King said), I hold that Anne de Clèves is the real and legitimate wife of the said marquis [de Pont], for I myself have never seen or heard of any deed or authentic document breaking through their mutual marriage engagement, that being the chief reason and cause of my separation from her. I am sorry not to have heard before that the Emperor was sanctioning such a marriage; otherwise I would not have failed to mention to you the above facts that you might have informed your master." *After this, the King told me in confidence that he doubted whether the duke of Lorraine (Antoine) had not beforehand made some agreement to make over to king Francis the rights which he himself pretended to have to a portion of the duchy of Ghelders.*

In two days time Dr. Carne, who was the colleague of Urisle (Wriothesly) at Brussels about two and a half years ago, and Master Vagan (Vaughan), once English ambassador at Your Majesty's court, will take their departure. They are sent by this king to Your Majesty for the purpose of adjusting the differences in trade matters caused by the disputed innovations on both sides, and the king has requested me to write in their favor, that they may be treated by Your Majesty with your usual benevolence, and according as reason, justice, old friendship, good neighbourhood, and especially the old commercial treaties between the two nations, demand. It is for Your Majesty to take in this affair the course which your great prudence and wisdom may dictate, only I beg Your Majesty to make the English ambassadors understand that besides my not being well acquainted with the mercantile affairs of the Low Countries, when touching or connected with those of England, I am considered to be rather partial to this king.

I enclose the copy of a letter (billet), which came inside another of king Francis to his ambassador here, by which Your Majesty will see what amount of affection these people profess to have for your person.* I beg and entreat that it may be kept secret, as otherwise I shall be unable in future

* "Par ou vostre ma^te verra le bon zesle quilz portent de ce couste la à vostre (sa?) maieste." *See* the preceding letter, No. 166.

1541.

to get more information from the same quarter respecting the present relations between this country and France.—London, 18 June 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original, partly in cipher. pp. 2.

2 July. **168.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, ff. 33–4.

Almost immediately after my return here this king, on Your Majesty's intercession, gave the people of Dunkerke permission to buy here a quantity of wood for their own use and also for the purpose of curing herrings (*soriger harens*). The permission was granted without difficulty, and with such good will that many a time since he has reminded me of it, telling me that he was surprised that the people of Dunkerke had not sent here a deputation to declare what quantity of wood they required. The deputation has arrived, and now, after keeping them thirteen days without an answer, they have been told that it is mere loss of time to solicit such things before Your Majesty has promised to release the harness, copper, and war ammunition, which this King had some time ago caused to be purchased at Anvers (Antwerp), and concerning which this Privy Council begged me to write as pressingly as I could to Your Majesty, signifying the pleasure and satisfaction this king would feel at hearing that Your Majesty had granted his request. Such is the state of the affair; Your Majesty, with your great wisdom, will decide what had better be done in the case.

For want of more agreeable intelligence, I am obliged to recount one piece of news which is by no means pleasant, namely, that lately, on St. Peter's Eve, towards nine o'clock in the morning, the Sieur Leonard, uncle of the marquis de Osceter (Exeter) and of the Chancellor's wife, was beheaded in front of the Tower. As far as I can learn, he was accused of having, during his government of Ireland, allowed the young count of Childare (Kildare), his nephew, to escape and cross over to France, and thence on to Liège. On the very same day, in the afternoon (*a laprès disné*), two gentlemen were hung, one of whom had a yearly income of upwards of 12,000 ducats, and was the handsomest and best bred man that could be seen here in England, only 25 years old, and married to a niece of the duke of Norfolk. He was sentenced to death and executed for having belonged to a set of eight rakish youths, one of whom had killed a poor old man in a sudden unpremeditated affray. For the same cause and occasion, on the said day of St. Peter's Eve, in the afternoon, Milord Dacres,* son of the duke of Norfolk's sister, and cousin of this queen, possessing a property of about 5,000 ducats a year, twenty-three years old, well-

* Lord Dacres of Shenstanceaux (?).

1541.

conditioned, and a man of letters, was hung from the most ignominious gibbet possible, and for greater shame dragged through the streets of this city to the place of execution, to the great pity and regret of many people, and even of his very judges, who whilst passing the sentence of death upon him could not help shedding tears, promising him that they would in a body ask for the king's pardon, as they actually did, though in vain. But the most strange thing, and one at which people were wonderfully taken aback, was that on the very same day on which Milord Dacres was hung, another young man, son of the treasurer of the Royal household,* who was one of the lot, and had also been present at the old man's death, was freely pardoned by the King, though he had already been tried for some like misdemeanour, whereas his friend and companion Dacres met, as I have related, with such a piteous death.

Whilst these lamentable executions were taking place here, the sword of Justice was not idle in the Northern counties, for only lately one Sir Johan Nivel (John Neville), and about sixty more, among whom there were at least twenty-five ecclesiastics, were executed, all of them for having taken part in the conspiracy of which I wrote to Your Majesty some time ago. May God in His infinite mercy have pity on their souls!

I have just been told that a Polish gentleman, followed by eight or ten servants, has arrived this very day. As soon as I learn who he is, and what he is coming for, I shall not fail to inform Your Majesty.—London, 2 July 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. pp. 4.

7 July. **169.** The Marquis del Gasto to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 638, f. 106.
B.M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 15.

The day before yesterday, which was the 5th, I informed Your Majesty by Pirro Colonna how Cesare Fragoso and Rincon had gone down the Po on their way to Venice, where both intended to negociate with the Signory, as I am told. Considering, therefore, that they must have reached their destination, since they were known to have sent forward by water their own horses and luggage, I limited myself then to send people to spy their movements. I then received a letter from Costanza, the wife of the said Cesare Fragoso, which a gentleman, accompanied by a servant of the latter,† brought me; in which letter she stated having heard that Cesare, her husband, was a prisoner in my hands, and that, although she herself was much grieved and concerned at it, and as a weak woman, that she was, might fear the worst, she had yet some

* At this time Kirkaldy of Grange had succeeded Fitzwilliam in the Treasury.

† Me sobrevino una carta de Costanza, muger del dicho Cesar, con un gentilhombre y un criado suyo. Whose servant, the gentleman's or Fragoso's? This latter interpretation seems more natural from what follows a few lines lower down

1541.

consolation in knowing that Cesare was in my power, and, therefore, could receive no harm through it. That she begged and entreated me to allow the gentleman, bearer of the letter, to see the prisoner and converse with him, in order that she might learn from him how Cesare fared, and whether he wanted anything. I confess that such a letter took me by surprise; I was bewildered, and did not know what to think of so strange a piece of news. Wishing, however, to know the truth of the matter, I interrogated Fragoso's servant, who said he had been present at the supposed capture, and then asked him whereabouts and in what particular spot the capture had taken place. His account was as follows: He said that about a week ago Cesare Fragoso, El Rincon, and all their servants and luggage, left Turin in the direction of a small castle on the Po, between Chivas and Verulengo, and that having arrived there, in order to deceive the spies who followed their track, they ordered their horses and heavy luggage to be put on board four barges to go down the Po, and that at the same time, along the shores and in the same direction, twelve horsemen half disguised (*medio encubiertos*)—to make people believe that they themselves were going by water in the barges or by land along the river—made their appearance. This being done, and both barges and horsemen having started on their journey, there only remained at the place Cesare Fragoso and Rincon, accompanied by a lieutenant of the former and one sergeant of Lodovico Birago, three more servants, and one "maitre d'hotel" (*maestre de camara*) of the said Birago. They concealed themselves, intending on the next day to go on board two smaller boats as soon as they heard of the four barges and horsemen having reached Piacenza in safety, thinking that no one after so many precautions would find them out. On the following Saturday the four principal parties above-named went into a small boat, their servants in another, among them the one who related the above to me. Five miles before Pavia, close to the port of the Tube, a boat manned by about fourteen men came across the river, and boarded that in which Fragoso and the others were, taking all of them prisoners. The servants in the other boat, perceiving what had happened, pulled with all their strength towards the bank, landed, and hid themselves among the bushes and brushwood of the vicinity. After this Fragoso's servant went straight to Costanza and related to her what had happened, and she wrote to me the letter I have alluded to.

Having heard the man's declaration, I sent for the captain of Justice, and in the very presence of Costanza's emissary and Fragoso's servant, ordered him to repair to the spot where the seizure (*exceso*) had taken place, and make the most diligent inquiries so as to ascertain the truth of the case. It being quite clear from the joint evidence of Cesare's wife and servant that if the latter had been captured, it was certainly not by my order or that of my subordinates, people

1541.

begin to suspect that Birago's maitre d'hotel may, from certain motives of his own, or out of enmity against one or other of the parties, have betrayed all of them, a suspicion which is daily gaining ground amongst the people. At any rate Your Imperial Majesty may be well sure of one thing, namely, that not one of your ministers in Italy has had a hand in this affair, knowing, as we do, Your Majesty's wishes and orders in this particular.

I have, however, deemed it opportune to send an express messenger to Mr. de Langes with a copy of the order I myself received* shortly before Fragoso and Rincon left Constantinople; but no sooner had my messenger left on his errand, than I received the enclosed communication from that ambassador bearing on the subject. It was brought by Captain Termes, and I have answered it as Your Majesty will see. That the Captain might see and be persuaded that on my own part no diligence has been spared to discover the perpetrators of the deed, and that the Captain of Justice [of this city] has actually left to make inquiries and ascertain the truth, I have shown him the proclamations lately posted up for the purpose of getting at the bottom of this mystery. The Captain owns that it is impossible that Fragoso and the others could have been tracked by any but the people under his command, who believed, as they themselves had reported, that Fragoso, Rincon and the rest had left Turin in the four barges that went down the Po. What Fragoso and the others did was so cleverly planned and concealed that those only who were present could know of it.

The affair being so important I have not omitted to inform Your Majesty's ministers in these parts of the whole, that they may be ready to state the truth when interpellated on the subject.—Milan, 7 July 1541.

Indorsed: "Copy of the marquis del Gasto's letter to the Emperor."

Spanish. Contempory copy. pp. 3.

9 July. **170.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E., L. 638, f. 106.
B. M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 19.

To-day, the 8th of July, count Francesco Landriano, whom I sent with an express message to Mr. de Langes, has returned, bringing the enclosed answer, besides which he has told him verbally what Cavalier Cicogna, bearer of this despatch, cannot fail to repeat, &c. A reply to his letter has already been drawn up and sent, as well as a memorandum for king

* A marginal note in Idiaquez' hand has the following:—The order was thus conceived: "No impediment whatever is to be offered to Fragoso's and Rincon's journey on their return from Constantinople to France."
It is, however, remarkable that neither the order alluded to, nor the Marquis' letter to Mr. de Langes (Langeais), nor any other of the documents said to have been enclosed, are at Simancas, as otherwise Bergenroth would, no doubt, have obtained transcripts of them.

1541.

Francis, relating minutely the whole affair. Copies of both are appended.*

This very moment the Captain of Justice has arrived in Milan. He says he has found indications that three Spanish soldiers belonging to the Pavia garrison had intervened in the affair. Orders for their arrest and imprisonment have been sent, that they may be examined, and, if found guilty, punished as they deserve.—Closed on the 9th of July.

Spanish. Contempory copy. p. 1.

12 July. **171.** Don Diego de Mendoza to the Same.

S. E., L. 1317, f. 8. B. M. *Add.* 28,393, f. 19.

No news from the Levant since the date of my last.

Having heard from the marquis del Gasto the mishap or loss (*perdida*) of Rincon and Cesare Fragoso, I exhibited before this Signory the letters I had from Your Majesty commanding me not to interfere in any way with Rincon, who as long as the present truce lasted should not have been hurt or offended. I also showed them two more letters from the Marquis to me, saying that he had made no opposition whatever to him, but had allowed him to pass undisturbed through the duchy of Milan. Hearing this the senators, with whom I conversed, looked at each other, conversed apart for a few minutes, and then one of them came forward and said: "Had Rincon been taken by the Emperor's order no truce would have been broken on his account, for he is an arch-traitor and a bandit," after which the speaker and the rest thanked me for the information.

I have since tried to ascertain privately how the Signory have taken the whole thing, and I find that they are glad at the disaster having taken place outside the Republic's territory, inasmuch as it might have affected their peace with the Turk; otherwise they are not at all concerned, saying that if Fragoso and Rincon have been arrested by Your Majesty's order, there were no doubt weighty reasons for that act.

As to the alliance proposed to them by king Francis, they have assured me that even if Venice were to be ruined and destroyed through their not making it, they would remain as they now are Your Majesty's friends; and as to the defensive league against the Turk now offered, they will join it very willingly, provided Your Majesty and other princes do so.

The news of Fragoso and Rincon's misadventure reached the French ambassador here, who was so much taken aback by it that he fainted and fell behind a chest (*arca*) in his sitting-room, and came to his senses with great difficulty.† *On the 8th inst. he received a letter from Mr. de Langes, in which*

* Not in the packet.

† "Y le tomó tal sobresalto que cayo desmayado detras de un arca, y tornó [en si] llorando con mucha dificultad."

1541.

he advised that in a very short time mighty things would be seen in connection with Rincon's case. That this Signory was also bound to ask for a reparation of so gross an insult as that offered to the two ambassadors of France. To which message, officially communicated by the French ambassador, the Signory replied, as I am informed, *that they did not believe the arrest to have been made by Your Majesty's commands, and that even if it were so they cared not, as the affair did not touch them in the least.*

The day before yesterday a vessel from Alexandria entered this port. Her owner, a Spaniard, reports that all that coast is badly provided with artillery and men. That a considerable Portuguese force had appeared in sight of Suez with the intention of setting fire to the Turkish fleet there stranded. Bad weather, however, prevented them from doing this, and thereupon the Portuguese went to a neighbouring island which they took and sacked. When, three days after, the news reached Cairo, the bashaw of the place rode out with all the janissaries and other soldiers he had at hand, and arriving on the spot before the Portuguese could attack the Turkish fleet, nothing more could be done. However, at Alessandria, as the Spaniard related to me, there was all the time great panic. He himself saw many men's heads paraded through the streets, which the Bashaw had sent to Cairo to make the inhabitants believe that he had defeated the Portuguese, and that those heads were theirs. After that the Portuguese sailed in the direction of Mecca, but the chief (Xeque) of the place, having received intelligence of the intended invasion, managed to collect together 12,000 horse for the defence of the city, and naturally nothing more could be done in that quarter. The bashaw of Egypt in the meanwhile had issued an order for thirty galleys to be built [at Suez], but he had neither sailors to man them nor officers to command the crews. On the coast he had 60 more, but so old and rotten that they could never stand the sea.

Pietro Strozzi and the Prior of Capua left for France on Saturday, the 9th inst. Their mission, as far as I can learn is in the first place to ascertain whether, in case of war being declared in consequence of late events and the capture of Fragoso and Rincon, they will be encouraged and helped by king Francis in an attempt upon Florence. This they intend negociating at La Mirandola, for I hear that some time before their departure from this place, one of the two (Strozzi) visited the Count in his stronghold. Secondly, to ask for the command of some French galleys, he (the Prior) pretending to be a good sailor, and that he himself can and will arm some at his own expense. This latter individual has another object in view, namely, to ask for the post which Rincon once held in Turkey, not for himself, but for Lorenço de Medici, who now resides in France, and may probably consider Turkey a safe place for him to live in.

1541.

Count Galeotto has just received from the French ambassador 6000 (*scuti*) crs., for the purpose of disbanding his company of men-at-arms and raising 250 light horse, and perhaps, too, some infantry.

I have also heard that the Pope had advised king Francis not to send Rincon to Constantinople until his own Nuncio, the Datary, had reached France. I cannot however vouch for the truth of this report, because the person to whom I owe my information is by no means a friend of the Pope.

On the receipt of this news the French ambassador dispatched a courier to Constantinople by way of Ragusa, and on the 9th inst. he sent another one.—Venice, 12 July 1541.

Signed: "Don Diego de Mendoça."

Indorsed: "Copy of D. Diego's letters of the 26th and 30th of June and 12th July."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

n. d. **172.** IDIAQUEZ' REPORT.

S.E., Con. de Cast. L. 52, f. 359. B. M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 22.

This is the reply which, in my opinion, should be sent to the marquis del Gasto's verbal message through Pirro Colonna: That considering past engagements and the present state of affairs, Your Majesty is in nowise inclined to a rupture, especially at this juncture, for causes and reasons that he (the Marquis) may guess at, and which will hereafter be more fully explained. That Your Majesty cannot possibly approve what has been done, but at the same time Your Majesty cannot fail to acknowledge that the whole plan was cleverly conceived and well executed, and may perhaps prove a remedy for worse evils. That your Majesty cannot but praise the dexterity used, and acknowledge that for the sake of reaping the fruit of so meritorious a deed, it is necessary that the whole matter be kept a profound secret as far as Your Majesty and the Marquis are concerned; and that not only is absolute secrecy required respecting the deed, it must be equally observed with regard to the person who furnished the information. All possible care should be taken of this, as well as of the papers found on the persons of the prisoners. Let the Marquis inform Your Majesty of the contents of those papers, and of whatever else may have been said or written about Rincon's embassy, and let the Marquis consider whether it would be advisable to ask from the parties concerned a new oath (*pleito omenage*) to keep the secret.*

Spanish. Original in Idiaquez's hand.

* On the margin, and opposite this last paragraph, I find, in the Emperor's own hand, the following words: *Esto no:* this by no means.

1541.

16 July. **173.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, ff. 15–18.

This very morning I received the two letters from Your Imperial Majesty of the 11th inst., which were promptly forwarded to me by the officials of this court.* It was a very good idea of Your Majesty sending me separately a deciphering of the one containing Your Majesty's recommendations upon certain points of my charge. Indeed, in my opinion, the deciphering will do as well, nay, better than any private letters in cipher, for it will enable me to show them to the parties concerned without any of the dangers which Your Majesty has so prudently calculated; it will also be more beneficial for the progress and good issue of the present negociation. *The same may be said with regard to the recommendations touching the Queen.*

As to the remainder, I will do my best to keep up the negociation for a closer alliance and friendship in the same state in which it is now, making such use of my instructions as I may deem most fit and convenient for Your Majesty's purposes, without amplifying or retrenching anything whatsoever, unless I receive Your Majesty's express commands. I will, moreover, use all diligence and spare no trouble in obtaining, if possible, from the French ambassador's man a copy of the cipher the former uses, as well as some original letters addressed to him, that may enlighten Your Majesty as to the doings of the French. In fact, I can assure you that no money shall be spared in bribing the said man, for were I to be ruined by the transaction, and have to sell myself,† he shall have as great a reward as he may ask for his services. The man, himself, has lately sent me a message to say that the last despatch which the ambassador (his chief) has received from the King (his master) is unimportant, and has been chiefly made out, as he thinks, for the purpose of acknowledging the receipt of his letters. True is it that one of king Francis' councillors has written to the ambassador a letter saying that whatever people may think of the deliberations of the German Diet, they cannot but be useful in the end, and highly advantageous for the King (their master), for if the result be favorable to Germany and to Your Majesty, the Pope is sure to go over to France, whereas if the Diet takes no resolution at all, and the affairs remain in statu quo, *then the king of France will have closer understanding and connexion with, and more favor and assistence from, Germany than he ever had.*‡

* "Les quellos mont este envoyeez en grande diligence de ceste court."

† "Et ne restera pour argent oires que je fusse completement ruine et me deusse vendre moi mesmes."

‡ "Que la dicte germanicque ne pouvoit estre sinon tres utille et tres aduantagieuse pour le dit roy leur maistre car concluant icelle vostre maieste en faveur de la dite Germanie, le Pape seroit toutalement françois, et laissant les affaires dicelle dicte irresoluz, le dit roy, leur maistre, auroit trop plus dintelligence, faveur et assistence en la dite Germanie que oncques."

1541.

The ambassador has also had letters from France, in which they tell him that the king of the Romans has lately lost at the storming of Buda nearly 4,000 *men, and no longer has the means of taking that town, especially now that there is a Turkish army advancing to its relief. These very news the French ambassador imparted, some days ago, with a most pitiful countenance, to one of my men whom I had sent on the excuse of visiting him in my name and inquiring how he was (for he had the day before yesterday fallen from his horse and hurt himself), but in reality to try and get something out of him.*

I have been told by the ambassador's man, the same one who as already stated has been for some time back my confidential informer, that when his chief, on the receipt of the above-mentioned despatch, called on the Chancellor at his lodgings, he went thither for the sole purpose of communicating to him the above intelligence, and talking to him about some other mysterious affair, of which, however, I know nothing at present, but hope to be able to unravel in future. I say "mysterious," because for the last fortnight this King has dispatched several couriers to his ambassador in France, ordering them to make as much haste as possible. As soon as I can get reliable information on this point I shall not fail in transmitting it to Your Majesty forthwith.

Nothing important has happened here since my last [of the 2nd]. Some days ago the King ordered the Estates of that portion of Ireland which is now under his rule to be convoked, for the purpose of communicating to them, among other things, that he wishes and intends to set up under the name of "Kingdom of Ireland" that part of the country where his lordship and rule are at present obeyed, and consequently to call and entitle himself king of Ireland; in expectation of which new title all business has been for some days suspended in Chancery, as well as in the Exchequer Court, in order that all of a sudden, and conjointly as it were, the King's name may appear decorated with his new title of "king of England and Ireland" in all letters patent, provisions, &c., emanating from those two offices, and that by that means the news may be spread and circulated in every quarter.*

The King has likewise sent to Italy for three shipwrights experienced in the art of constructing galleys; but I fancy that he will not make much use of their science, as for some

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* "Ce roy puis quelques jours a fait assembler en Hirlande les estatz du pays que luy est la obeissant pour entre aultres choses communicquer, comme il veult et entend eriger en royaulme la seigneurie et dominion (*sic*) quil a au dit Hirlande, et consequemment sen dire, appeller, et intuler (intituler) roy, et pour attendre la publication du dit nouveau tiltre lon a icy desia (despuis ?) quelques jours faict suspendre les despesches de la Chancellerie et de leschecquier, affin que tout a ung coup sortent plusieurs lettres et provisions aourneez (adornées ?) et enrichiez du dit nouveau tiltre, et que par ce moyen la dite publication sextende bientost en divers lieux."

1541.

time back he has been building ships with oars, according to a model of which he himself is the inventor.*—London, 16 July 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "Copy of the letter of the ambassador in England to the Emperor."

French. Holograph, partly in cipher. pp. 2½.

16 July. **174.** The SAME to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, f. 35.

Your Majesty's letter of the 9th January, with the account of what passed between Your Majesty's deputies and this king's commissioners respecting the edict of Navigation, has come to hand. I can only say, after acknowledging its receipt, that should this king or the members of his Privy Council say anything to me about it, I will answer them according to instructions, and that in the meantime I will do my best to induce them to make a fresh treaty of commerce.

I will put an end to this letter by humbly thanking Your Majesty for the favor and distinction conferred upon me by commanding the deputies to follow the advice I once gave respecting the manner of conducting the negociation.

I am exceedingly poor, and cannot help importuning Your Majesty to give orders that the arrears of my pay be forwarded to me as soon as possible.—London, 16 July 1541.

Signed: Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

25 July. **175.** The SAME to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, ff. 19–20.

By my preceding letter of the xvith inst. I informed your Imperial Majesty of the receipt of your letters of the last day of June, addressed to this king and to me. The day after, as I was preparing to go and meet the King, who is hunting here and there at a distance of 60 or 80 miles from this capital,† I felt so unwell and so unable to undertake the journey, that I was literally obliged to put it off, to my very great regret, especially as I wished on this occasion, more than on any other, to give a proof, or indication at least, of my own constant will and desire to obey Your Imperial Majesty's commands and do faithful service. For although for the good issue of the charge which Your Imperial Majesty was pleased to intrust to me, there was no necessity for such manifestations, nor for my visiting the King so far away from this city, I was

* "Aussi a ce dit roy faict venir ditalie trois-maistres experts pour fere galleres, et crois quil ne les mectra en œuvre mesmes puisque il a commence a fere faire navieres avec environs (*sic*, avirons?) dont luy seul a este larchitecte et deviseur."

† In Lincolnshire ?.

1541.

nevertheless sorry, as I say, not to be able to comply with Your Imperial Majesty's strict commands, especially in a matter on which so many representations, remonstrances, and persuasions have been addressed by me to the Privy Council, especially some days ago, when a letter received from Mr. de Rogenndorf, at Peste (Pesth), informed me of the miserable state of affairs in Hungary. That letter I did show to Mr. de Norfolcq (Norfolk), and to other privy councillors, who offered to send forthwith a copy of it for the King's inspection, who, assuming, as he does, great understanding and knowledge of and experience in political affairs, does not take in good part any advice or representations tendered by other people, even in matters of gratitude or liberality, of which he likes to claim all the grace and renown.*

All these things considered, and unable as I was to go to the King on account of my sudden indisposition, I decided—the affair being too pressing and important to be delayed—to send one of my own men to the Privy Council in general, and to some of its members in particular, containing the substance of what I might have said to them if present, besides that which my secretary, sufficiently instructed by me, might say verbally if questioned on Hungarian affairs.

The councillors have since answered, as your Imperial Majesty will see by the enclosed. I shall not fail to use the utmost diligence in ascertaining what resolution they are likely to come to on the affair, and inform your Imperial Majesty of the whole. May God be pleased that the end be as favorable as I wish!—London, 25 July 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor.†

French. Original. pp. 1½.

9 Aug. **176.** KING FRANCIS to his AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.* C. 231, ff. 21–48.

Monsr. de Marillac, your despatch of the xxix *of* [*July* ?]‡ *has been received. All the arguments brought forward and the means employed by the Emperor's ministers everywhere to persuade the English that he (Charles) and I are on the eve of coming*

* "Joinct que icelluy seigneur pour presumer de grand sens doctrine et experience la plus part du temps ne prend en grey ny en bonne part que luy soient faictes remonstrances ny persuasions, mesmes en chose de gratitude et liberalite; dont il veult avoir tout seul la grace et renom."

† The indorsement bears: "Copie des lettres de l'ambassadeur Chapuys au roy du Romains"; but this must be a mistake of the clerk who indorsed the letter, for it is decidedly one from Chapuys to the Emperor. Most likely a copy of that ambassador's letter to the king of the Romans (Ferdinand) was also in the packet, or, what is more likely, a copy of Chapuys' letter to the Emperor was sent to the former, since the contents refer almost exclusively to Hungary, at that time invaded by the Turks.

‡ "Du xxix. de lautre mois" says the original; but as the letter itself is undated, it is not easy to fix the month.

1541.

to terms, and making together some new treaty and alliance; their statements concerning the duke of Clèves, my nephew, and other reports of the same kind, have lately been found—as they really are—false, lying and deceitful* (mensongieres). *This can easily be proved by the letters I once wrote to you announcing the capture of Messieurs Cesare Fragoso and Rincon. True is it that I cannot and will not deny that I have been often requested and solicited by the queen of Hungary and others to hold another interview with the Emperor; but knowing for certain that the object was merely to favor and push on the Emperor's affairs, and on the other hand engender suspicion and fear in the hearts of my friends, I would never consent thereto. Had I accepted the proposed interview, it would never have been without letting my good brother the king of England know of it first, and asking his opinion and advice in the matter, since I am quite satisfied with having seen the Emperor once.†*

Meanwhile you ought to know that the Emperor has gone to Italy with six or seven thousand lanskennets, *and that I myself having previously sent to Piedmont my marshall of France, Mr. de Hannebault, I have caused a good body of men-at-arms* (gendarmerie) *and infantry to follow him. I am besides keeping in readiness* 10,000 *Swiss, in case they should be wanted to defend the towns and fortresses at present under my dominion, my intention being to have such places as I possess in Piedmont fully provided with men, stores, and ammunition to protect the open country and my subjects against the attacks, robberies, and oppressions of the enemy.*

I will, nevertheless, inform you that I am in receipt of letters from Ratisbonne (Regensburg) of the 23rd July, in which they advise me that the Emperor was to leave on the 26th to pass over to Italy at the head of the said lanskennets, *and that he was to start on that expedition without the help and assistance which he had in vain solicited from the Diet against my nephew, the duke of Clèves. Also that Monsr. de Savoie (Carlo III.) had at one of the sittings of the said Diet made some proposition or other against me, which proposition had been opposed and met by my advocate Remon, who by way of remonstrance had made so clear an* exposé *of my rights on Piedmont that the princes and delegates attending the Diet were persuaded of that, and seemed desirous and disposed to favor my claims. I tell you this much that you may communicate with the King my good brother and the members of his Privy Council accordingly.*

A duplicate of this letter will soon be forwarded to you.—Triant, &c., 9 of August, at the Park les Moulins.

* By this time Jeanne, the daughter of Henri II. d'Albret, and Marguerite de Valois, or de Navarre, as she is more generally designated, had been married to Antoine de Bourbon, duke of Vendôme.

† Tant y a que je me contente assez davoir veu lempereur une fois.

1541.

10 Aug. **177.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc* C. 232, ff. 37–40.

Madame, immediately after the receipt of Your Majesty's letter of the 17th ult. concerning the Duynekerken (Dunkirke) affair, I despatched one of my men to accompany the deputations from that town to Greenwich, that they might plead their case before the Privy Council. They, however, got no other redress or answer to their complaints than the one contained in the enclosed memorandum of the councillors, who, in justification of this king's answer, and exaggerating the great injury and loss sustained by his subjects, made a long speech to my man in the very presence of the said deputation, as they again did next day to me here, in London, alleging, among other things, that it was very strange behaviour on our part, and against the good friendship and neighbourhood between England and the Low Countries, to allow the subjects of the kings of Portugal, France, and Scotland to export as much copper as they chose to have, whilst the English were refused the small quantity they required. Not one of those kings (said the councillors) would have tolerated such injury as that inflicted upon the English by forbidding their merchants to buy any quantity of copper they pleased. The King, their master, therefore, had good reason to complain of the said prohibition, in contravention to his treaties with the Emperor, and that it was worth considering that there were now about the world various persons, wide awake and watchful, lying in wait for the least sign of coldness in the mutual relations of the Emperor and their master the King, with a view to kindle the fire of discord between them, who, perceiving, on the contrary, that those amicable relations were decidedly improving, would infallibly set about with redoubled ardour to prosecute their wicked work. Indeed, were not the King, their master, moved by considerations of another kind, as well as by the hope that the injury and loss sustained by the English merchants will be shortly repaired, he would immediately have forbidden the export of various commodities from his own kingdom. That the affair had, moreover, raised the suspicions of this king, who began to suspect that all the assurances which I (Chapuys) had given him of the Emperor's friendship and affection towards him would end in smoke, especially as Mr. de Granvelle was known to have said many a time to his ambassadors, both before and since the stoppage of the ammunition for which the King had asked, that the Emperor would expressly write to Your Majesty to gratify the King and his subjects as much as possible; instead of which (added the councillors) the King is worse treated than the lowest merchant in the world. Should the Low Countries be really in want of copper, and that metal not to be procured elsewhere, there might be some apparent excuse for not letting the English merchants have the quantity they require; but that is not really the case.

1541.

If the king wishes for copper he can procure as much as he wants from Hamburgh, Lubeck, and various other towns, without being under obligation to us, merely by paying his money down. And, indeed, had the King been aware of the difficulty, and of the impediments that have been thrown there in the way of his merchants, he would certainly have applied elsewhere for it.

Upon which, after answering the privy councillors' allegation, *i.e.*, that in virtue of the treaties of England with the Low Countries, they (the English) were entitled to purchase thereat any merchandize they pleased—and this I did in pursuance of the instructions lately received from Your Majesty—I began to address to them various representations, which it would be too long and tedious for me to reproduce here in full. Among other things I told them, one was to declare that Your Majesty was still animated with the same sentiments towards their king, and as well inclined as ever, not only to the preservation of the friendship between the Emperor and himself, but likewise to increase that same friendship, and render it perpetual and indissoluble. That such inclination and desire on Your Majesty's part had moved you to solicit and procure a new treaty of commerce between England and the Low Countries as the thing most needed and requisite for the accomplishment of your wishes, as well as for the welfare and comfort of the inhabitants of both countries, and that I was sure, nay, certain, that were it not for certain considerations standing in your way, Your Majesty would have immediately granted to the English free trade in copper as long as they wished—nay, would make the King a present of more than the quantity asked for; but they (the English) ought to consider and bear in mind that your Majesty is not absolute sovereign of Flanders and the Low Countries; that even if you were such sovereign, you know very well that the inhabitants of those countries, though ready to serve their princes and contribute with money whenever they are required, wish, on the other hand, to be maintained in their liberties and privileges and guarded by their princes against oppression and injury. It might also be that, accustomed as they are to speak out freely enough whenever they have cause for discontent or grievance, the people of the Low Countries would represent to Your Majesty that for some time back not only had you favored the English in all things much more than before, but you had lately allowed them to take out of that country prohibited goods, such as ordnance and ammunition, of which an immense quantity had, within my knowledge, reached England of late years; and that owing to that facility, viz., of purchasing abroad anything they might want—they (the English) had been encouraged to frame many laws and statutes to the detriment of the inhabitants of the Low Countries and other subjects of the Emperor. That during the government of

1541.

Mdme. Marguerite,* the English were by no means so well treated there as they are now, nor were the Emperor's subjects as oppressed in England; thereby implying that it was in some measure Your Majesty's fault for having persuaded the Emperor's Council to delay the execution of the edicts until the pretended grievances of the people of the Low Countries should be looked into and verified.†

After this, Madame, I again insisted on the need there was of a fresh commercial treaty between the two nations. The councillors' answer was that I ought to know already this King's nature, who dislikes exceedingly to be rudely led or forced into anything against his will, and that after Your Majesty has gratified him by the release of the copper and ammunition which he has caused to be bought in the Low Countries, the remainder will be settled to Your Majesty's satisfaction. They then begged and entreated me to write home for the release of the goods, *which release, under Your Majesty's benevolent correction, and that of your privy councillors, I am of opinion ought to be granted at once, considering that the quantity of copper seized is by no means large, that if this king chooses he may procure elsewhere all he may wish for, and, above all, that the Low Countries are not at present in need of that metal. Besides the above considerations, and others which cannot have escaped Your Majesty's attention in the present condition of public affairs, and in the state of our relations with England, it seems to me as if the release of the copper would be, under present circumstances, a political convenience; for, although the measures taken by Your Majesty have been admirably suited for the purpose of making these English feel that they are not so formidable as they themselves think, and that we are not afraid of them, yet that very fact will render the present concession more agreeable, and make them less sensible to the effects of the Navigation edict promulgated in that country, of which, though I know that they feel it immensely, they have not yet said a word of complaint to me.* I am sure that Your Majesty will provide in this matter as most convenient for the Emperor's subjects. I will refrain from further observations on this topic, all the time begging Your Majesty to pardon me if I have in any way outstripped the limits of my charge.

Though the chief topic of the letter I addressed to these privy councillors turned on the answer which the King, their master, ought to make to the king of the Romans (Ferdinand) on his application for help against the Turk, and that my own

* Margaret of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian and aunt of Charles. She governed the Low Countries from 1506 to her death in 1530.

† Les Anglois nestoient a beaucoupt prez si bien traictez de par dela et les subjectz de sa Ma^te^ [lempereur] nestoient aussi oppresses de par de ça et vouldroient par ce donner aulcune culpe a vostre ma^te^ la quelle a ceste occasion aura peutestre [este] persuade du Conseil de sa ma^te^ de differer la dite traicte (?) jusques aye este advise sur les pretenduez querelles de ceulx de par de la."

1541.

secretary has since pressed them hard on the point, yet, as Your Majesty will see, not a word was said about it in the letter they wrote to me, of which a copy is enclosed. Neither did they allude to it in the least when my secretary called. The only thing they told him was that the King had duly received the letter of the king of the Romans, and had written to his ambassador [at Vienna] to signify his intention.

A few days ago the French resident ambassador, on the receipt of letters from his master, went in haste to see the King. As soon as I hear what his business at Court was, as I hope to do soon, I shall not fail to inform your Majesty.

I forgot to say that neither to me nor to my secretary was anything said respecting the motives this king's deputies may have had for not attending the dinner given on the occasion of the marriage of the duchess of Bar; but my impression is that it was for the purpose of showing that they do not consider her marriage to be lawful, pretending that the marquis de Pont† could not legitimately marry any other lady than Dame Anne de Clèves, as the Marquis himself said to me. Since then I have not spoken to him.*—London, 10 August 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original, partly in cipher. pp. 5.

12 Aug. **178.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, ff. 41–4.

The day before yesterday (10th inst.) I wrote to Your Majesty at full length, and yesterday, the 11th, your letters of the 5th came to hand. I regret exceedingly that owing to a slight indisposition of mine, as well as of my own men (ten of whom are still lying in bed struck by fever), I was unable to repair immediately to Court in obedience to Your Majesty's commands. In order to make up for the said fault—which I humbly beg Your Majesty to forgive—and knowing also that this king had remitted to his Privy Council the cognizance of the affair alluded to in my last despatches, to be there examined and discussed, I did much prefer to communicate first with the privy councillors, ascertain their opinion on the matter, and persuade them to report favorably on the whole affair. However, as most of the privy councillors were then out of town (*aux champs*), whatever diligence the Chancellor (Audeley) used, they did not meet until this morning in the Chancellor's rooms, where I myself was present. After explaining to them what had passed between Your Majesty and this King's deputies and ambassadors, in conformity with the tenour of Your Majesty's letter of

* The duchess of Bar (Bari) is apparently meant for Christina, the dowager duchess of Milan, who after her husband's death took the title of duchess of Bari, the same lady whose hand Henry VIII. solicited.

† The marquis de Pont-a-Mousson. *See* above, p. 332 *note*.

1541.

the 5th, the councillors said that, in the first place, they were much surprised to hear that the English ambassadors could ever have said or thought such things respecting the Emperor and Your Majesty, as they are reported to have uttered in Your Majesty's presence. If they had, the words and remarks must have escaped them inadvertently, as happens often with ambassadors and others who have long discourses to deliver. As to them (the councillors), they would not dispute as to whether Mr. de Granvelle, in talking about the treaties between the Emperor and their master, did allude or not to the old alliance between the Empire and England. It might after all be, as I had said to them, that what the English ambassadors had alluded to was the confirmation of the treaty of Cambray, and that the Emperor's answer had been, as I myself had been informed by letters from home, that there was no need of making new treaties, inasmuch as the Emperor wished to observe that one entirely, in all its clauses. Having, moreover, told them, for greater evidence of the fact, how unlikely it was that the said Mr. de Granvelle in speaking about treaties should have alluded to the commercial ones, I explained to them that the Emperor could no longer be obliged to observe those particular ones, as had been formally declared more than once. Nor was it to be expected that a treaty so injurious to the Emperor's subjects in general, and to the natives of the Low Countries in particular—and of which, notwithstanding the leagues, confederacies, friendships, and alliances since established between the two countries, it had been impossible to obtain the absolute confirmation—should be revalidated and corroborated by the mere words of Mr. de Granvelle. For had such been the Emperor's intention, instead of writing to me, on the same day that the English ambassadors spoke to Mr. de Granvelle, that he (the Emperor) would see with pleasure at his court an ambassador from this king to discuss with his ministers the political affairs of both countries, he would have written that there was no necessity to throw doubt on the validity of the treaty, which he wished to be observed in all its parts. Hearing this answer of mine, the privy councillors made no reply, and contented themselves with saying that they would report faithfully to their master, and let me know the result.

On the validity of their statute and refutation of the edict placarded in the Low Countries, which was their second point, the privy councillors insisted a little more sternly than on the first; but after repeating to them the substance of the answer made to their commissioners [in Brussels], and adding some observations of my own, they seemed almost convinced and kept silence. Among other arguments of mine I told them that were Spain to revive and enforce the old laws and ordinances (*pragmatiques*) forbidding foreign ships to lade any sort of merchandize, as long as there was a Spanish ship in port, the

1541.

English would very soon find, before two years were over indeed, that they were unable to keep one-fourth of the ships they now have on the water, and that their maritime trade was completely ruined. They ought (I said) to consider that the privilege, which they alleged had been granted to foreigners for seven years, not to pay "*tonlieu*" in the ports of Flanders and of the Low Countries, had been given simply and purely without the restriction of lading on English ships, and that the ordinance was promulgated one year and a half after the said foreigners had enjoyed freely the said privilege—if the intermittence of an undue and unjust tax could ever be called a privilege—as may be proved by many documents and the registers of the *tonlieu*.

To the above observations of mine the privy councillors presented no objection whatever, save saying that they did not choose to dispute the case any longer, but would report to the King, and let me know. They wished, however, to know from me if the King could not, if he chose, abolish a privilege so highly detrimental to him and to his kingdom. My answer was that supposing it not to be a privilege, as in reality it was not, the King could not justly or reasonably do away with it; neither, if it was really a privilege, could he revoke it on account of the injury and loss to be sustained by those who had materially enjoyed it, for, as lawyers say, not only are princes bound by their word, God Himself is obliged to keep it. If they looked well into the thing, they would find that the permission granted [to foreign vessels] was very advantageous for England, which country exported a good deal more goods than before, as well as most beneficial for the King, the tonnage duty having since the immunity increased twofold.

Respecting the treaty of commerce, the privy councillors declined to entertain it, alleging that they were not sufficiently instructed as to the details of the affair and its precedents, but they did not forget to request me again and again to write home, and procure the release of the ships and goods as aforesaid.

They likewise begged me to declare to them if, besides the general offers made by me, I had any particular thing to mention likely to promote the negociations for a new commercial treaty, as desired by Your Majesty. I told them that I had none, neither had I heard from Your Majesty to that effect.

At last, after some more talk, I took leave, and begged them to be so kind, in case of my being prevented from returning by the illness from which I am still suffering, or otherwise, to excuse my absence altogether, and do their best, as good and loyal councillors of the King, towards persuading him to consent to a new treaty of commerce between the Emperor's subjects and the English, and that, for the considerations

1541.

above expressed, and others, which I then submitted to them, they should have their objections, if they had any to offer, put down in writing. Nothing (said I) was so certain as Your Majesty's sentiments in the affair; it was your very singular and great zeal for the preservation and increase of the friendship and good understanding between the Emperor and the King that moved and stirred you on. That Your Majesty had long considered and reflected that very often the indignation and anger of princes does not proceed so much from injury or damage to their interests as from small annoyances (*petistes fascheries*), and that there is no better means to keep up old and true friendship than to know exactly what are our common duties towards each other, and that if in making the commercial treaty each party bore in mind and attended to that axiom, the negociation could not but be successful and afford mutual satisfaction. By that means all scruples and causes for quarrel, which very often rise between neighbours, would be removed. My opinion was that Your Majesty must be now in great perplexity, for, on the one hand, you would like to gratify with all your power this king, as well as his subjects, the English, who consider themselves aggrieved (*grefvez*) for want of observance of the commercial treaties; and, on the other hand, the Emperor's privy councillors at Your Majesty's court, as well as the lawyers and scholars (*gens de lectres*) versed in such affairs, say and affirm that the Emperor is not bound to observe the said treaties, such being also the belief of all the inhabitants of the Low Countries; and that as Your Majesty is not so used to, or well informed in, such economical matters as the Emperor's councillors must necessarily be, you might probably in the end be obliged to conform to their advice and prescriptions. Should, however, a declaration be made in the new treaty regarding these affairs, Your Majesty will take care that none of its clauses be infringed or altered by any one.

These words of mine the King's privy councillors took in very good part, and after withdrawing into another room and deliberating together, came to me and said that they saw clearly that I maintained my good intentions for the preservation of friendship between Your Majesty and the King, their master, for which intentions they and the King thanked me; they themselves would do such good offices with the King that Your Majesty, and I also, would have occasion to be satisfied, adding many other courteous and polite expressions to that effect. After we got up from our seats, the Chancellor, taking me apart, said to me confidentially: "One thing I should like to ask you: should there be any question of a new commercial treaty to be made, where do you think the negociation had better be carried on—here in England or in the Low Countries?" I answered that for many reasons Brussels seemed to me a fitter place than London, especially

1541.

as the English ambassadors were already on the spot. The Chancellor made no reply, and went away.

After dinner, by way of mirth and pastime, I asked the privy councillors how they could excuse themselves for not having made, with respect to the commercial treaty, the same attacks they had directed against that of Cambray, which read expressly that the Emperor's subjects could freely trade, deal, and reside in England as long as they pleased, exactly as if they were residing in their native country, and that, notwithstanding that, most of them had been expelled therefrom. Hearing this, the privy councillors began to look at each other, and after a while one of them said, rather inconsiderately, that it had been a very just and right measure to send back foreigners to the countries of their birth, for it was against nature for a subject to abandon his liege lord to go and reside under another prince. After my replying to the privy councillor in a manner that he did not much like, I came to touch on the last point, which certainly must have been very disagreeable to him, for I said, among other things: If you call that unnatural, what will you say of your behaviour in this country to foreigners, whom you have made to swear fidelity to your king in exchange for a permission to reside in this country, which is equivalent to making them renounce the allegiance they owe to their natural prince, and after that take away from them one-third of their capital? Hearing which the Chancellor and the others lowered their heads without saying one word more. And I must add, whilst on this topic, that I am surprised that Your Majesty's deputies have made no use of such arguments as this whilst negociating with the King's ambassadors, the more so that I myself have twice called Your Majesty's attention to this point in my despatches at the time that the Navigation edict was first promulgated and placarded.

To-morrow the Privy Council dispatches a messenger to the King, who is upwards of one hundred and fifty miles from this city. My secretary will accompany him. When I know what both have done there, I shall not fail to inform Your Majesty. Thanks for the 2,000 ducats just received.—London, 12 August 1541.

The great haste in which I am was the cause of my forgetting to again beg and entreat Your Majesty to bear in mind what I have written respecting the release of the copper and other goods seized on board of the English ships, and the rest of this king's present demands, and at the same time accept my excuses if I am over importunate in these affairs, for I cannot do otherwise, hard pressed as I am by these privy councillors, and also fully convinced that should what I propose be done, affairs would go on much better.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. p. 8.

1541.

12 Aug. **179.** Abstract of the Despatch of Ambassador Marillac to King Francis.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, ff. 45–8.

The duke of Norfolk has often said to ambassador Marillac that the King, his master, is very affectionately disposed towards the king of France, and much inclined to be his friend. Although in past times one of the two may have had cause to complain of the other, the differences between them are now entirely forgotten.

With regard to the question of a marriage between the duke of Orleans (Charles) and the Princess (Mary), the Duke says that when they, the English, saw that you (the King) approved what I myself had brought forward, I should have a conclusive answer to my proposals. The Duke also said, as if coming from himself, that the true path to the friendship we talked of was a treaty of marriage, but that the proposal must needs come from France first.—Lincoln, 12 Aout 1541.

French. Deciphering. p. 1.

180. The King of France to his Ambassador in England.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, f. 149.

*I (the King) am glad of the news about the marriage; yet, in order to conceal that the proposal really came from me, it must appear as if you, my ambassador, fearing lest I should disapprove of your having made such overtures, had written to the admiral of France (Brion-Chabot) my cousin, who, having always been in favor of the English friendship and of the proposed marriage, could not but approve of your acts and excuse you.**

The news from Rome is that the Emperor is greatly disappointed about his expedition to Algiers. Heavy expenses and costs. An army of about 30,000 *men, who will most likely remain some time with him in Italy. At the interview which the Emperor proposes to hold with Pope Paul there, his intention is, among other things, to ask him for the meeting of the General Council, which cannot, however, be assembled, save to the great detriment and injury of the king of England.*

Instructs the ambassador as to the manner of communicating the above news to the King.

With regard to the marriage, the ambassador is to limit himself to two points, namely, that the pension paid by France be done away with, or else be considered as the dowry of Dame Marie;† the other, that the king of Scotland, my good son-in-law, be comprised in the treaty of alliance.

French. Deciphering. p. 1.

24 Aug. **181.** Commander Covos to the Marquis del Gasto.

S. E., L. 638. B. M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 24.

I have to thank you for the particular and private account of what you yourself knew of Fragoso's case, and the justification by you offered first to Mr. de Langes, and afterwards

* The whole is in cipher, though without a date.
† Mary, the Princess.

1541.

to the Most Christian king of France himself, sending to them count Landriano with explanation of the Rincon and Fragoso case. I entirely approve of your conduct in that affair, though, if I am to believe what ambassador Figueroa writes from Genoa, king Francis does not seem at all satisfied with the excuses offered. I have, however, no doubt that Your Excellency has acted in all this affair as was most suitable; though we fear that all this may lead to bad feelings—of which there seems to be abundance everywhere—being set in motion, especially now that the invasion of Hungary by the Turk seems to be a certainty.—Madrid, 24 August 1541.

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

n. d. **182.** Idiaquez to Francisco de los Cobos.

S. E., Cor. de Cast. L. 52, f. 356. B. M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 23.

The post from Flanders has brought letters from the marquis de Aguilar of the 27th June, the substance of which is that Martin Alonso arrived there on the 19th. Finding that His Holiness was absent from Rome, he went out and met him at Passano, where he had audience and kissed his hand, telling him about the Diet, &c. After that Martin Alonso prosecuted his journey.

The ambassador explains the causes of the differences between the Legate and Papal Nuncio with Andalot. It would appear that the Pope having ordered the imprisonment of one Geronymo de Carpi—once a chamberlain of the duke Alessandro [de' Medici], whom the duchess [Margaret] favors on account of his having once been in her service—as the barachel was taking him to prison Andalot and his servants went out and released the prisoner. After this the Duchess herself, Ottavio [her husband], Cardinal Farnese, and the Imperial ambassador [marquis de Aguilar] took the man before the Pope to be examined by him, and see whether he was guilty or not. It appears that he was accused of having said before witnesses that His Holiness had caused the assassination of Cardinal de Medicis, and other things. The Pope, for the Duchess' sake, ordered the man's release at once, but refused to forgive Andalot, and his indignation against him is still very great.

Letters have also come from the viceroy of Naples in date of the 16th of June. Martin Alonso had not yet appeared there. On the coast of Puglia there were no less than 18 Turkish fustees; a landing had been effected on some points, but Scipione di Suma [Soma ?] had successfully opposed them and no harm had been done.

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

28 Aug. **183.** The King of France to Mr. de Marillac.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, f. 147.

The King has a great desire for perfect friendship and alliance with the king of England.

Relates the arrest of Sieurs Fregouse (Fregoso) and Rincon, a thing of the most serious and momentous consequences for the future.

1541.

Has heard through the Admiral (Brion-Chabot) the overtures that have been made for the marriage of his son [the duke of Orleans], which he finds both honorable and suitable. He entirely approves of them; but the ambassador must inquire in what quality, as to rank and position, the King intends giving away his daughter, and with what advantages to her as to dowry, &c.—Chavaignes, 28 August 1541.

French. Deciphering. p. 1.

28 Aug. **184.** The ADMIRAL OF FRANCE to the AMBASSADOR.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, f. 149.

The Admiral has informed the King, his master, of the marriage proposals, which have been thought very good and acceptable. The ambassador, above all things, is to beg the duke of Norfolk to keep the affair secret.—Chauaignes, 28 August 1541.—Brion.

n. d. **185.** The AMBASSADOR'S ANSWER to the KING OF FRANCE.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, f. 150.

The ambassador finds the duke of Norfolk well disposed to favor king Francis' views in every respect, but the rest of the King's councillors are envious of him, owing to the ambassador having only confided the affair to him in the first instance. They will, therefore, do all they can to mar the negociations for the marriage. Has kept profound secrecy about the whole thing, and asked in what quality and rank the King intends giving away the Dame Marie. The answer, after four days, has been that the King will be very glad that the marriage take place, and as to the quality of Dame Marie that, after the conditions of the marriage are agreed upon on both sides, that is to say, what her dowry and marriage portion are to be, the King will then—not before—declare his intention as to the status on which she is to be married, and how and in what cases she is to succeed to his crown, adding, as if it came from him personally, not from his Privy Council, that he (the King) would have no difficulty whatever about her legitimisation, presuming, as he said, that without that requisite the whole of the negociation would fall to the ground. His opinion on the subject was that with regard to the succession, the young prince of Wales, his son, and all other children of the King, male or female, that he now has or may have in future, with the sole exception of the daughter of queen Anne, called Isabeau (Elizabeth), are to come first. As to the dowry, he said that an especial commission of the king of France under his royal seal was absolutely indispensable for treating of the affair; that could not be settled otherwise.

The difficulties to be surmounted in the affair are, in my opinion, three: 1*st. That when I talked to the duke of Norfolk about the duke of Orleans as a husband for Dame Marie, he said that the Duke was too great a prince for them (the English), and that they did not wish for one so great.* 2*nd. That it is forbidden in England to call Katherine, her mother, queen, but only Mme. Katherine. For no other reason, as*

1541.

Mr. de Norfolc tells me, has the hand of Dame Marie been refused to the Emperor [who asked for it] than the fear of the succession coming eventually to her, and her husband coming to rule over England through a viceroy of his, as the Emperor is doing in Naples, which would be an unbearable state of things for the English.

*The third difficulty that I see in it is that the king of England will naturally ask that the formal proposal come first from France, as well as the conditions and articles of the marriage treaty, and the advantages and advancement which the king of France intends bestowing on his son, the duke of Orleans, without, however, the king of England declaring openly what his will and intention are on the subject, thus leaving a back door open through which he may escape from and elude the treaty whenever he chooses.**

French. Deciphering. pp. 2.

29 Aug. **186.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, ff. 17–8.

My secretary returned yesterday from Court, but he has brought no other answer than that which Your Majesty will see in the enclosed memorandum and note from the privy councillors who are now away with the King. Indeed, I fancy that those who are here in London have not been consulted at all, as they were the other time, for if I am not mistaken the latter must have written to Court in conformity with Your Majesty's wishes, or nearly so, whereas the note of the former is anything but reassuring. As the affair was important my secretary stayed four days at the King's court, during which time the duke of Suffolk, in the name of the entire Privy Council, made him all manner of compliments and excuses for the delay, telling him that the affair being one of weight and importance, and he himself and the rest of the privy councillors having to entertain their master and provide for his amusement, they had been unable to attend to our business as steadily as they would have wished. For the same reasons as above alleged, they would have avoided giving us an answer in writing, but since we so desired it, they had complied at once with the pressing requests of my secretary.

Your Majesty, by your great wisdom and insight, will be able to judge by the contents of the letter, as well as by the proceedings of this king's ambassadors, what little chance there is of his being ever persuaded to revoke or reform his laws and statutes, much less consenting to enter into a new commercial treaty with Your Majesty, believing, as no doubt he does, that the new treaty can never be so advantageous for him and his people as the old ones were. *That is why I am of opinion that there is nothing that can make the King come to his senses but to put in force the two ordinances* (pragmatiques) *which from time immemorial have been observed in Spain, one of which forbids foreign*

* No date, but most likely August.

1541.

vessels to lade any merchandize as long as there are Spanish ones to be freighted. This would be the fit season and proper opportunity to enforce the said ordinance, for in a month, or six weeks at the most, there will be in Andalusia upwards of sixty English ships to lade wines, raisins, figs, oil, salted meat, and other merchandize; and provided the ordinance were kept and observed during two years, most of these skippers would be obliged to sell their ships and give up navigation altogether, which would tell sadly against this king's intentions and purposes, who has had his statute framed for the sole purpose of increasing his own navy.

The other ordinance which in my opinion ought to be revived and enforced is that which forbids, under pain of confiscation, the introduction into Spain of woollen cloth woven and prepared as almost all the English cloths are. The same thing, I think, might be done in Flanders without the English having cause or reason to complain.

Meanwhile, under such protest as might be deemed advisable, the subjects of this King might be allowed to take away what they have bought, in the shape of copper and ammunition, after having, if it was thought convenient and opportune, represented to this King's ministers that they ought not, for the reasons already alleged, to find fault with Your Majesty for having forbidden the export of those articles from the Low Countries, since they themselves had denied to the Emperor in former times the export of grain—once particularly for the provision of biscuit to the Imperial galleys bound for the coasts of Barbary and Turkey.

In short, without any further application to these people on the subject, the Emperor's edict ought to be enforced in all its parts, and in this manner, I take it, the English will be deprived little by little of all their advantages in matters of trade and commercial treaties. Then it will be time for Your Majesty to negociate, and I have no doubt that things will go on better and upon more equal terms.

I must not forget to say that the other day the duke of Norfolk, talking familiarly to my secretary of various matters, said to him that the King, his master, and all the privy councillors knew very well Your Majesty's very particular inclination towards the preservation of the friendship and good neighbourhood of the two countries—England and the Low Countries—but that they also were aware that Your Majesty guided your actions by the Emperor's Privy Council sitting in Brussels, and that there were among the members of that Council two who were so strongly attached to the French that they would do every thing in their power to prevent the good understanding between the Emperor and their master. They told him also that concerning the king's contribution for the expenses of the war against the Turk, there was no difficulty at all, their master being determined to help and assist, provided all the other princes assisted duly.

1541.

My secretary has also brought from Court a declaratory note respecting the last memorandum I sent to Your Majesty, the duplicate of which in cipher is here appended.

The King is coming back from his long tour, and it is thought that he will be back in this city or its neighbourhood in about a month hence.—London, 29 August 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 4.

n. d. **187.** The French Secretary in England to Eustace Chapuys.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 231, ff. 87–102.

In his last letter to his ambassador, dated Lan en Bresse, the 17*th of September, the King writes that he has heard from reliable quarters of the shameful defeat that the king of the Romans (Ferdinand), the Emperor's brother, has lately sustained near Buda with great loss. In that letter the Emperor is accused of not having gone to the succour of his brother, king Francis remarking that by this time it is believed the Turks have taken possession of Vienna. Such a conflict for Christendom (the King remarks) would never have happened, had not Rincon been made prisoner, as he has actually been, together with Cesare Fragoso.*

The King also writes that Vincentio Maggio, whom he had sent to the Levant to represent his affairs about the person of the Grand Turk (Solyman), had advised that upon hearing of Rincon's arrest by the Emperor's men, he had immediately arrested Laschi, the ambassador of the king of the Romans, sent him to the fortress of Belgrade, confined him within one of its towers, and sold all his horses. Lastly, that Monsieur the duke of Savoy and his son had both departed in anger from the Emperor.

The latter was in the Tirol, ready to enter Italy at the head of 15,000 lanskenets, *exclusive of the Spanish infantry he had with him. These last, however, being raw levies, and by no means well disciplined, might probably be soon dismissed, as a gentleman from the Levant (?) had written to the sieur de Bois-Rigault, his ambassador in Switzerland.**

I cannot well recollect the name of the gentleman, which begins with the letter N, yet I can well recognize him by the contents of the letter which he himself wrote to the said Bois-Rigault, and which I have read entirely from beginning to end, the substance of which letter was as follows: That as the aforesaid 15,000 *German* lanskenets *who are under the command of count Frederik [von Furstenberg] and of his brother, refuse to march in the direction the Emperor wants them to go, it would be easy to make them desert his banners.*

* "Mais que pour estre mauvaise, et nouvelle, pourroyt bien estre contremandee, ainsi que ung chevalier du Levant avoyt escript au S^r de Bois-Rigault, son ambassadeur en suysse."

1541.

That is why the Frenchman [from the Levant] had written to the ambassador in Switzerland, Mr. de Bois-Rigault, that if the King, his master, wished to secure the services of the aforesaid 15,000 lanskenets, *and* 1,000 *more who had been refused to pass the last muster, the thing would be practicable, and the whole of them might march wherever they were ordered to go.*

*If I recollect right the letter was written at Zel.**

n. d. **188.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 231, ff. 87-102.

The French ambassador's man begs to inform Chapuys of one circumstance which he omitted in his last letter. The king of France, by his note of the 26th July, advised that Mons. de Mongiron, his lieutenant in the Daulphine, having heard of the arrest of Cesar Fregouze (Fragoso) and Rincon by the Spaniards of Pavia, had taken prisoner the archbishop of Valence (Valencia) and coadjutor of Liège,† the Emperor's uncle, and that having asked the king of England's advice as to the manner of retaliating, the latter had answered that he could not give opinion or advice in the matter, as Rincon was a Spaniard, and Fregoro (Fragoso) himself a Genoese, and besides that his brother (king Francis) knew better than himself how to manage an affair of that sort.

The ambassador's reply was that Fragoso was not the Emperor's man at all, but a servant and subject of the King, his master, since he was a Genoese by birth.

The king of England considers the whole thing very strange.

7 Sept. **189.** The KING OF FRANCE to his AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 231, ff. 90.

The King wishes that the negociations for the marriage do not fall into any other hands save those of the duke of Norfolk. The ambassador is to inquire whether Dame Mary is or is not to be declared the King's eldest legitimate daughter, and what dowry she is to have. The union of the two kingdoms of England and France would be beneficial to the parties. The King is now in treaty with the Emperor, that being the reason why he cannot treat publicly of the marriage of his son with Dame Mary, nor send powers to that effect.

7 Sept. **190.** CHAPUYS to GRANVELLE.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 231, ff. 90.

The ambassador's man informs me that he has seen letters from a secretary of State in France to this French ambassador in England (Mr. de Marillac), dated the 7th of October, assuring him that unless the King, their master, thoroughly

* A note, evidently in Chapuys' hand, has the following: It seems to me, subject to correction, that the letter above transcribed is a mere invention, for the king of France is in the habit, in all his letters, of colouring and embellishing his subject so as to lower and understate as much as he can the Emperor's forces, whereas in this present one he does just the contrary.

† George of Austria, natural son of the emperor Maximilian. *See* Vol. V., Part II., p. 580.

1541.

changes his opinion, there will be war next spring, for the King fully intends invading the Low Countries now that he has the duke of Clèves under his orders, the latter having promised to do wonders and obey his command implicitly.

Indorsed: "Deciphering of letters from king Francis to his ambassador in England."

French. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 2.

10 Sept. **191.** IDIAQUEZ to COVOS.

S. E., L. 869, B. M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 25.

The affairs of France are in the same state. The King and his ministers still insist on the release of Cesare Fragoso and Rincon, believing them to be prisoners in Gasto's hands, which they say they can prove by means of witnesses. I do not wonder at it, for by this time they must already have, as it were, in their power some of the boatmen and others who helped in the business.* In Piedmont the enemy's numbers are increasing, and there are no signs yet of matters improving at all.

The Pope resolved to go to [Bologna?] to have an interview with His Imperial Majesty. He arrived on the 7th. His Majesty embarks to-day. Mr. de Granvelle went away three days ago to take charge of the negociation that is now going on. His Majesty says that he will not stop there more than forty-eight hours.

There is much difference of opinion respecting the Algiers expedition, and it would seem as if the state of things in Hungary ought to decide the Emperor to remain in Europe and leave that for another opportunity; yet until now there is no sign of that, and the collection and storing of provisions goes on as briskly as ever.

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

13 Sept. **192.** KING FRANCIS to his AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, f. 149.

The letter dated St. Rivier, the 13th of September, is entirely devoted to stag-hunting, in answer to a paragraph in the ambassador's letter describing one made at Hatfild, near Doncaster.

French. Deciphering. p. 1.

29 Sept. **193.** D. DIEGO HURTADO DE MENDOZA to the EMPEROR.

S. E., L. 1,317, f. 82. B. M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 26.

This Signory has received letters from Constantinople dated the 19th ult., advising that a fleet of fourteen galleys was about to leave the Strait, which intelligence is confirmed from other quarters, and especially by letters from Zante.

Eighteen more sails had put to sea at the Prevessa, although in what direction was not known. At La Bellona, and other

* "Porque deben de tener ya algunos moços y barqueroles de los que lo hizieron."

1541.

maritime districts of that coast, provision of biscuit had been made in large quantities. The ambassador residing here for the king of the Romans has letters from the Turkish camp at Buda, telling him that the Turk was retreating for fear of Your Majesty's arms, and yet that his master's ambassadors had not been well received.

I have been confidentially informed by a Venetian who frequents this embassy that the other day, whilst calling at the French embassy, he saw upon the ambassador's writing table the deciphering of a letter from France, in which the writer tells him that it was true that Paulin had been sent on a mission, and that the principal point of his instructions was to inform the dowager queen of Hungary that next spring a powerful Turkish fleet will put out to sea, and that should the present truce between Your Majesty and the king of France be broken, the object is for that fleet to meet the French, and both together sail towards Genoa. This much did the French ambassador say to my informer, adding that galley-slaves were already marching towards Constantinople, and that preparations for war were being made everywhere.

The French, meanwhile, persevere in their endeavours to detach this Signory from Your Majesty's friendship; which attempt, as well as their former refusal to join the League proposed by Your Majesty, has been rather an advantageous and profitable move for us, inasmuch as, now, when invited to co-operate with the French king against Your Majesty, they can easily excuse themselves. Thus much have they written to their ambassador in France, and I hear that they intend answering the Turk's solicitations in the same strain, although, on the other hand, such is their fear and dread of the Infidel that no reliance can be placed on their words. I myself am thinking of despatching to the Levant two trusty men, who may bring back reliable *information, for here at Venice nothing is known for certain, and the officials being new and inexpert, matters do not run so smoothly as before.*

The above-mentioned letters of the 19th speak of a forced loan which the Bashaws had imposed upon the inhabitants of Constantinople, though with little or no success whatever, since they had only collected a sum of 20,000 ducats. And that hearing of Your Majesty's powerful armament by sea, they (the Turks) had bitterly complained to the Signory of their not having informed them in time. The plague was raging at Constantinople and in the adjoining provinces.

Advices from France refer to discussions and quarrels between the Dauphin's mistress and Mme. d'Estampes, adding that much time and money had been spent in making the two ladies friends. The King was about to send to Lucca a gentleman of his court, demanding the release of Cesare Fragoso and Rincon. He threatened war, but had no money to carry it on.

1541.

A Frenchman has come with a letter from Your Majesty, commanding me to use my influence in a lawsuit pending between him and count Novelara; but, with Your Majesty's permission, I would rather be excused; I will do anything to obey orders, save, perhaps, in legal matters, in which I dislike to interfere.—Venice, 29 Sept. 1541.

Signed: "Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza."

Spanish. Holograph. Partly ciphered. pp. 4.

30 Sept. **194.** Commander Valençuela to the High Commander Cobos.

S. E., L. 870, f. 119.
B. M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 28.

Press of business and the Emperor's sudden departure from this place have hitherto prevented me from answering as quickly and fully as I ought your letter of the 29th of July.

Santaella's petition (*suplicacion*) obtained at last the Pope's signature, though with great difficulty. "It will be the last of its kind that I grant," said His Holiness, when he was about to sign. The Datary being slightly indisposed, the bull could not be made out, neither could those relating to Santa Cruz and Torre de Pojul (Pujol?) for the same reason; but I hope that on our arrival at Bologna we shall see the end of that ecclesiastical affair, as well as of those of San Salvador and Rosario Chapel, which have been hanging on for a long time. Should they not be terminated at Bologna, they are sure to be so on our return to Rome.

Of political affairs I suppose you to be well informed through my letters to secretary Juan Vazquez [de Molina], with whom I am in official communication. The Emperor appointed me lately to form part of the Junta that is now here [in Italy] deliberating about the General Council and other matters connected with it; but since then very little has been done, owing principally to His Holiness' journey, and the time he generally takes before he decides on matters of this sort. He has, however, promised that between this and St. Martin's Day he will determine about the place and time of its celebration, and he is now sending to Germany a prelate of exemplary life and learning on a mission for the reformation of bishops and other ecclesiastics. For the expenses of the Catholic League against the Turk he is now raising 2,000 infantry, who, joined to the three thousand of the Emperor, may be of some assistance in Hungary. That number being considered insufficient, we are now trying to make him send some money along with the men.

The king of France sent a gentleman of his court to remonstrate against the detention of Cesare Fragoso and Rincon, his envoys, who, he says, were captured by the Emperor's ministers. After a long altercation on the subject, the Emperor has consented to the affair being placed in the Pope's hands, for him to judge and decide whether the truce should be considered as infringed through it.

1541.

Orders have been issued for Mr. de Grandvelle to remain here forty or fifty days more to attend to business; but he will have so much work to do that I doubt whether that time will be sufficient. Among other affairs, that of Siena (Sena) is likely to give him much trouble. There was a talk of the marquis de Aguilar accompanying the Emperor's expedition [to Algiers], and of his getting some honourable post in the government, at least such was the Marquis' wish; but His Imperial Majesty has decided that he shall remain here until his return from Africa. I am in the meantime to replace him virtually, while this peregrination of the Pope lasts, and at Rome also if he chooses.

The 800 ducats of the see of Tortosa during the 101 years that it was dismembered [from that of Saragossa] were granted to the College of the newly converted Moors of Valencia.

I forgot to say that Poggio is again going as Papal Nuncio to the Emperor. We all are very glad of it, and I myself have no doubt that Your Signory will also rejoice at it. The bishopric of Turpia* will, I believe, be given to cardinal Santa Croce, and the protectorate of Germany to cardinal Farnese.

Andalot is going with the Emperor, who has given him 2,000 ducats for his expenses. His post about Mme. Margarita will be filled by commander Giliberte until another "mayordomo" comes from Spain. I daresay that Your Signory knows who is the person designated for that honorable post. Here they say that Rodrigo Niño will be the one.

We are going with His Majesty as far as La Spezia. His Holiness will leave Lucca for Bologna on the 21st of October. He will rest there ten days, and then go to Rome.—Lucca, 29 Sept. 1541.

Signed: "Francisco de Valençuela."

Indorsed: "The Commander's letter from Lucca; closed on the 30th."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

9 Oct. **195.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, ff. 21-22.

As nothing important has occurred here since my last despatch, I have purposely delayed writing to Your Imperial Majesty, whom I beg not to attribute my silence to neglect of my official duties.

The indisposition of my man—the same whom I generally employ to communicate with the person who keeps me au courant *of French intrigues—has been the cause of my silence, as it has prevented me from unravelling the mysterious dealings in which our neighbours on this side of the Pyrenean range are at present engaged. I have at last been able, not until yesterday, to discover what the French are about, as well as the intrigues of their ambassador at this court; and as there happens to be here at present a trusty messenger, expressly*

* Tropea (?); if so, the bishopric was given about this time to Giovanni Poggio.

1541.

sent by the Queen for that purpose, I will not delay transmitting to Your Imperial Majesty the summary of the information thus obtained, though I suppose the Queen herself has by this time caused it to be transcribed in cipher and forwarded to Your Imperial Majesty. For unwilling as I have been until now to communicate to any of my subordinates the cipher which I possess—carefully kept under lock and key—I should have been obliged to apply myself to the task of ciphering with my own hand, which, unaccustomed as I am to it, is rather slow work. The confidential person above alluded to is to send me in a couple of days, or when I like, the alphabet of four different ciphers which king Francis or his ministers use in writing to their ambassadors in various countries, and I am only waiting for my man to be completely restored to health to obtain, through his agency, some of the most important original letters in the possession of this French ambassador. And as Your Imperial Majesty will not have much time to spare in reading, examining, and pondering over the said letters, much less reflecting on and wondering at the malignity and impudence of the writers, I will not trouble Your Majesty further with them, but will send the decipherings straight to Monseigneur de Granvelle, that he may report on the whole, humbly recommending to Your Imperial Majesty the gentleman attached to the French embassy from whom I have got the intelligence and trust in future to get the original letters above mentioned. Besides being a good Latin and Greek scholar, and well versed in legal matters, the person I beg to recommend is an honest and worthy gentleman, has talent and wit, and is well disposed to serve Your Imperial Majesty in France and elsewhere. Not only is he ready to accomplish any task that is imposed upon him, however difficult, but, as there is no talk yet of this ambassador being removed, he may, as he says, still do service here. Should the embassy be withdrawn, wherever the man goes he will perhaps be as useful as he has been hitherto. Your Imperial Majesty will no doubt attend to my commendations, and at the same time have pity on me, and order that my arrears of pension be paid by the Imperial treasurers.—London, 9 Oct. 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To his sacred Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England, ix October."

French. Original, partly ciphered. pp. 1½.

9 Oct. **196.** The Same to the Queen of Hungary.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, ff. 40–60.

The day before yesterday, in the afternoon, Your Majesty's letter of the 1st inst. came to hand, as well as the copy of the articles proposed by this king's ambassadors, and the answer made to each of those articles by Your Majesty's

1541.

deputies. On this last I have nothing to remark, it having evidently been drawn out with all the care and circumspection that could be desired, both as regards the substance and the form.

Yesterday, whilst I was replying to Your Majesty's letter of the 1st, I received that of the 5th, and was very glad to find that what I intended to have written to Your Majesty by way of advice is in conformity with the answer given to the English ambassadors. *That will enable me to defeat these people's arguments without jarring with what has been said there to this king's ambassadors; but my opinion is that Your Majesty must insist, and, without going backwards or forwards, keep firm and wait for my answer to the communications that this king's privy councillors cannot fail to make me. It was a very good idea that of stating in the answer that, if needed and required, I would here give my reasons for suggesting the course that has been followed. That cannot do harm; on the contrary, it may be useful, as it will give us an opportunity for gaining time and waiting for the result of the Emperor's affairs in other parts. Meanwhile it might come to pass that the people of Biscaye and Gipusque (Guipuzcoa), and their neighbours on that coast, who, as I am informed, have already sent their deputies to the Prince* and the Council of Castille in order to obtain the revalidation of their ordinances, attained their object. If so the English would become as pliant and elastic as a glove; or, at any rate, the season and time will become riper for the Emperor to decide whether he is to enter into closer confederacy with England or not. The King and his Council might also, after hearing my arguments, become more reasonable, especially when they hear from me the particulars relating to the treaty itself which Your Majesty has been pleased to send me lately. It would not be amiss for me to have at the same time a duplicate copy of the principal treaty of commerce, as well as a summary of what has been done since, in order that I may be better armed for attack or defence.*

Should the English ambassadors return without coming to any conclusion—which is most probable—Your Majesty might, at their departure, hold to them gracious and courteous language as heretofore, but not so soft and measured as to make them think that we are afraid. By this means the English will little by little be deprived of the benefits of trade, as I stated in one of my last despatches. No change or alteration to be introduced in the Emperor's edict except in the way and through the means which I pointed out once. Neither are we to be intimidated by their bragging discourses and threats, for it is the nature of the English to boast and brag when they are most in fear, or do not know how to get out of the scrape; for certainly, had they known of any other

* Philip, then about 15 years old.

1541.

mart for their goods except Anvers (Antwerp), even with less profit, they would have taken their produce elsewhere, for no other reason, as I think, than that of disappointing and vexing the citizens of that town, and others, of whom they are jealous owing to the prosperous trade they are carrying on.

Up to the present time there are no signs of their being in close communication with other countries, not even with France, for although they dissemble and appear to entertain the French offers with regard to the Princess' marriage with the duke of Orleans, I fancy that all that is dissimulation on their part, and also on the side of the French, for neither would king Francis like to see his son succeed to the crown of England, for fear war should break out between the two countries fiercer than ever, nor would this king wish to have so powerful a son-in-law for his neighbour; for not being loved by his own subjects, if he should die, his son would infallibly inherit the hatred of the English, and being young, without friends, allies, or relatives to assist him, might easily be dethroned. If no other causes existed to disgust those two kings with such an alliance, it would be sufficient for each of them to recollect what happened when Mr. de Nassau passed through France and proposed in the Emperor's name that very matrimonial alliance which the French are now bringing forward for their own particular ends, and which this king or his ministers feign to entertain, though he failed not at the time to speak to me in the strongest terms about it.*

In seven or eight days hence the King is expected back. He has not, as it appears, gone beyond York, where he has been staying for some time waiting for the king of Scotland, as the common report and the preparations made in that city seemed to imply; but it appears that the cardinal of Scotland and others of his party were averse to the interview, so that the king of that country never came. The French ambassador left York before the king; he arrived in town ten days ago. Shortly before his arrival in London a cousin of his left post-haste with despatches for France, no doubt for the causes and occasions described in the adjoined letters, which were only put into my hands yesterday evening, so that I have had no time either to copy them or to put them in cipher, which would be necessary if the letters are, as I believe, to be sent to the Emperor, now far away.† I therefore most humbly beg Your Majesty to have the said letters ciphered and forwarded to the Emperor, wherever he may be at present, together with my own despatch concerning this business of the commercial treaty. But above all, I beg and entreat Your Majesty that the whole may be kept a secret.

* "Et de lautre couste ne vouldroit ung beaufilz si puissant et si voysin, mesmes pour non estre ayme de ses subjetz et sil venoit a mourir, que son filz pourroit heriter a la hayne des dits subjectz."

† From the 1st of October to the 24th of November the Emperor was engaged on his African expedition. At the date of this letter he was sailing towards Menorca, which he reached on the 13th.

1541.

I am now expecting from the same man four more ciphered alphabets which the French use in corresponding with their ambassadors in various countries; but these are things which cannot be obtained without paying for them heavily. That is why I would beg Your Majesty most humbly to give orders for the arrears of my salary—which is low enough, and hardly sufficient to cover my own expenses, considering the dearth of provisions in this place—to be remitted to me as soon as convenient.

The bishop of Winchester (Stephen Gardiner) started the day before yesterday in quest of the King, who, as I said above, is coming to London. I will take care to ascertain as soon as possible how his report of the negociation, in which he has lately been engaged, has been received, and whether it has given satisfaction or not.

As to their mien and countenance when they heard of the Hungarian disaster and other particulars, I should have obtained the requisite information had it not been that my secretary, who is in communication with that of the French embassy, fell ill some days ago, and is still confined to his bed; but I hope that very soon he will be up again, when I shall not fail to acquaint Your Majesty with the whole.—London, 9 October 1541.*

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 10.

11 Oct. **197.** D. Francisco Manrique to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 95, f. 200.
B. M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 31.

After our joint despatch of yesterday's date, herein enclosed,† I (Don Francisco) took leave of the queen of France, who gave me a letter for Your Majesty, and at the same time charged me to thank you verbally for the favor you had done her in advising your intended journey and the motives thereof. The Queen was glad to hear that Your Majesty had given further proofs of your friendship towards the King, her husband, thus fulfilling your duty towards God and man. As to herself, she has been very ill indeed, and almost on the verge of death, in consequence of the blood running to the throat and face, as if it were the measles. She is now better, though not well enough to be able to write to Your Majesty as long a letter as she would otherwise have wished. Both this verbal message and the King's letter and her own I intend, in obedience to instructions, to keep by me until we hear of Your Majesty's landing.

As to my own journey to this place [Lyons] where the Court now is, as well as the account of what passed between the Most Christian king of France and Mr. Marvol, Your Majesty's

* Several letters entirely ciphered are appended, being, no doubt, those above alluded to by Chapuys as procured from his French confidant.

† No inclosure has been found.

1541.

ambassador, both he and I in our joint despatch of the 10th have given a full account. Your Majesty will see by it how closely, as I imagine, in our conversations with this king and his ministers respecting your intended expedition [to Africa] we have followed the instructions and commands received. Yet I (Manrique) deem it necessary to supplement our joint despatch of yesterday's date by saying that though king Francis said to both of us that he was glad to hear of Your Majesty's determination to sail to Algiers, he told me (Manrique) in private that he would have wished that you had given him sooner notice of your departure, "for (said he) I should not have been put to the expense of sending troops to Provence and Avignon, under the impression that the Emperor might pass through those provinces; besides which, having heard that Our Holy Father, the Pope, wished to give him possession of the castle of Avignon in exchange for other fiefs and castles given to his grandson in Italy, I naturally had to dispatch thither 400 lances."

Nor was the King's excuse for having raised troops within his own dominions more satisfactory, for he said that his object had not been to break the truce and declare war; he had seen that the Pope and other Italian powers were arming, and so did he, in order to defend himself, if attacked. In reply I (Manrique) told him, according to instructions, the reasons there were for keeping the whole matter secret, &c.

When I took leave of him king Francis manifested great pleasure at the signs of friendship which Your Majesty had been pleased to give him through Mr. de Marvol and me. He begged both of us to certify Your Majesty of his brotherly affection towards you, and say that he will always be your friend. He immediately ordered the release of all the prisoners who are Your Majesty's subjects, with the single exception of the bishop of Valencya (Valencia),* whom he says he does not consider as such, and those of Avignon.

I could not wait in France until Your Majesty's subjects, such as couriers and others, were released, as otherwise much time would have been lost; but the King assured me that he would forthwith send letters patent throughout his dominions ordering the release of all prisoners, or will have them placed in the hands of Mr. de Marvol, Your Majesty's ambassador, for him to make such use of as he may think proper. I myself offered to be the bearer on my way back to Spain of the order for the liberation of the Imperial courier, who, having started from Genoa [to go to Flanders], was taken prisoner in Provence. My application, however, was refused on the plea that the measure was a general one, and, therefore, that all prisoners were to be liberated at the same time, in virtue of the letters patent. Of this courier the King pre-

* "Y que él mandará luego soltar todos los que estan detenidos, salvo el arcobispo de Valencya, que dize quel no le tiene por preso, y á los de Aviñon."

1541.

tends to know nothing; he says he never heard of his detention, and that in future all Imperial couriers shall pass through France unmolested.

As far as I can gather in the few days I have passed in France, the King's intention is to keep the archbishop of Valencia in prison where he is, and in all other matters adhere strictly to the truce for the present, and not make any movement until he is better prepared, or finds a suitable opportunity for declaring war.

His Holiness, it appears, asked the King to give the archbishop [of Valencia] up to him, promising to keep him near his person until his release was effected. The King's answer was that His Holiness ought not to take this trouble in the matter, for it was by God's especial favor that the archbishop's person had fallen into his hands at such a juncture. His Holiness' application, I believe, was warm enough, but I doubt whether his own ministers backed it very strongly, because I see them very desirous now of courting the King's favor and giving him pleasure in everything he says or does.

The Papal Nuncio told me the other day that, speaking to the King about the present truce, he fully promised not to break it for the present, thus giving Your Majesty time to look out for Fragoso and Rincon, as well as for the criminals (*malhechores*) in whose hands they might still be. I cannot say whether these words were said in earnest, or merely with a view to boast and brag; the fact is that when he (the King) spoke to Marvol and to myself about it, he only said that by no means would he break the truce, or in any way impede so good an undertaking as that of Your Majesty, especially under the circumstances. With regard to the archbishop, I did not press him much, knowing how obstinate the King is on such points, and thinking that it is unadvisable for Your Majesty now to urge this case too warmly, for, after all, it concerns the Pope more than you. The archbishop is still at Semur (Saumur), in the duchy of Burgundy; he is courteously treated, though under strict vigilance. Until now the King has not consented to the Pope becoming the arbiter of the differences between Your Majesty and him. He is willing enough to place the affair of Fragoso and Rincon in His Holiness' hands, but not other controversies and disputes, such as that of deciding which of the parties first broke the truce, Your Majesty or him. This arbitrage he refuses to put into his Holiness' hands.

The King will go this winter to Fontainebleau. Whilst at Lyons he passed in muster the gentlemen of his Royal household, who had come thither arrayed for war, and who are now returning home. In a like manner, when I passed through Turin, the general in command of the French forces in Piedmont, having heard of Your Majesty's determination to sail for the coast of Africa, left immediately and came back to Court. So that evidently winter will pass without the French making

1541.

a hostile movement, and perhaps, too, the whole of next summer, for, as I am given to understand, king Francis is anything but rich just now.

With regard to the Turk, it is asserted here that he intends wintering in Hungary. Indeed, Marshal Haunebault told me the other day that his information was that in consequence of the auxiliary forces raised in Germany and Bavaria, and which were already marching towards Vienna, the Turkish commander had written home for reinforcements. The French are quite sure of the auxiliary force being *en route* for Vienna; on the other hand, they have no intelligence of the Turks having passed Buda, which city, it appears, they entered, committing all manner of atrocities, in consequence of their not having been well received by the inhabitants when they went thither the second time. Apropos of this, king Francis said the other day to the Papal Nuncio that had not Rincon's embassy to Constantinople been prevented, the Grand Turk would surely not have come so far and done so much harm to Christendom. But I must say that though the Nuncio is very much attached to France, he could not disguise his incredulity when he heard such a statement from the royal lips.

I leave France for Spain this very day, and will make as much haste on my journey thither as I made from La Spezzia to Lyons. I could not do less than remain here ten days, because, owing to the continual sports and chase in which the King is generally engaged, some time passed before he gave me audience. The King, I must say, received me well and with great courtesy, so did his courtiers, and I am inclined to think that if those who surround him were not badly intentioned, the King's condition would be more inclined to reason.—Leon (Lyons), xi. Oct. 1541.

Since writing the above, I have heard here at Lyons that yesterday Cesare Fragoso's brother coming from Italy passed post-haste through the city. A courier overtook him here with the following intelligence:—"Fragoso's dead body has been found, and his widow was coming to France to see the King." Great lamentations were heard here in consequence of the news; but I doubt whether further notice will be taken or any more stir be made, for, in my opinion, and that of these courtiers, this king has long suspected the truth of the case.

Spanish. Original. pp. 7½.

15 Oct. **198.** Secretary Juan Vazquez [de Molina] to High Commander Cobos.

S. E., L. 53, ff. 67–8.
B. M. 28,593, f. 35.

His Imperial Majesty embarked at La Spezzia on the 27th ult., and on the 28th, though the wind was unfavorable, prosecuted his voyage to Corsica. Then following the coast he went to Bonifacio,* where he stayed three days, not only

* The Bocca, or Strait of Bonifacio, in Corsica.

1541.

on account of the weather being bad, but because he himself had felt very unwell with an affection of the chest.* Thence he came to Sardinia and landed at Alguer (Alghero), where he stayed four and twenty hours waiting for fair weather and prosperous wind, in order to cross the gulph of "El Hierro." The weather then improved, so that two days after we landed at Menorca. At Mahon the Emperor stayed one day for the galley-slaves to rest. Next day we anchored one league from this town (Palma de Mallorca), in order to make the day after, early in the morning, the public entry, which was very remarkable. The viceroy of Sicily (Ferrante di Gonzaga) was already in port with his galleys, as well as those of Naples and Genoa. God knows how very sorry I was that those of Spain were not already at anchor there, for according to a letter from the duke of Alba they could not sail from Spain before the end of October! To-day, the 15th, perceiving that the Spanish galleys have not yet arrived, the following resolution has, with the Prince of Melphi's advice, been taken, namely, that without waiting for the Spanish galleys we should at once sail for Cartagena. May it please God that he (Doria) be right, for there are not wanting people here who think that the best plan would have been for the whole fleet to go to Formentera, and there wait for the Spanish galleys. I am, however, glad that such a determination has been taken, and that His Majesty has decided that you also should be there, for in that way you will get rid of much annoyance and worry, and your convalescence and cure will be as effectual and sure as I and the rest of the Emperor's servants wish. Gonzalo Perez has restored me to life by means of a letter from Barcelona, stating that your Lordship has been free from intermittent fever (*tercianas*) for upwards of a fortnight, and that you have now fixed your residence in San Hieronimo.† I wish your Signory could come to Cartagena in company with the most Reverend archbishop of Seville, whose health might also be improved by his stay in that port.

The Emperor, I hear, is still inclined to go to Seville and hold Cortes there, that he may attend to business and then visit Granada, and afterwards Valencia and Monçon, in which last town he purposes to have his son [prince Philip] sworn successor to his royal crown. After that, his intention is to go to Italy in the spring, so as to be present in case of emergency, so that when he writes from Algiers and lets us know where he is going, most likely we shall all meet in Seville, where, as I say, the Emperor has made up his mind to hold the first Cortes.

Both the viceroy of Sicily and prince Doria are delighted at the idea of your coming to Barcelona. The infantry from Naples and Sicily is good—all picked men. I am not so much

* "Porque se sintió bien malo del pecho."

† A royal convent then in the outskirts of Madrid.

1541.

pleased with the Germans and Italians; neither are the Neapolitan men-at-arms in such good condition and order as the viceroy represented them to be.

I believe that the determination which the Emperor has taken of leaving this port without waiting for the Spanish galleys is, besides the above stated reasons, caused partly by the rumour that Cenaga (Senan Agá) is about to send a confidential person, who, by the way, has already arrived at Iviça, for the purpose of coming to terms with him and delivering Algiers into his hands, so much so, that a brigantine has already been despatched from this port to ascertain if there be any truth in the report. May it be so, for it certainly would be very agreeable for us to take possession of the place without striking a blow.

The main body of the landing forces is to be commanded by the duke of Alva; the viceroy of Sicily is to lead the vanguard. As to the generals of the various forces, they have not yet been appointed.

I found here the count of Alcaudete, with whom His Majesty has held many a conference, as he is supposed to have much knowledge of African affairs.* Juan de Ma. [Mendoza?] and Ruy Diaz, Don Francisco and Don Mendo de Benavides are also here. I cannot describe to you the pleasure I have had in meeting them. They wanted to take me to Da. Juana de Ril (Eril) and to other ladies, but I am so much engaged that I have not yet been able to attend them. To-morrow, if I have leisure, I purpose taking some recreation, for, as your Lordship very justly observes, I am no longer fit for anything else.†

Don Bernardino de Mendoza had gone to Cartagena when we arrived here. I wish he had been with us, because the galley on board of which I am is very indifferent, not to say wretched. The one in which I formerly had a berth I was obliged to quit by the Emperor's command and make it over to Señor Ottavio,‡ who is coming here to attend the expedition. Had Don Bernardino been with us, he would have accommodated me in one of his.

The Emperor has been pleased to order that this letter of mine should go by the galleys which are taking his jewels to Cartagena. The courier goes in them, to proceed afterwards to Madrid.

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* "D. Martin Alfonso de Cordoba y Velasco, first count of Alcaudete, who, after several victories gained over the African Moors, was killed at Mostagan in 1558."

† "Tambien hallé aqui á Don Juan de Mª y Ruy Diaz, don Francisco de Benavides, y don Mendo, y todos [los] henamorados. No sabria dezir el plazer que he avido de verlos. Anma (Han me) querido llevar á ver á la Sª de Ril (Eril) y otras damas, y no lo he podido hazer hasta agora. Mánana, si pudiere, [me] recrearé un poco, que como V. Sª dice, yo ya no soy para más."

‡ That is Ottavio Farnese, the son of Pier Luigi, who had married the Emperor's natural daughter, Margaret.

1541.

At the time that the Emperor had a fit of gout, at Bonifacio, he sent for Idiaquez and for me, and told us the bad way in which he had been, and was still, and that as he might suddenly die of a similar fit either at sea, or after his landing on the coast of Algiers, without his undertaking being accomplished, he had determined to leave matters so arranged that every one should know, after his death, what his purpose and intentions were: he wished the expedition to be carried on to the end. Two instructions were then drawn up similarly worded, only that one was signed "Carolus" and given to Idiaquez, the other "Yo el Rey." I was to keep this last in my possession. Since then His Imperial Majesty has come here, and is at present in good health, though I heard him say last night that his chest troubled him occasionally. I have no doubt that on his arrival at Algiers, what with the work and fatigue he is likely to take upon himself, the acrid humour which still oppresses him will be dissipated.*

I kiss your Signory's hands and those of the Adelantado. —Mallorca, xv. of October 1541.

P.S.—As I am closing this letter, they tell me that a courier of the king of the Romans has just arrived by sea, and that the news is that after leaving a garrison at Buda with stores and ammunition, the Grand Turk left for Constantinople, taking with him "El Fraile," the friar. I have not seen the courier myself, but my next will inform you if he has brought other news.

Signed: "Juan Vazquez de Molina."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

26 Oct. **199.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, ff. 61-8.

I enclose to Your Majesty by duplicate a copy of the answer of the king of France to his resident ambassador in this country, by which answer Your Majesty will be able to judge what little appearance there is of the marriage in question being ever effected, inasmuch as king Francis demands the extinction of all quarrels, claims, and arrears of pension on the part of England, as if this were a thing of no importance, which really is not at all the idea these people have on the subject. I still maintain my opinion (*ma folle opinion*) that not only is there no inclination on the part of this king to treat of such a marriage, but that the Council of France itself is not in favor of it, owing

* "Llegado á Argel con el trabajo que tomara se acabara de resolver aquel corrimiento que le hace daño."

† "A mi S^{a} Señora beso las manos, á Su S^{ia} y las del señor adel^{o}. Hechura de V. S^{a} que sus manos besa, &c." The Adelantado is here meant for Cobos' eldest son (Diego), who in 1540 was appointed *Adelantado de Cazorla*, or frontier captain of Cazorla; a military post on the Moorish frontier, of which the archbishops of Toledo had disposed ever since the middle of the thirteenth century, which had formerly belonged to the Azevedos, and became afterwards hereditary in the family of Cobos, first marquis de Camarasa.

1541.

to certain reasons, some of which I pointed out in former despatches; for if they formerly made difficulties about giving to Mr. d'Orleans the hand of the daughter of Mr. d'Allebrecht (d'Albret) for fear of making that Duke too powerful in France, as the Imperial ambassador there residing asserts, more formidable would he become if he ever succeeded to the throne of England. It might perhaps be that the extreme affection which king Francis is said to entertain for the Duke, his son, has perhaps induced him to solicit the said marriage against the will of the Dauphin and the advice of his Council, and that is why he begs and intreats his ambassador not to let himself be carried away by personal affection, but to regulate his conduct according to his (the King's) wishes and intentions, and wait for fresh instructions when he sees that the negociation is really progressing.

The French ambassador came the other day to surprise me at dinner time. Thinking that I would not be able to drag out of him any information with regard to king Francis' answer, and fearing also lest in conversing about political affairs in general some expression might escape me as to make him suspect, what is really the fact, that I have read king Francis' letters to him, I refrained from touching on politics, and there was only mirth and good cheer in the evening, besides some light conversation on his own journey to York, with which he seems by no means satisfied. He is only waiting to go to Court till he knows that the duke of Norfolk is already there. I fancy that he will find him colder than ever; formerly he showed more affection, owing to his own brother being ambassador at the court of France, but since the latter has been recalled it is clear that he (the Duke) will not take the affairs of France so much to heart. The French ambassador was very sorry to hear of that official's recall, especially now that, instead of the Duke's brother, the King is sending a man of very little stuff and still smaller quality to represent him, who has never been more than a mere clerk of the Council, which is no good sign of this king intrusting to him so important a negociation as that of a marriage.

These people have made no sign yet of having received Your Majesty's answer to their ambassadors, nor do I believe that they will before All Souls' Day, for on his return from York the King has given permission to the principal members of his Privy Council to go for change of air to their respective country houses. On All Souls' Day all are to meet again.

As far as I can learn, the King and the courtiers who are near his person have expressed regret for the disaster of Hungary, and had it not been that immediately after that the news of the Turks' retreat arrived, as well as that of the truce of six months between the king of the Romans and the former, I should have looked out for an opportunity to go to Court, and again solicit the King for help against the Infidel.

1541.

The bishop of Winchester has, I hear, been well received by the King; but up to this day I have no intelligence to communicate respecting him. I hope, however, soon to get some information from the same quarter; if I do, I shall not fail to transmit it.

By his last letter the Emperor commands me to address all my despatches under cover to Mr. de Granvelle, and therefore I beg Your Majesty to order (if not done already) that my last letters to Your Majesty, as well as the copies of those of king Francis to his ambassador, be forwarded to the Emperor's Lord Privy Seal.—London, 26 Oct. 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. pp. 7.

5 Nov. **200.** Cardinal Tavera to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 51, ff. 144–5.
B. M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 43.

On the 16th ult. we wrote to Your Majesty by way of Valencia, enclosing despatches from Rome and Flanders, as well as Don Francisco Manrique's letters from the coast of France. The messenger went on board a brigantine, which governor Cavanilles fitted out for him. We were then exceedingly anxious for news, not having received any from Your Imperial Majesty for a long time; but on the 20th a letter came from ambassador Figueroa, and on the 22nd those of Don Francisco Manrique, through which we were informed that Your Imperial Majesty had actually sailed off with the whole of the fleet.

By the papers and memoranda which Don Francisco brought and laid before this Council of State, we were informed of what had passed between Your Majesty and His Holiness during the few days that you passed in that island.

The resolutions there and then taken seem to us most suitable and proper, as well as necessary for the welfare of Christendom at large, the extirpation of heresy and error, and the resistance against the enemies of the Faith, and that whereas Your Majesty could not possibly be present at the future conferences, owing to your being personally engaged in so meritorious an expedition, the charge of representing Your Majesty had been entrusted to Mr. de Grandvelle, whose experience of affairs is mostly wanted on occasions like this, when His Holiness' natural propensity to procrastination and delay may be injurious.*

Don Francisco Manrique drew out a report of his negociation in France. There can be no doubt that all the stirring up in France was owing to the fear they have of Your Majesty's arms. No sooner did they hear of Your Majesty's peaceful intentions than every preparation for defence was

* "Pues segund la condicion de Su Beatitud[de] alargar los negocios y ser tardo en los resoluciones, era menester que quedaase á ello persona de tanta experiencia."

1541.

suspended, and the King gave orders that all prisoners should be liberated, with the single exception of the archbishop of Valence. As to Vergara, the accountant [also a prisoner in France], no notice was then taken, owing to some omission or other, but since then proper application has been made for his release.

The day after D. Francisco's arrival Your Majesty's courier came from Mallorca with the letter of the 15th ult., giving us certain news of Your Majesty's sailing for the coast of Africa. As the galley in which he came was the same in which were Your Majesty's jewels bound for Cartagena, the courier had to make a *détour* before he came here, which naturally increased our anxiety.

Glad to hear that Your Majesty has chosen that port to land after your return from Africa, but very sorry to learn that the duke of Alba with the Spanish galleys was unable to join the expedition. How that could be we have not the least idea, for certainly he (the Duke) sailed in time to make Iviza and La Formentera 12 or 13 days before any of the other ships could arrive there. Perhaps he sent a galley to Mallorca to ascertain whether Your Majesty was already in that island, but the wind being contrary the galley could not make head against it, and, although she attempted it twice or three times, she was obliged to come back. That was no doubt the cause of Your Majesty being unaware that the fleet was so close by; but as the Duke wrote next day that the wind was fair for going to Mallorca, we have no doubt that by this time he has already effected his junction.

Provisions shall not be wanting; besides those already collected and stored at Cartagena, orders have been sent to secretary Peña, as well as to the "corregidor," Andrés Davalos, to prepare a quantity of biscuit; and as hands might be wanted, he of Malaga has been written to, to send eight or ten "*maestros*" to help in the baking. The last letters from that town inform us that seven *bizcocheros* with their helps (*ayudantes*) have already left for Cartagena.

To the frontiers of Navarre and Fuenterrabia orders have been forwarded to be on the alert, for although there is no fear at present of the French making any movement, yet it is not prudent to be too confident. The same orders have been sent to the frontier of Perpignan for captain Moreno—who once was there in Don Francés de Alava's time, and was much liked by the inhabitants—to reside there with 400 men raised in the kingdoms of Valencia and Aragon, and that the 200 men of the garrison of Perpignan should go to Navarre.

Prince Philip went the other day for sport to Aranjuez, and thence to visit his sister Doña Maria.*—Madrid, 5 November 1541.

Spanish. Original. pp. 8.

* Da. Maria, the Infanta, born on the 21st of June 1528.

1541.

6 Nov. **201.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, ff. 69–72.

Three days ago I received Your Majesty's letter of the 16th ult., together with the copy of the treaty of commerce, besides the very ample and copious information of what passed in the various negociations, which documents will, I calculate, be enough for the present, if these people have the least desire of hearing the truth and listening to reason.

Having heard from a reliable quarter that the French ambassador had actually bribed people to make the King and his privy councillors believe that the Emperor was thinking of nothing short of having a general Council celebrated in the teeth of this king, and that Mr. de Grantvelle† had remained behind at Rome chiefly for the purpose of soliciting the assembly of that Council, I decided in order to allay the suspicion if conceived, and ascertain how the King's fantastic humour had taken the news, and what his privy councillors thought of it, to send one of my men to Court under the excuse of soliciting the redress of some great injury lately done to ten or twelve Flemings now in London, but in reality and incidentally to inform the privy councillors that the chief cause of Mr. de Grantvelle's stay at Rome was the question submitted to His Holiness respecting the truce and its observance, and whether it had been broken or not. That until now I was not aware of the Privy Seal having brought forward before His Holiness any other subject except his raising at his expense* 2,000 *Italians to help against the Turk, and likewise his sending some legate or nuncio to Germany to induce the prelates of those parts to reform the ecclesiastical state according to the Emperor's recommendations in the last Diet and the promise made by its members. I thought that by declaring and fully specifying this last article, the King and his councillors might understand that if there had been any appearance of a general Council of the Church being soon assembled, as reported, at the Emperor's exclusive solicitation, there was no need to ask for the sending of a legate. I did more; for the sake of the "*bonne bouche*" and flattery with which the French are in the habit of saturating them,‡ I sent them word that the Emperor, before he embarked for the coast of Africa, had caused a letter to be written to me, in which he said he had ordered Mr. de Grantvelle to communicate with me by letter, and let me know confidentially the news of Rome that I might immediately apprize the King thereof.*

I am told by the privy councillors that when the King heard the above from my secretary's lips, he took the whole in good part, and was singularly pleased and satisfied at the

* "A la barbe du dit sieur roy."

† I need not observe that Granvelle's name is differently spelt by Chapuys, who sometimes calls him *Grandvelle*, and at others *Grantvelle*, as in the present despatch.

‡ "Et pour la bonne bouche usant ung peu de la parfumerie dont les françois ont accoustume les repaistre."

1541.

account of the discomfiture of Fragoso and Rincon, and my secretary tells me that, to judge from the mien and countenance of the privy councillors, neither they nor the King seemed to approve of the application made by the French to His Holiness, much less of certain articles of their demand. As a further proof that my message produced good effect in the Privy Council, I must add that the affair of the Flemings, which I took up by way of excuse, was immediately settled, and that not a word was said to my secretary about the affair for which this King's ambassadors are still in Brussels.

The duke of Norffoc (Norfolk) had obtained leave from the King to go for some days to his house in the country, but scarcely had he been there three days when one of his men died of the plague, and not daring for that reason to go to Greenwich, where the Court now is, he has come here to London, and has already spent five days surrounded by his friends. I have no doubt that on this occasion the ambassador of France and he must have had frequent communication. I wonder why it is that my confident of the French embassy has not come to report; neither has he brought to me the alphabets of the three ciphers which he once promised. I suspect he will not until I have paid him a good sum of money for his trouble, if I am to believe what he indirectly said to my man the last time he spoke to him.—London, 6 November 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp.

9 Nov. **202.** D. Francisco Manrique to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 55, ff. 202–3. B. M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 38.

I failed not to write to Your Majesty, by way of Genoa, how well I was treated at Thurin (Torino), and how on my road to France I witnessed the preparations of defence being made everywhere for fear of Your Majesty invading the country on that side. I also had occasion to mention the good reception which the King gave me, as well as other incidents of my journey; but as that despatch was written in Burgundy, and I am not sure of its having reached its destination, I consider myself in duty bound to amplify, as it were, its contents.

[Relates in more detail his interview with king Francis at Lyons, as in No. 197, and then continues.]

With regard to Your Majesty having left behind Mr. de Grandvelle to transact certain business, as agreed with the Pope, in Italy,* the King said to me that he would answer His Holiness' letter in so satisfactory a manner that no

* On the 28th September, four days before his sailing from Genoa for his second African expedition, the Emperor sent Mr. de Granvelle to the Pope in order to refute the accusation of the murder of Fragoso and Rincon brought against him and his ministers, and request him to become the arbiter of his differences with Francis.

1541.

possible complaints should be made of him. The archbishop of Valence (Valencia) (he said) was not to be considered a prisoner of his; he was only detained until his own servants, now under arrest, should be restored to him. He (the King) could not say whether they were alive or dead; he rather thought they were alive; but if dead, as many presume, he must needs have satisfaction. As to other prisoners in his hands, he (the King) knows nothing about them; if there were any, they had been imprisoned without his knowledge, and will be set free immediately. It was not he who began; he did in nowise break the truce, nor will he ever do so, and break his promise. It was not for that purpose that he ordered levies of men throughout his kingdom, but because he noticed that the Pope, the Venetians, and other Powers were arming in concert with Your Majesty.

As to certain gentlemen, your servants, now detained at Avignon, they were not within his own dominions, and therefore it was not in his power to liberate them. If any one of them happens to be a prisoner within the limits of his kingdom he shall be freed at once.

I firmly believe that our most Holy Father, the Pope, has done in this affair of the archbishop of Valencia all that could be expected of him as befitting his dignity and authority; but I suspect also that both his resident Nuncio at this court and the one who came after have taken, and are taking, the thing very coolly. Perceiving, however, this King's obstinate refusal to surrender his prisoner, Your Majesty's ambassador and I thought proper to ask that the archbishop should at least be released from the castle wherein he is a prisoner, and allowed to go freely about and reside at some town of this country favorably situated for the recovery of his somewhat shattered health. This we (Marvol and I) flattered ourselves might be easily obtained, since the King himself had distinctly told us that the archbishop was no prisoner of his. But we were mistaken; the King answered us that the archbishop was in a very healthy spot, well lodged and treated. As to the twenty servants of his detained in the castle of Lyons, among whom there were a few gentlemen, they would (he said) be liberated at once.*

The archbishop is still in the castle of Semur (Saumur) on the Soc, in Burgundy; he is in good health and well treated, as I said above. The King said that henceforth all couriers and others will be allowed to pass through his dominions unmolested, and that he hopes his own in Italy will be equally well treated.

I forgot to mention in my former despatch that immediately after my first audience, and the assurances I gave him of Your Majesty's most pacific intentions, this King sent orders to all his frontiers to disarm, and that having, whilst at Lyons,

* Y a sus criados, qua estaban hasta voynte en el castillo da Leon presos, y algunos hombras de manera (marca ?) entre ellos, que él los mandaria soltar á todos."

1541.

passed muster to the gentlemen of his Royal household, as well as to the archers of his body-guard, about 1,500 horse in all—though their number was supposed to be higher—he dismissed them all to go home. One half of the force seemed to me well-appointed and excellent men-at-arms; the other very indifferent. On my road here I have met others, chiefly Gascons coming from Provence, where, as in the Languedoc, there were no less than 4,000 or 5,000 of them. In the county of Avignon the King had 4,000 lances, who still remain there encamped, as the people of that town will not let them in. It is rumoured that king Francis wishes to get possession of Avignon, and that the sending of such a force thither was only owing to the report that His Holiness was about to make over the castle of that town to Your Majesty in exchange for other fiefs and towns to be given to his grandsons (*nietos*). With all this there was a rumour at the court of France that the two Papal Nuncios had given it to be understood that should king Francis wish for an interview with His Holiness at Turin, there would be no difficulty at all on his part.

Your Majesty may be certain of one thing—this king is evidently glad of a prorogation of the truce until he himself be in a condition to break it, for just now he is very poor. I have been told by practical financiers that the fear of Your Majesty's fleets and armies has already cost him upwards of 500,000 crs., for at one time he was almost sure that Your Majesty intended to make war upon him, and so he had to provide for Turin, and Marseilles, Aigues-Mortes, Narbonne, and the whole of Provence, not knowing exactly which of those provinces was most threatened. Indeed, his chancellor complains of the large sums he has had to remit to Germany for the purpose of making recruits there, the money having been taken from Lyons merchants and bankers by way of a forced loan, &c.

Fragoso's relatives have been lately trying to obtain from this king permission for the Genoese to trade freely in France, and chiefly in Lyons, as they formerly did, pretending that if such permission be granted several influential and rich merchants of that Republic will come and settle in France, and that in this manner possession may be obtained of that city by some of the gates and towers in the walls; in consequence of which petition free permission to trade with France has been granted to the Genoese.

Her Majesty, the queen of France, is doing well. I met her close to Burgenbresse (Bourg en Bresse), ten leagues away from where the King was then staying. She had been very ill indeed, almost on the verge of death; but when I saw her she had entirely recovered.

At Lyons I heard that a brother of Cesare Fragoso coming from Venice had just arrived, and expressed the hope that his brother was still alive; but on the eve of my leaving that

1541.

city a courier came post haste from Italy announcing that Fragoso had been found dead, pierced by poinard wounds, between the river Po and Pavia, and his body had been taken to the family vault and there interred. That his widow had actually seen and recognized him by a certain mark in his hand, and that she herself was coming to France. I hold it for certain that even in case of that courier having stated the truth, which I do not believe, this king will make no stir at all about it, because I fancy that for some time past he has believed him to be dead. However this may be, Fragoso's brother has been the bearer of the news.

The news about the Turk here is that he intends passing the winter in Hungary and retaining possession of Buda, having already sent to Constantinople for reinforcements, all for fear of the auxiliary forces going thither from Hungary to Germany and Bohemia. Vienna, however, was quite secure from an attack, for the Turk had not passed Buda, nor was he likely to make a movement in advance during this winter.

Whilst at the court of France I received Your Majesty's letter of the 27th September, as well as my own commission for Spain. With regard to the Spanish courier stopped and arrested in Provence, the Imperial ambassador and I made proper representations, asking the King for his release, and the recovery of the letters and despatches he had with him, as well as for that of the Lutheran, who, according to Juan Vazquez [de Molina], was a prisoner on board the brigantine* that was captured. I likewise spoke to the King of another courier taken at Monpeller, who was going from Rome to Spain. With reference to the last [courier], who left Genoa and was arrested in France, the King assured me that he knew nothing at all about him, but would make inquiries and have him released like the others. I myself on my road [to Spain] did all I could to gather information about the courier arrested in Provence, and, if possible, take to Spain, as I was instructed, the letters and despatches of which he was bearer; but no traces whatever could be found of him. As to the one who coming from Rome was taken at Monpeller, I have ascertained that he is still kept under custody at Aigues-Mortes. At Barcelona, on my landing, I found that the Lutheran, mentioned in Juan Vazquez' letter to me, was safely lodged in the dungeons of the Inquisition.† I also learned that the courier from Genoa, who brought Your Majesty's letters of the 9th and 11th Sept., as well as the memorandum for the High Commander [of Leon] had reached his destination without impediment. I have, therefore, written to the Imperial ambassador in France not to trouble the King on this subject again.

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* "Y tambien un lutherano, que me escribió el Secretario Juan Vazquez que venia en el bergantin preso."

† "Llegado á Barcelona hallé al Lutherano preso en la Inquisicion."

1541.

Both on my road from La Spezzia to Lyons, where I met Your Majesty's ambassador, and between Burgundy and Madrid, I made all possible haste, but what with the King's almost daily hunting, and eleven or twelve days spent in answering Your Majesty's letter, and two more by the Queen, it was out of the question for me to leave sooner. I fancy that I was purposely detained that I should witness the muster of this King's household and bodyguard, as above.

On my arrival here I delivered into the hands of the High Commander Your Majesty's letter, and gave him and the cardinal of Toledo (Tavera) a summary account of what I had done and seen in France.—Madrid, 4 November 1541.

Signed: "Don Francisco Manrique."

Addressed: "*To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, &c.*"

Spanish. Original. pp. 13.

10 Nov. **203.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to MR. DE GRANVELLE.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, f. 51.

The very great haste of this courier, and my knowing that your Lordship must already be acquainted with the late events in this country, are the causes of my not writing at length. I can only say that, since the date of my last despatch to the Emperor, the ambassador of France has received no letters whatever from the King, his master, nor has he spoken either to this king or to the duke of Norfolk. I have again caused some money to be paid to the friend in question,* in order to keep him alert and in good spirits, as the present circumstances require, and he has given me hope of some original letters.—London, in haste, this 10th of November, 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To Monseigneur, Monsieur de Grandvelle, first councillor of State, and Lord Privy Seal to the Emperor." †

French. Original. p. 1.

* That is the clerk or attaché to the French embassy in London, who procured him copies of the ambassador's correspondence. *See* above, p. 365.

† "*Premier Conseiller d'Etat et Garde Seal* (sic) *de Sa Majesté*," are the words used; but what is meant by first or principal councillor of State is difficult to say. That he was in the first instance the Emperor's Secretary of State for Flanders, then Lord Privy Seal (Guarda Sellos), and ultimately Councillor of State in Spain cannot be doubted; but that Council had never an acknowledged president, being presided over by the King. Garma y Duran (Don Francisco Xavier de) in his *Theatro Universal de España*, Vol. IV., gives a list of all the councillors of State from 1526—probable date of its institution—down to 1746, and though he names all those of Charles V., he does not give the date of their nomination, and in some cases, like that of Granvelle, omits that of their death. His words (Vol. IV., p. 49) are: "Nicolao Perenoto, señor de Granvela, y de Beauxeu (Beaujeu?), baron de Aspremont, comendador de Zalamea en la Orden de Alcantara, y Guarda de los Sellos de S. M." However, as in the list of councillors, Granvelle is placed between D. Juan de Zuñiga, tutor and High Lord Chamberlain to Prince Philip, who died in 1546, and Don Juan Manuel Señor de Belmonte, knight of the Golden Fleece, who died in 1543, it may be concluded that Granvelle was appointed in 1541.

1541.

10 Nov. **204.** The SAME to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, ff. 76–7.

Last Lent* I wrote to Your Majesty that this king, feigning indisposition, was ten or twelve days without seeing his queen or allowing her to come into his room; that during all that time there had been much consultation and talk of a divorce; but that, owing to some presumption that she (the Queen) was in the family way, or because the means and ways to bring about a divorce were not yet sufficiently prepared,† the affair dropped, and has since been dormant until the 5th inst., on which day, early in the morning, the King went into his Council room, and remained there until noon. Suddenly, after dinner, he entered his small barge, with six or seven of his attendants, and came here from Antoncour (Hampton Court), where the rest of the Privy Council remained sitting, the Chancellor and the duke of Norfolk having been summoned in haste the night before, at 12 o'clock. After the King had left, the archbishop of Canterbury entered the Queen's room two or three times, as is supposed, to interrogate and admonish her in the name of the Council;‡ but it does not appear that much work was accomplished by that. On the evening of the 6th, the privy councillors returned [to Hampton Court], and stayed nearly all night deliberating in the King's apartments, and again the day after, night and day, at the house of the bishop of Winchester, where it was resolved to make most of those who were at Hampton Court with the Queen leave the palace, seals being put on all the coffers and chests, and the doors being guarded. Among others who remained inside the palace was the archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer), head and chief of the whole set. Meanwhile the Queen's brother was kept away from her room, and some time before a damsel of the Privy Chamber, named Fenelle,§ and a gentleman of the name of Durem,‖ master usher to the Queen's apartments, had been sent to the Tower. From what I have been able to learn, after most diligent inquiry, it seems that the King pretends that the above mentioned Durem had actually been betrothed to the Queen before her marriage to him, and, therefore, that his own is invalid and nul. And I have been told that in two days time the King will have that published, and that three months hence the Estates of the kingdom will be assembled by convocation, which makes me suspect that if Parliament meets, it will be for the purpose of revoking and cancelling their former declaration and decree on the nullity of the Clèves' marriage. The suspicion grows stronger from the fact that it is since the return of the bishop of Winchester, who seems to be the guide

* "Dois les caresmaux passes jescripviz a vre. mate."

† "Ou que les moyens nestoient encores bien dresses, laffaire se sopira (s'assoupit?) et a dormy jusques au cinquieme de ce mois."

‡ "Que lon presuppost estre pour linterroguer ou admonester de la part du Conseil, mais a ce que sembloit il ny exploicta grandement."

§ "Et tant et quant avoit este mise en la tour une demoiselle de la privee chambre que se nomme Fenelle."

‖ Durham.

1541.

and counsel in all this affair, that the above particulars have become public, for, having been in Germany, he (the Bishop) may have had opportunities for making inquiries and getting information respecting the causes and reasons of the King's divorce from her. At least, such is the belief of the French ambassador, who has written about it [to his master]. Indeed, not later than yesterday he was heard to say that the young duke of Clèves would soon be one of the most highly connected princes in the world, and that this king's reconciliation with his sister Anne would promote other very important alliances of momentous consequences, meaning the Princess' marriage; yet, notwithstanding what the French ambassador says, I cannot believe that this king will ever retake Anne as his wife; even if he felt some inclination for it, means ought to be found to *prevent it.*—London, 10 November 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph, ciphered. pp. 2.

14 Nov. **205.** COMMANDER VALENÇUELA to the HIGH COMMANDER COVOS.

S. E., L. 870, f. 120.
B. M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 49.

Wrote on the 17th ult.* As the transit of couriers through France was then considered rather uncertain, I enclose a duplicate of my letter.

On pending business I have nothing to add to the report which the Imperial ambassador and Mr. de Granvelle cannot fail to send by this post. To-morrow they will be received by His Holiness, and as Mr. de Granvelle says that he only intends remaining here at Rome six days, I presume that the business for which he came will now be at an end.

A week after my last letter commander Gilberte died very suddenly of the asthma he was suffering from when he came here. Being a good Christian he had made his will a few days before, and appointed me his executor and successor in office, of course, until the Emperor's pleasure should appear. Since then these gentlemen have confirmed the Commander's designation, but I confess that I was tempted to refuse, not indeed on account of the duchess Margaret herself, whose most humble servant I am, but because all those who have hitherto had charge of her household affairs have gone through great risks and dangers, not one of them that I know of having escaped prison or death or bad wounds.† I have, therefore, accepted, though I must at the same time fulfil the duties of the mission on which I was sent here.—Rome, 14 November 1541.

Signed: "Francisco de Valençuela."

Addressed: "To the most illustrious lord, the High Commander of Leon, &c."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

* No letter of the 17th of October is among those at Simancas, and, therefore, it is to be presumed that it was intercepted. As early as Nov. 1536 Commander Valençuela had gone to Italy on a mission of the Emperor. *See* Vol. V., Part II., p. 294.

† "Y aunque yo quisiera escusarme de continuar este cargo—no por falta de buena voluntad de servir á S. M. y á Madama en él, como debo, syno por los trabajos y peligros que han tenido, que ninguno se escapa de preso, muerto ó mal herido."

1541.

14 Nov. **206.** The MARQUIS DE AGUILAR and MUSGR. (*sic*) DE GRANVELLE to the EMPEROR.

S. E., L. 870, f. 32.
B. M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 51.

Since our last, dated Tody [Todi], the 25th of October, informing Your Majesty of our arrival in Rome together with His Holiness, we (the Marquis and I) have never rested until we prevailed upon cardinals Santa Croce and Frenes (Farnese), previously deputed by the Pope, to hold a conference with the ambassadors of king Francis, and ascertain from them how far they were inclined to observe the present truce, and whether they were or were not disposed to accept the terms offered to them at Lucca, which were to submit to his Holiness' decision and arbitrage, not only Fragoso's case, but also any other infraction of the truce of which they might complain, since Your Majesty, to do them pleasure, had consented to do the same, and place the whole matter in his Holiness' hands for him to decide.

The Cardinals, therefore, spoke to the ambassador and secretary of France, who, being pressed to state their reasons for their master's exculpation, declared that if their master's answer had been different from what they and we expected, it was chiefly owing to his having since obtained positive information as to the death of both Cesare Fragoso and Rincon. And upon the Cardinals proving to them, by comparing dates, that when king Francis proposed to put the affair in his Holiness' hands he (the King) could not have known of the death of Fragoso and Rincon, having written explicitly enough "that on Your Majesty's return from Algiers he would insist upon the release of the prisoners," the ambassador and secretary were obliged to own that the King had not said anything of the sort, but that they themselves had inserted a paragraph or words to that effect in order to save time and excuse their master. As to the prorogation of the truce, they could do nothing in the matter without consulting cardinal Trivultio first.

After giving us an account of their conference with the French ambassadors, the Cardinals suggested that king Francis, being, as reported, very much concerned and afflicted by the death of Fragoso and Rincon, might possibly, if pressed to prorogue the truce and release Mr. de Valence (Valencia), declare that he would do neither the one nor the other, and if so the thread of peace would be abruptly severed. That His Holiness had been thinking that it was far better to treat of the observance of the present truce conjointly with the peace itself.

This we refused in Your Majesty's name, saying that truce and peace were two different things. We wanted to know how far king Francis was disposed to observe the former. As to the latter, there was plenty of time before us to establish, with His Holiness' consent and mediation, a good and solid one. What we wished to know was whether king Francis would observe faithfully its conditions whilst the Emperor was attacking the enemy of Christendom in his own dominions. That we might hear what the French ambassador had to answer to our application, the marquis de Aguilar and I (Granvelle)

1541.

remained to dine with cardinal Farnese; and his colleague, Santa Croce, having called in the afternoon, both said to us that the French ambassador had reduced his defence to two points. One was that since he and his colleague had—as they said and as was true—applied for His Holiness' judgment and decision in the case of Fragoso and Rincon, they could not decently desist from their application; it was for us not to put too much pressure on their master, the King, considering the pain he must have felt at their unfortunate end. The other point was that the King had already answered in writing the five articles presented by Your Majesty's ambassador in France and by Don Francisco Manrique.

To the above two points of the French ambassador's declaration, we then and there replied, as we afterwards did to His Holiness, that the king of France could not equitably and reasonably escape through any subterfuge the arbitration of His Holiness to which he himself had consented, much less in a case so important as that one, and so closely connected with the welfare of Christendom and the preservation of peace in Italy. It was, we said, incumbent upon His Holiness to ascertain what chance there was of king Francis observing the truce, since were he to break it the whole of the Christian community would be placed in jeopardy through the Turk, &c. The Pope having thought fit, in the course of conversation, to exaggerate king Francis' sentiments at the loss of Fragoso and Rincon, his ministers—who, though not wholly accredited as his ambassadors, had really and truly received that denomination and title—adding that king Francis pretended to know where and by whom they were slain, we could not do less than repeat the statement once made, namely, that Your Majesty had never ordered or consented to the death of Fragoso and Rincon; that, on the contrary, you had caused the most diligent search and inquiry to be made concerning it. That was the reason why we were ready to submit to his arbitration. Besides (said we) both Fragoso and Rincon were wicked and disreputable men, owing to their practices and dealings with the Turk, the Lutherans, and the Venetians, to the great injury of Christendom, as His Holiness was aware, and as could be proved in time. They were at the time of their misadventure crossing the duchy of Milan, accompanied by rebels and outcasts (*fuorusciti*) of that State, and if they were slain they richly deserved their fate, and that it was neither just nor tolerable that by way of retaliation, and in exchange for such men, king Francis should retain in his power a person so high in dignity as the archbishop of Valence (Valencia), taken prisoner at the time that he was journeying to take possession of his archiepiscopal see.

With regard to the five articles which the French ambassadors pretended had been presented to their master, and obtained his full approbation, we assured His Holiness that no such thing had happened; it was one of the many falsehoods

1541.

invented by them in order to excuse their master, because the charge given to Don Francisco Manrique was merely to visit the King in Your Majesty's name, and inform him of the expedition you were about to undertake for the service of God and the welfare of Christendom, at the same time praying him to be a good neighbour to you. Don Francisco was also, if an opportunity offered itself, to ask for the release of Mr. de Valence (Valencia) and other prisoners in the King's hands. If mention were to be made of the truce, Don Francisco was instructed to refer entirely to what had been settled at Lucca. Neither the Imperial ambassador in France nor Don Francisco Manrique (said we) had received from the King's ministers any communication in writing, and therefore we were at a loss to guess the five articles agreed to by king Francis. If His Holiness wished, we (the Imperial ambassador and I) had no objection whatever to make the same statement in public, and in the presence of the French.

His Holiness' reply to our arguments was that with respect to the imprisonment of the archbishop of Valence (Valencia) we were right. He himself had spoken in the warmest terms to the French ambassadors, and so had his nuncios in France done to the King. He hoped that the whole thing would be shortly remedied; if it were not, he (the Pope) would do his part. With regard to the truce and Fragoso's affair, he said that although king Francis' ministers had placed the whole matter in his hands, and it was just and reasonable that they should submit to his arbitration, yet in order not to overstrain matters so as to rend asunder the threads of peace, he still insisted upon the expediency of treating at once of the prorogation of the existing truce, and the ways and means for a future peace.

Our reply was that, for the reasons we fully explained to cardinals Farnese and Santa Croce, we decidedly objected to that. It might, we said, have been done had not king Francis attempted to put a limit to the observation of the truce by submitting it entirely to His Holiness' arbitration and will, having formally declared that he will keep the same during the Algiers undertaking, and until he sees what sort of punishment Your Majesty will inflict on those concerned in Fragoso and Rincon's death, and provided no other cause of complaint is given him, &c.

Perceiving, however, that His Holiness still persisted in his opinion, we asked him whether he would mind giving us an attested memorandum of all that had passed in this matter of the truce since the day in which the King's ministers first spoke of it at Lucca up to the present time, that we might forward it to Your Majesty and make use of it in its own time and place, when convenient. Whilst we were discussing the above two points, cardinal Santa Croce came in, and said that he had forgotten to report an important item of the conversation he had held the day before with the French ambassador, which

1541.

was this: Having asked him what his master, the King, would do in case of Your Majesty refusing to investigate Fragoso's case, and have the murderers punished to his own satisfaction, the ambassador had answered that His Holiness would be the judge of what king Francis ought to do in order to see if they intended fulfilling their word, and that his Holiness might not be deceived by them a second time, Santa Croce asked the ambassadors whether they had any objection to put down in writing the substance of their conversation; they had promised to do so.

With this our first conference ended. Next day there was a talk about the proposed reformation of the German prelates, and the ecclesiastic whom the Pope is to depute for that purpose. The Pope said that he had appointed cardinals Contareno and Brundusino to frame the instructions which the said ecclesiastic is to take for the discharge of his commission. Also respecting the General Council, the time and place of its celebration, as well as the ratification of the League, which we are given to understand—and is still *in statu quo*—was to have been given before the Pope's departure from Bologna to the duke of Bavaria's agent.

We likewise spoke to him of the Diet, which His Majesty the king of the Romans has summoned for the 14th of January, to consider what is to be done against the Turk, and whom His Holiness intends to designate as his representative in that Diet. We gave him a copy of the indiction in German, with its Latin translation *ad pedem litteræ*, without omitting one single word. All this we are doing in order to gain time. With the same purpose we have begged His Holiness to send us a copy of whatever his answer to Germany may be on the aforesaid three points, namely, Reform, Council, and Diet, that we may state our own opinion on the whole for the greater satisfaction of the Germans themselves.

Half-fruits of Flanders—

On the 5th inst. we again called on His Holiness, with the double object of taking leave of him, and enquiring whether the French ambassadors had or had not sent in their statement in writing, as promised, when asked what the King, their master, would do in case of Your Majesty declining to punish the murderers of Fragoso and Rincon. The two Cardinals (Farnese and Santa Croce) being there present, said that although the French ambassadors had repeated over and over again the same statement, they had resolutely declined to put it down in writing, though they had promised to write home about it.

Before taking leave of His Holiness, and perceiving that he still persisted in his former idea of putting aside the point relating to the observation of the truce, or rather treating conjointly of it and of the means of ensuring peace, we again prayed him, as earnestly as we could, to grant us the two aforesaid points, namely, a certificate of all that had happened at Lucca and here at Rome on the Fragoso affair and in that of

1541.

the archbishop of Valence (Valencia); and the other that he himself should give us his opinion in writing as to the security of Italy in case of the truce not being ensured. Such insistence on our part was founded on our belief that the Pope will never give such a certificate; neither will he declare himself with regard to Italy, this being the true thorn in His Holiness' side, as it is in king Francis', and likewise the only effectual means for us of bringing them over to the maintenance of the truce and the release of the Archbishop.

Perceiving that we were not likely to give in, the Pope then began to say that he would do what he could in this affair of the truce and release of Mr. de Valence (Valencia); he would write to his nuncio in France to speak to king Francis about it, and, if necessary, send one of his own most confidential servants to him, and do whatever else was required, to make the King understand the bad effect which would be produced in Christendom by his refusing to make such a declaration as the one asked for; whilst, on the other hand, it would be a great piece of justification for Your Majesty that your pressing requests to him (the Pope) should be made known to the World. We had no doubt that after that the French would no longer object to the declaration asked from them, provided he (the Pope) at the same time proposed the terms of peace, as the one thing could not well go without the other, being so closely connected, &c.

Our answer was that as to His Holiness sending a nuncio to France with the express mission of persuading king Francis to make the required declaration, should he do so as desired, and we were once certain of the continuation of the truce, terms of peace might be offered if His Holiness wished it; but that until we knew what those terms might be we had nothing to say. In short, having told His Holiness that if the duchy of Milan was to be one of the conditions, peace could not be made or signed, as it was highly impolitic, as Your Majesty had declared at Lucca, not only as far as Your Majesty was concerned, but dangerous to Italy and the State of the Church, that that duchy should ever be incorporated to the crown of France, that being openly the King's chief aim.

His Holiness seemed to assent to the above arguments of ours, and then began to talk about a marriage between Your Majesty's eldest daughter [the Infanta Da. Maria] and Mons. d'Orleans with the Low Countries of Flanders as a dower, wishing to know the cause why the negociations for a marriage so advantageous for king Francis had been dropped. We answered His Holiness' inquiries on that point by detailing to him what had passed in that business, and that it was not Your Majesty's fault that the offer had not been accepted. Had king Francis considered (said we) how superior that offer was to that of the duchy of Milan, he would not have delayed one moment in seizing it; but some of his ministers and other persons, moved by their own passions and jealousies, had

1541.

dissuaded him. That the King himself having refused, it was now impossible to resume the negociations, even if the King changed his mind, inasmuch as instead of keeping the thing secret he had maliciously published it everywhere, thus placing Your Majesty in a most awkward and inconvenient position with your own subjects and vassals, and obliging you to make excuses and give explanations.

This notwithstanding, the Pope still insisted that in his opinion that was the only means of conciliation that could be successful, though he owned that king Francis having once, of his own free will, broken off the negociations, there was very little chance of his resuming them again. He intended to send to France a confidential servant of his own to procure the King's declaration, without however informing the French ambassador at his court, or even cardinal Triulzo, for fear this latter, who passionately desires Milan for king Francis, should disarrange his plans. Should the King feel inclined to resume the negociations, then the Nuncio (Poggio) would propose the thing to Your Majesty, &c.

In short, what my colleague and I gather from His Holiness' sentiments is this: that he intends sending someone to king Francis to make sure that the truce will be observed, notwithstanding past or future contraventions, the cognizance and judgment of which is to remain exclusively his, this judgment to be suspended in the meantime to treat of peace through the means above said; also to know what the King's intentions are as to that, or whether a better means of securing peace can be found. The person appointed to insist strongly on the liberation of the Archbishop. This seems to be the Pope's final resolution in this affair, and we have no doubt that in order to have in his hands the management of this present truce, and at the same time preserve his own authority and gain credit, he will fulfil his promises.

We are trying to get other points settled, such as the Council, the resistance against the Turk, the appointment of the person who is to be sent to the Diet of the 14th, the instructions that ecclesiastic is to take, and other like business resolved, as well as that of Ascanio Colonna and his family, the creation of cardinals, ecclesiastical affairs of Spain and Flanders, on which His Holiness by the way does not seem to have yet made up his mind; and although I (Granvelle) purpose leaving Rome in five or six days—during which I shall not cease to solicit the dispatch thereof—I am almost sure that we shall obtain a favorable answer to all, for if I do not my colleague (Aguilar) will.

After the above was written the Pope sent us word that he had appointed Nicolao Ardinguello, bishop of Vessumbrum,*

* Vessumbrum must be an error for Frossombrone, of which Nicolas Andrighelli was bishop from the 29th of June to 1544, when he was created cardinal.

1541.

his first Secretary and Datary. A few hours after the Bishop himself called, showed us his instructions, and asked whether we had any orders to give him.

We were about to close this when Your Majesty's letter of the xvith *ult. from Mallorca came to hand. We knew already of your safe arrival in that island by a letter of the viceroy of Catalonia.* God be praised for it!—Rome, 14 November 1541.

P.S.—A letter has just been received from the marquis del Gasto, in which, though he asks, as usual, our advice in the matter, he still insists on Pirro Colonna declaring to His Holiness what he himself (the Marquis) had charged him to say respecting Fragoso and Rincon's business. In that affair, as we (my colleague and I) have written to him, there is one point among the rest which seems to us of great importance, namely, that the Pope and the rest will never be persuaded that the Marquis knew of the case before Your Majesty's arrival in Italy, and did not inform Your Majesty thereof. For that reason we have hitherto delayed moving in the affair, also because the French might allege that though the Marquis had positively declared the innocence of one of the parties concerned in the crime, he by no means could have done so with regard to the others. Also that if he (the Marquis) knew of the affair he ought not to have allowed judicial proceedings to be taken, as he has,* causing several of the witnesses to take false oaths thereupon. Nor ought he to have practised such dissimulation with the French as he has made use of—giving the King's ministers and the King himself to understand that nobody knew anything of the case nor how the thing happened. And, lastly, that though the Marquis was under obligation to the man who revealed to him the whole thing, he was still more bound to the duties of his office as governor of Milan, and, in short, that it was to be feared that, notwithstanding all the Marquis' protestations, he himself knew nothing of the affair. King Francis might very well allege also that if the Marquis, as governor of the State of Milan, and residing in it at the time, had been guilty of such a fault, he (Francis) could very well attack him and invade the State to revenge the injury he pretends to have received.

For the above reason we thought it was better to delay the said declaration, or put it altogether aside, until it was known whether king Francis would or would not send his powers to the Pope for him to judge of this and other contraven-

* "Lo qual se ha differido siempre hasta agora por las dificultades que en esto haviamos apunctado al dicho Marques, y entre otras que no se creeria por el Papa ni otros que entendiessen la declaracion del dicho Marques que él hoviesse sabido el caso antes de la venida de V. M^t en Italie, y no aver avissado de ello á V. M^t y tambien que los franceses podrian decir que aunque el dicho marques hubiesse remitido al uno de los delincuentes la impunidad no lo devía guardar quanto á los otros, y demás desto que él no devia permitir sabiendo el dicho caso que se procediesse en justicia como se ha hecho."

1541.

tions to the truce, for otherwise the declaration would be useless. But as the Marquis still insists upon Pirro Colonna making the said declaration in his name—though in our opinion it would be preferable not to make it at all—we have resolved to instruct Pirro Colonna to go to His Holiness and tell him that Your Majesty had no knowledge whatever of the affair.

Signed: "Perrenot—El Marques de Aguilar."

Spanish. Original, partly ciphered. pp. 25.

19 Nov. **207.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 231, f. 63–5.

Yesterday this King sent to me the earl of Anthonne (Southampton), his Lord Privy Seal, first of all to inform me of a fact which he, the Earl, considered most important, namely, that the French were actually soliciting most warmly the hand of the Princess, the King's daughter, for the duke of Orleans (Charles), and that the King, his master, rather than reject their proposals at once, had feigned to listen to them, in order to ascertain what their real intentions and designs were. "As to the French (said the Earl), as they are in the habit of making their profit out of every political move, they might perhaps have spread the rumour that the King, my master, has actually made some promise or taken some sort of engagement in the matter. He has, therefore, sent me to assure you on his faith and honor that, whatever they may say to the contrary, there has been no acceptance whatever nor proposal made on his own side, nay, no desire at all on his part to entertain such a marriage." After which the Earl asked me point-blank: "Have you heard anything about it, and what are your ideas on the subject?"*

My answer, after the usual thankful and courteous words, was that I had heard vague reports of it, but had always held such a marriage to be next to impossible, owing to certain considerations, and especially under the circumstances; besides which I held it as sure and true as the Gospel that the King, his master, would in nowise conclude anything towards the said marriage without having first informed Your Imperial Majesty of it, especially after the conversation which had passed between Your Imperial Majesty and the bishop of Winchester (Stephen Gardiner), and several other considerations, which I then and there explained to him. At which answer the Earl was so pleased that he again begged and entreated me, in his master's name, to believe in the sincerity and truth of the message as reported to me.† After this the Earl began to lament over and regret the delay of the negociations between Your Imperial Majesty and the King,

* Sir William Fitz-William, created earl of Southampton (Anton, Antona, Anthonne) in 1537, Lord Privy Seal in 1540–2.

† "De la quelle response monstra le dit conte estre content, me priant de redict de la part du dit S^{r} roy ne le vouloir croyre autrement."

1541.

his master, observing—as part and portion of the King's message to me—that he owned the necessity of resisting Turkish invasion to be great and pressing, yet, as the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner) had told Your Imperial Majesty, he (the King) could not be expected to contribute with money and men towards the repulse of the Infidel unless closer friendship were first established between Your Imperial Majesty and himself. He therefore wondered that those considerations did not stir Your Majesty on to conclude some treaty or another with England. And on my pointing out to the Earl that the delay, which he regretted, was certainly no fault of Your Majesty's, and that it had principally originated in his master, who had asked for it, he made no other answer except the following: He said that he would willingly sacrifice a good portion of his patrimony to see the conclusion of the treaty between Your Majesty and the King, his master. I then asked him what means he thought would be most conducive to that mutually desired effect. His answer was that he had no commission on that point, and that the overtures, if any, ought to come from Your Majesty. After a good deal of discussion, however, the Earl seemed persuaded, and it was agreed between us that he would tell the King, his master, that a more propitious opportunity could not be found, nor a minister more favorable to his views than at the present moment, since he could be sure of disposing of my person as if I were his own loyal ambassador, and that if the King only deigned making me some sort of overtures as to his intentions, or explaining to me his general views—which his incomparable wisdom and great experience would allow him to do better than any other living creature—I would immediately write home, as if the message came from him, or, if the King preferred it, in my own name, without, however, transgressing his commands in the least. I could, however, at once assure him that the negociations for the treaty would thereby be considerably advanced, which assurance on my part so pleased the Earl that he promised to lay my representations before the King, and even back them with all his power and influence, adding that I should soon be summoned to the Royal presence.

After this the Earl proceeded to speak in the strongest possible terms of the detestable practices of the French, who, he said, were intriguing everywhere, and principally with the Turk, "though (the Earl remarked) if Your Imperial Majesty and his master were friends, the latter feared them not; nor could king Francis with his son, the duke of Orleans, achieve great things." The Earl went on making observations of the same sort, which it would take me too much time to reproduce here. I was really astonished to hear so long a discourse from the lips of a man naturally so sober, silent, and reserved as the Earl is. Indeed, he himself swore to me that for the last three years he had not spoken to any living soul as long and openly as he had done to me on this occasion.

1541.

*Among other things he told me one is worthy of particular notice, namely, that the King, his master, was beginning to suspect that king Francis—who had already caused so much injury to Christendom through the Turk, without his having been able by his means to secure the possession of Milan, or any other pretension of his—might well be, after all, inspired by God, and awakened to a sense of the danger threatening him, as well as the rest of the Christian powers, now that the Turkish beast in coming to Europe, may, after devouring other princes, swallow him also. "If so (continued the Earl) king Francis may feel more inclined to listen to equitable terms and conditions on the part of Your Imperial Majesty, which terms and conditions he would never accept (the Earl remarked) were it not on consideration of the danger to which he exposes himself, or because he intends also to invade England in union with the Turk. At any rate, added the Earl, should such be their intention, both king Francis and the Grand Turk will find in the end that they have made a mistake."**

The day before yesterday† the admiral Fitz-William sent me word by one of my own secretaries, and yesterday the Lord Privy Seal confirmed the news, that this Queen had confessed having before her marriage to the King had connexion with Master Durem (Durham), who is now confined in the Tower, and that during three years of most intimate connexion there had been no question nor talk of a marriage between them. Besides that lately, upon investigation, it had been discovered that Master Colpeper,‡ of the King's bedchamber, who slept at the bottom of his bed, had received from her certain love-tokens, and met her twice privately within the last two months, each meeting lasting five to six hours, and that the intermediary agent for such love appointments was Lady Rochefort, the widow of the earl of that name, and

* Que ne sera jamais, comme disoit le dit comte, nestoit pour le dit respect ou pour invahir ce royaulme, mais en tel cas lung et lautre seroit bien estonne a boult du compte davoir fait telle emprinse."

† "Sire, avanthier menvoya dire par ung dez miens monsieur ladmiral, et hier le me confirma monsieur du Priveseel que ceste royne avoit confesse avoir eu affaire (á faire), avant quelle fust mariee, a ce m^e Durem quest en la tourd, et que du moins en trois anneez quavoient dure leurs amours ylz avoient dormy ensemble passe huiltante nuytz sans que entre eulx y eust propoz ne parolle de mariage, et que dernierement avoit este sçeu comme m^e."

‡ "Colpeper gentilhomme de la chambre de ce roy, et son compagnon de lit avoit reçeu certains presens amoureulx delle et sestoit retrouve avecq elle en prive depuis deux mois en ça par lespace de cinq ou six heurez a la fois, et de ce estoit moyenne la vefve de Rochefort quest aussy misc en la tour.

Et demandant au dit Sieur Priveseel quesse (quest ce) que le dit S^a roy determinoit de faire en ca cas, yl me dict quil en useroit plus pacientement et misericordieusement que pluseurs pourroient penser, voire (oires?) plus que ne vouldroint lez propres parens delle, veuillant denotter monsieur de Norfolk, que dit, Dieu sçait pour quoy, quil vouldroit que la dite royne fust bruslee. Encoirez ne sçay je quelle soit menee a la tour, et si disoit on de la mettre en ung cloestre que fust jadiz de nonains auprez de Richemont soub la compagnie et garde de quatre femmes et quelques hommez. Lon me dist que celle de Cleves sest grandement ralegre de ce cas, et que pour estre plus voysine du dit s^r roy elle doit venir a Richemont, si desja ny est."

1541.

brother of Anne, the King's concubine, who has likewise been sent to the Tower. And upon my asking the Lord Privy Seal how the King, his master, intended to treat the case, he answered that the King would bear the blow more patiently and compassionately than most people thought, nay, a good deal more tenderly than the Queen's own relatives, if it be true, as reported, that the duke of Norfolk has declared—God knows why—that he wishes the Queen to be burnt alive. I am not aware yet of her having been sent to the Tower; there is a talk of shutting her up in what was once a nunnery near Richmond, under the guard of four women and of some soldiers.

I hear also that Mme. [Anne de] Clèves has greatly rejoiced at the event, and that in order to be nearer the King she is coming to, if she is not already at, Richmond. I would not, for many considerations, touch in the least on the subject of Mme. de Clèves to the Lord Privy Seal, waiting until there be a better opportunity, and I myself may go to Court. The Princess (Mary), her brother (Edward), and all the other ladies of the Court have been sent to their respective homes.

The Lord Privy Seal told me that this king wished very much to know what number of men and ships Your Majesty had ready for the undertaking, and in what ports of the Low Countries the Imperial fleet might take refuge in case of need, in stress of weather, and so forth; and whether the king of Portugal had or had not sent some of his own ships to join. And upon my answering him with the communication of such intelligence as I myself possessed, the Earl said to me that this very morning the King, his master, had received certain news which was rather unfavorable for Your Imperial Majesty's present affairs; namely, that from the coast of Naples 80 Turkish sail had been seen going towards Algiers; but that he thought the news had been fabricated by the French.

This morning the Lord Privy Seal has sent me a message to the effect that this King has heard with pleasure what he and I had said respecting our common affairs, and that had he not been on the point of leaving town and spending five or six days in the country, for the purpose of relieving his mind from the annoyance and troubles caused by late events, he would certainly have sent for me, but that immediately after his return to Greenwich he will attend to business.—London, 19 November 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph, partly ciphered. pp. 5.

22 Nov. **208.** The Marquis de Aguilar and Musgr. de Granvelle to the Same.

S. E., L. 870, ff. 85–6.
B. M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 64.

On the 14th inst. we wrote to Your Majesty all that had occurred up to that day, and how the bishop of Fosumbrum (Fossombrone), the Pope's first Secretary and Datary, who was

1541.

to be sent to France concerning the observance of the truce and the release of Monsr. de Valencia, had actually left for that country three days before; on the 11th His Holiness (we wrote) had likewise instructed the bishop to speak to king Francis in his name about the best means of promoting peace between Your Imperial Majesty and himself.

As to religious matters and other affairs of importance, we could not then say much, as His Holiness seemed still undecided, and had not yet given a categorical answer to our questions; we are now in a better situation as to that, having already held several conferences with him, which will enable us to form a judgment. With regard to the former, which may be reduced to four cardinal points, namely, the Council, the reform of the Clergy, the Catholic League, and the Diet to obtain help against the Turk, as well as the creation of cardinals and relief of the Colonna family,* after several conferences, attended by cardinals Santa Croce and Farnese, His Holiness said, as to the first point, that the College of Cardinals was unanimously of opinion that a General Council of the Church ought to be held, were it for no other reason than the preservation of the authority and dignity of the Apostolic See, which might otherwise be charged with having placed impediments in its way. That in His Holiness' opinion, which was also that of all the cardinals, the place to hold it in ought not to be a city of Germany, not even Trent, which, though situated on the confines of Italy, and therefore a suitable spot enough as to locality, was, nevertheless, a narrow, unsalubrious and scantily provided city, quite unfit for the purpose. That many of the cardinals had then looked for some convenient spot within the confines of Italy, some of them voting for Mantua, others for Ferrara, others, again, for other cities, though the majority was of opinion that one of those two cities ought to be selected. This my colleague and I resisted, arguing that the choosing of a place within Italy for the celebration and meeting of the General Council would necessarily exasperate the Separatists, and that to send such a message to the Germans in answer to their application would be exceedingly dangerous under the circumstances. It was almost certain, as Your Majesty told him (the Pope) at Lucca, that neither the Catholics nor the Separatists of Germany would attend a council held out of their own country, and, that if the answer was such as intended, they would be driven to despair. In our opinion (we said) it was far better suited to and convenient for the dignity of the Apostolic See that the answer should be thus shaped: The Pope was glad to have the Council assembled, not only because he himself wished for it, but owing to Your Majesty's pressing solicitations at

* "Que son quatro punctos principales á saber Concilio, Reformacion, Liga Catholica, Dieta para la asistencia contra el Turcho, y tambien sobre los otros de la promocion de cardinales, y remedio de Casa Colonna."

1541.

Lucca; the place of its meeting to be one to the complete satisfaction of the Germans. This answer (we said) would have the effect of calming the passions of the Separatists, and in the meantime negociations upon other important points might be prosecuted. That seemed to us a fit and straightforward excuse for His Holiness to make, thus throwing all the blame on king Francis, who, as might be gathered from his answer, was not at all in favor of the Council being held in Germany. To select Mantua would be most offensive to the Germans; Ferrara would be worse still, that city being no fief of the Empire, but of Rome.

Though His Holiness understood very well the pith of our argument, and what we meant by it, yet it was resolved that my colleague and I should go on debating this point and others with the two above-mentioned cardinals. So it was, for on the ensuing day, having reproduced some of the arguments of the previous day to prove that the General Council could not possibly be held out of Germany, both Santa Croce and Farnese declared to us that His Holiness still insisted upon Trent not being a fit place to hold a Council in, and therefore proposed that the meeting should be held either in Mantua or in Ferrara. There was no harm, they said, in designating either of those cities, inasmuch as it was a notorious fact that neither in Italy nor in Germany, nor, indeed, anywhere under Papal authority, would the Separatists attend a Council of the Church, whereas the Pope was pretty sure that the German Catholics would all come, as several prelates of high reputation and learning had written this to him. In vain did we represent to them that the Pope was very much mistaken if he thought that any of the Catholic princes in Germany would willingly attend a Council out of their own country. I, Granvelle, insisted particularly on this point, as Your Majesty's minister, and one who had been in frequent communication with them, and knew what their intentions were. Not one of the German princes (said I) will come to Italy, either because they dislike the journey, or because they have no money to spend on their suites and attendants. Should the Council meet in Germany, on the contrary, all will attend with pleasure, for they wish for it, and both parties will be satisfied. Should the Separatists refuse to go, nobody will miss them, for their errors having been already exposed and reprobated in previous Councils, the assembly, in their absence, might more freely discuss the means of recalling them to the true Faith.

In view of these and other arguments of ours, the Cardinals proposed Mantua, Ferrara, or Cambray, which last city, they said, was an Imperial one within the limits of Germany, subject to its prelate, and conveniently situated for England and France to send their representatives thither. They asked our opinion on the subject, saying that His Holiness wished also to consult all the princes of Europe thereupon. My answer

1541.

was that I (Granvelle) had come to Rome for the sole purpose of urging the convocation of the Council, and the convenience of its celebration in Germany; that I and my colleague wished to know what His Holiness would do in case of king Francis refusing to go to Cambray? The Cardinals' answer was that in that case His Holiness would act as it behoved a good Pope to do; and upon our pressing them to declare what they considered His Holiness' duty to be, the Cardinals replied that they could not exactly tell, and declined to go on with the conversation any longer. We, nevertheless, insisted, and asked them: "Should the Council not meet, what will His Holiness do?" No answer on the part of the Cardinals, save to say that His Holiness had done everything in his power to promote the meeting of the Council. "Then (said I) you will not find it strange on our part if we, His Majesty's ministers in Italy, write to and communicate with the king of the Romans (Ferdinand), and with the other princes of the Empire, respecting the answer which His Holiness intends giving to their application."

We have no doubt that the Pope's answer, *ex officio*, will be less crude than that of the two Cardinals deputed to debate the matter with us; but we think also, nay, are certain, that, though conceived in milder terms, the substance of it will be nearly the same.

With regard to the reform of the Clergy, the Cardinals said that His Holiness had made up his mind to send to the Council the bishop of Modena;* that his instructions were already drawn out, and would be submitted to us, that we might make any observations we pleased and advise thereupon.

Respecting the ratification of the Catholic League, the Cardinals insisted upon His Holiness having received great injury by his being set down at one fourth of the total expenditure, as was the case in the former league between him, the Venetians, and your Imperial Majesty.† We told them that it would not do for His Holiness—who had always maintained that matters of Faith and Religion were of his own exclusive province, as appertaining to his dignity, and that nobody had a right to *immisce* himself in ecclesiastical affairs—now to find fault with the contribution of one fourth of the expenses in a matter which concerned him so nearly.

As to the Diet to be celebrated on the 14th of January, for the purpose of obtaining help against the Turk, the Cardinals declared that His Holiness was quite ready to contribute with a sum of money proportionate to that of other Catholic powers, and would send to Spires the bishop of Modena, with full instructions to take engagements in his name. We told them that this affair admitted of no delay; the case was urgent, and there was no time to lose in consultations and

* Giovan Morone, 1529–50, cardinal in 1542.

† That of the year 1538–9.

1541.

answers. Reliable intelligence had been received that the Turk will come down next spring, both by sea and by land, and it behoved the Christian princes to be prepared against his attacks; that was the chief reason for the convocation of the German princes and electors to the Diet of Spires. His Holiness (we said) must remember his conversation with His Imperial Majesty at Lucca, when he promised to contribute with all his power; it was in virtue of that promise that the king of the Romans had decided to convoke the Diet, and it was quite clear that neither Your Majesty nor your brother, the king of the Romans, could take up the affair without knowing first how and with what sum he (the Pope) meant to help. It was, therefore, for His Holiness to declare how he intended to assist. Then the Cardinals, in order to parry the intended blow, asked point blank: "And why should His Holiness contribute, if the Turk does not come down next spring? The news is that he will not invade Hungary next year, but that in 1542 he is sure to come personally and lead his army into the centre of Europe." "That may be (we answered); but the attacks of that Infidel are sudden, and that is why we must be prepared at any cost." In short, whatever efforts we made, we could never get a categorical answer from the Cardinals, who said they would consult His Holiness thereupon and let us know.

Coming to the question of the creation of cardinals, which is another of the points under discussion, we repeated to Farnese and Santa Croce the very same arguments of which Your Majesty made use at Lucca. We begged them to remind the Pope of the promises he then and there had made, and to represent to him how outrageous it was that France, which was only one kingdom, should have eleven cardinals, besides many Italians, whom king Francis considers as of his party, whilst Spain and the whole of the Empire, nay, all Your Majesty's dominions, comprising so many kingdoms and lordships in the four quarters of the world, had only four! Having afterwards had occasion to speak to His Holiness on the subject, he told us that he was animated by the most paternal sentiments towards Your Majesty, but in the state in which European politics were, he considered it dangerous to overirritate king Francis. If I would only tell him how many cardinals' hats Your Imperial Majesty wanted for ecclesiastics of your kingdoms—men of virtue and learning—he would have them *in pectore*, &c. Told him that what Your Majesty wished to know was what number of cardinals he intended to make at the next creation, and how many of those cardinals to be appointed were natives of France or attached to the king of that country. Again and again did I and my colleague repeat the same argument on the following days, whenever we met with His Holiness and the two cardinals; neither from him nor from them could we learn what His Holiness' intentions are in that particular.

1541.

With regard to Ascanio Colonna, we told him that since the sentence had been executed we thought that clemency ought to follow. After all Ascanio's excesses must be ascribed to insanity rather than to wickedness. He had been severely punished, and now his wife and children were in trouble. It was for the sake of them, and for the rest of the Colonna family—who had always been Your Majesty's friends—that clemency was asked. You had perhaps been blamed for not having sooner interfered in their behalf, but now that the sentence had been executed, Your Majesty could not do less than ask His Holiness' forgiveness; you would be glad if some agreement should be entered into likely to put an end to the suit. "That cannot be, said the Pope, save under three conditions: 1. That the third party be indemnified. 2. The payment of the expenses incurred by the Apostolic See in the affair. 3. Security for the future."* And upon our suggesting that if Ascanio's property were restored to his wife and children the affair might be settled amicably, the Pope refused to grant that, saying that unless the parties concerned were first indemnified nothing could be done in the matter.

As nothing had been settled definitively during our last conference with the Cardinals, as the Pope had gone to Hostia, and I myself kept pressing them for an answer, saying that I wished to return home as soon as possible, they faithfully promised us to draw up a report of what had been said at the meeting, that His Holiness might answer on the whole.

On the 18th His Holiness came back from Hostia, and on the ensuing day granted us audience, in which, after an "*exposé*" of our reasons for urging a prompt resolution on the above six points, and after cardinal Santa Croce had given a summary account of what passed at the conferences with him and Farnese, His Holiness repeated nearly the same arguments which he and his two cardinals had used before, namely, that if peace could not be otherwise effected in Christendom, the only remedy was a General Council of the Church. That he had always desired its meeting, principally for fear it should hereafter be said, as was already rumoured in Germany, that he had no intention to convoke one. That the most suitable and commodious place to hold the Council in was, in his opinion, Mantua, owing to that city being a fief of the Empire, and its archbishop the Duke's brother, and Your Majesty's good servant. He had designated Ferrara merely in substitution, in case the other city was not accepted, and because, in old times, Councils had also been held therein. Should neither of these two cities be accepted, he would propose Modena, which was likewise a commodious place for all parties. Oddly enough, His Holiness at this audience made no mention whatever of Cambray, as the Cardinals had done during the con-

* "Que se remitiessen primero tres cosas: el interesse del tercio; la satisfaccion de lo que la sede Apostolica habia gastado; y la seguridad para lo de adelante."

1541.

ferences, nor could we guess what their motive was in making such a proposal, that city being situated in Flanders, far away from Italy, and one that the College of Cardinals would never have chosen for the purpose.

With regard to the Catholic League, besides reproducing the same arguments used in our conferences with the Cardinals, we declared to His Holiness that the principal object of that League had been, as he well knew, the upholding of the credit and authority of the Holy See, as well as the preservation of Catholicism. Should he refuse to ratify the treaty, such as it was, in its very terms, and without changing a word therein, the League would certainly be undone, and the Separatists would then take courage and gather strength for fresh and more violent attacks against the Holy Apostolic See, whilst the true Catholics, seeing themselves deserted, might perhaps come to terms with their opponents. His Holiness made no attempt whatever to refute this argument of mine, but insisted that the fixing of his quota of the expenses at one-fourth, without consulting him or his ministers, was a manifest injury done to him. The Apostolic See was poor, and his own treasury drained; he could not afford to spend so much. Had his quota been fixed at one-sixth part of the whole sum spent, as in the Venetian League of yore, he might perhaps bind himself to the payment thereof; otherwise he could take no engagement to that effect. Your Imperial Majesty, he observed, owned several kingdoms, from which you could draw as much money as you pleased, &c. I (Granvelle) answered thus: I told His Holiness that he ought to consider that Your Imperial Majesty had come to Germany, and spent, perhaps, a good deal more money than he (the Pope) could imagine, for the sole purpose of upholding the authority of the Holy See, and that since your arrival in that country you had not allowed one single word to be said against Apostolical authority. That he ought to know for certain that had Your Majesty consented to, or winked at, the resistance to Papal authority, minor matters of religion might have been settled, there being no great difference between the parties.* Your Majesty then would not have required this present League, nor would you have had much to do towards resisting a Turkish invasion, inasmuch as the Separatists themselves would gladly have helped you. "Even now (I continued) I have letters from Germany, in which they tell me that if Your Majesty will consent to their remaining for twenty years to come in the state in which they are now, they will engage to make war on the Turk at their own expense, and expel him from Hungary; and yet Your Majesty had rejected their offers for the sake of the Apostolic See and its authority." Neither did I fail to mention on that occasion the immense sacrifices in men and money which Your Majesty's

* "Y que supiese cierto que si a este articulo V. Mag^{d} hoviera querido dar lugar en las otras cosas de la religion hoviera poca diferencia."

1541.

brother, the king of the Romans, had made in preserving from contamination the Catholic States bordering upon countries where Protestantism was prevalent, besides defending Hungary against the Turk.

Not knowing what to answer to my reasoning, His Holiness turned the conversation, and began to speak about his own expenses in the former League; how he had deposited 50,000 ducats; how he had contributed with galleys for the Tunis undertaking; the assistance he had given when the Turk came to La Bellona (Valona), and after that the League with the Venetians and the 35 galleys, which he says he sent thither at an expense much greater than the sum he was bound to pay for his share;* and lastly, the 20,000 ducats which in this very year he has sent to the king of the Romans. That Your Majesty was lord of many kingdoms, and that from Naples alone you had taken upwards of two millions of gold. My answer was that Your Majesty had already spent upwards of 250,000 ducats over and above your contribution to the League, and that the cost of the galleys and infantry which Your Majesty was obliged to support annually exceeded considerably that sum. That the first grant made by the Spanish Cortes was entirely spent in resisting the Turkish attack upon La Bellona (Valona), to which His Holiness had only contributed 40,000. That Your Majesty would not have troubled him with matters which seemed to give him so much annoyance had you not been obliged to do so.

After a good deal of debating, His Holiness said that he was quite willing and ready to confirm the League, and would send the bishop of Modena (Morone) to Germany for that express purpose; but as he considered that by his being rated at the fourth part of the total expenditure he was much injured, the Bishop was to try and get the difference from the German prelates likely to enter into the League, so that by their contributing with two parts, his own quota may virtually be reduced to the sixth part of the whole expenditure. Perceiving that we could not get more from him we gave in, and accordingly the point was finally settled as His Holiness wished.

With regard to the Diet and help against the Turk, His Holiness began by saying that what with the war he had been obliged to carry on against Perugia, Camarino, and Ascanio Colonna, together with other expenses incurred in Italy and elsewhere, his treasury was completely exhausted, and that he had no means whatever at his disposal. "Those wars (he said) had been undertaken principally for the sake of Pontifical authority, and the support of the Church, but I will see if I can borrow money from bankers and merchants, &c." Our reply was to beg him again, in view of the imminent danger in

* "Y las treinta y cinco galeras que dice envio para la dicha empresa, el gasto de las quales encaresce mucho mas que su porcion."

1541.

which Christendom was, to name at once the sum with which he would contribute in case of the Turk coming down, as we feared, in order that Your Imperial Majesty might know what to say in the Diet, and decide for or against taking the command of the expedition [against Algiers]: "general offers (I said) would not do in this instance, and the Emperor wants a categorical answer on that point." Still His Holiness persisted that he could in nowise fix the amount of his personal contribution unless he knew beforehand what military preparations had been, or were likely to be, made for the defence of Christendom, adding that the last news he had from Ragusa were to the effect that Barbarossa had gone to Negroponte with 80 galleys of the Grand Turk and 40 sails of corsairs to take up provisions there, and then come to La Prevesa for winter quarters, in order to be ready in the spring to ravage the coast of Italy, which he (the Pope) seemed to dread still more than a Turkish invasion of Germany by way of Hungary. "I shall, however, do my best and collect as much money as I can in order to attend to both these urgent needs, and the Cardinals will tell you to morrow what resolution I have come to on that point."

Next day we called on the Cardinals, and finding that they had not yet received His Holiness' answer, we begged them to bear in mind that I (Granvelle) had come purposely to Rome to know whether His Holiness would contribute to the defence of Christendom against the Turk, and, if so, with what sum. That your Imperial Majesty could not appear before the German Diet without having that point settled, and its members knowing what he would do; without that the blame would fall entirely on His Holiness. In short, that I and my colleague had instructions from His Imperial Majesty to ask for a categorical answer to the following four questions:—1st. With what sum of money or number of galleys will His Holiness help towards the fleet that must necessarily be put to sea for the defence of the coast of Italy? 2nd. As our intelligence is that king Francis has lately sent a message to the Turk, his ally, that he himself is ready to commence the war next spring, should the truce be broken by him, and all His Holiness' efforts to secure peace have proved unavailing; should he refuse to release the bishop of Valence (Valencia), who, we hear, is kept in still closer confinement and worse treated than before—not indeed in retaliation for the case of Cesare Fragoso and Rincon, but because it is hoped that he will through ill-treatment die in prison, and not take possession of the coadjutorship of Liege for which he has been appointed—what will His Holiness do? These were the four points on which I (Granvelle) was ordered respectfully to interrogate His Holiness, and on which I wished to obtain an answer to take to His Imperial Majesty. Nor did we fail at the same time to press for a declaration respecting the two remaining points, namely, the creation of cardinals and the Colonna family.

1541.

This was before dinner: the repast over, the Cardinals went into His Holiness' chamber, and soon returned with the following answer:—To the Turkish war, if offensive, that is against an army commanded by the Grand Turk in person, His Holiness will contribute 5,000 infantry, provided he be not expected to contribute also towards the fleet, for he could not possibly meet both demands; if defensive, he will only contribute one-half of that number, or 2,500 infantry.

With regard to king Francis, should he break the truce on the arrival of the Turk, and take the field with an army, in that case His Holiness will act as a good Pope is bound to do; he cannot enter into more particulars. The same is to be understood with regard to the archbishop of Valence (Valencia); no further declaration was needed, because, according to the answer that king Francis would give to his pressing requests, he would consult his College of Cardinals, and then such a demonstration as the case required would be made.

Respecting the cardinals' hats and Ascanio Colonna, His Holiness referred us to what he had declared on a former occasion.

Such has been His Holiness' resolution on all points, upon which, perceiving that it was no use for us to make any more remarks, we took leave of the Cardinals,* I (Granvelle) in particular telling them to procure me an audience from His Holiness, as I wished as soon as possible to return to Spain. His Holiness received me the day after, and although in the course of conversation I could not get from him anything beyond what I have said above, the reception could not have been kinder than it was, His Holiness assuring me over and over again that he would forward Your Majesty's interests everywhere; that the indiction of the General Council will be fixed for Pentecostes; that the reform of the Clergy will be committed to the bishop of Modena, but that the instructions for that prelate's mission had not yet been made out. As to the Catholic League, that he was quite ready to confirm and ratify it on condition of his not being obliged to pay the fourth part of the whole expenses. As to help against the Turk, should Solyman himself come down, or should the Emperor take the command of the Christian army against the Infidel, in that case, and should the war be an offensive one, His Holiness will assist with 5,000 infantry paid by him, on condition, however, that he be not called upon to share the cost of the fleet; but should the war be merely defensive, only with one half of the above number of men. Respecting the cardinals' hats, that he wishes to be agreeable to Your Imperial Majesty in every respect, but that for the present he is not thinking of creating any. On the Colonna business we found him as obstinately resolved as ever, namely, that until the Apostolic Chamber has recovered the losses it sustained in

* That is Farnese and Santa Croce. *See* above, p. 386.

1541.

the war against Ascanio, and securities are given for the future, the confiscated estates cannot be restored to his wife and children.

His Holiness would not declare what he would do in case of the king of France commencing a war against Your Majesty, or refusing to give up the bishop of Valence (Valencia), his prisoner; he said only that in that case he would do his duty as a good Pope ought.

The bull for the half-fruits of Flanders is about to be issued.—The memorandum on certain ecclesiastical affairs of Spain is in the hands of cardinal Parisio and auditor Marcello, for them to examine the same and report. The Cardinal is a good man, a servant and vassal of Your Imperial Majesty.

The 8,000 ducats assigned for Madame Margaret's maintenance have been consigned on the Papal treasury, to be paid monthly. Concerning the purchase of Rocca Guillerma and Altamura, the viceroy of Naples (Toledo) has been written to to effect it at once according to Your Majesty's commands. Knowing that Madame would like to retain commander Valençuela in her service, we applied to His Holiness about it, and he had no objection whatever, and he was accordingly confirmed in his post of High Chamberlain.

The duke of Castro has arrived, and has done all he could to forward the business for which I (Granvelle) came to Rome.—Rome, 22 of November 1541.—The Marquis de Aguilar—Perrenot.

P.D.—After the above was written cardinal Frenesis (Farnese) sent us a letter of the 11th inst. from the Papal Nuncio residing at Venice, wherein it is said that four days before one captain Cola, of Barletta, had arrived in that city, sent by Capt. Polin (Paulin, Poulain ?), of Belgrade, with the news that the latter had been in treaty with the Turk on behalf of king Francis, his master. It was not yet known in Venice what sort of agreement had been made between Solyman and the latter, but it was conjectured that the former had written to say that he would be ready next spring to achieve great things by land and sea.

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

3 Dec. **209.** Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, ff. 67.

Your Imperial Majesty must have been acquainted by my despatches of the 6th, 9th and 11th of November with what passed in this king's Privy Council. Since then, on the 25th of the same month, I received Your Majesty's letter of the 16th of October, of which I immediately gave cognizance to the Lord Privy Seal and to the Admiral, that they might at their earliest convenience communicate its contents to the King. This they did immediately, informing me that the King, their master, had taken the communication in good part, and thanked me for the news. Then they said to my

1541.

man that the King had that very morning received letters by way of France, advising that Your Majesty had brought your enterprise to an end with all honor and glory, and that by that time you ought to be back in Spain. However, they (the councillors) wished that intelligence not to be made public, or, at any rate, that they should not be called the authors or reporters of the news.*

Since then, the clerk of the Privy Council having come to me for the purpose of which I will write hereafter, he has given me to understand that the said news proceeded from Venice, and that together with that letter *this king had received another, stating that the king of France, some time before Your Majesty's embarcation [for Africa], had sent two ships with men, provisions and ammunition, at which news this king and the members of his Privy Council had been very indignant; their indignation being greatly increased by that foolish and very rash report circulated by the French at the time of the approaching marriage of the duke of Orleans with the Princess, and also that Master Waloup had written from Guisnes that the news from every part of France was that such was the general talk throughout the country,† and that owing to it the garrisons of towns and castles of Flanders bordering on Guisnes and other towns of this king had been re-inforced by order of Your Imperial Majesty, which is, as I fancy, one of the causes of this king sending his Lord Privy Seal to me, as I wrote on the 19th ult.*

This same clerk was again sent on St. Andrews' day to tell me that the day after Colpeper and Durem (Durham) would be tried for high treason, begging me to send one of my secretaries to be present at the trial. The same notice and invitation has been handed round to the ambassador of

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* "Et quant et quant dirent a mon homme que le dit sieur roy ce matin avoit reçeu lettres par la voye de France, par les quelles on luy escripvoit que vostre maieste avec grand honneur et gloyre avoit perachevee son emprinse, et que desia a l'heure elle debvoit estre de retourd en Hispagne, de quoy toutesfois ne desiroint ylz estre faicte publication, du moins quilz en fussent alleguez les aucteurs ou relateurs." Here by "enterprise" that of Algiers is no doubt meant. The imperial fleet sailed from Port Spezzia on the 28th of September, but owing to contrary winds little or no progress at all was made. It reached Menorca, one of the Balearic Islands, on the 9th of October; that of Cabrera, in the same group, on the 19th; and two days after, on the 21st, the coast of Barbary was sighted. On the fourth of November the Emperor was at Bugia; on the 26th he landed at Mallorca, and, embarking again, reached Cartagena on the 1st of December, the expedition having entirely failed, owing to the equinoctial gales prevailing in October, and to most of the imperial galleys and transport ships having foundered or been scattered at sea through a most terrific series of storms. The enterprise, therefore, was anything but *glorious*, as the news from Venice or France purported; which news, after all, might have been artfully turned by Henry's councillors into a report in the Emperor's favor, if their wish, expressed to Chapuys, of not being taken as the originators of the report be taken into consideration. It is improbable that in the full month that elapsed between the re-embarcation of Charles on the 1st of November and his landing at Cartagena on the 1st of December no reliable news of the failure of his Algerine expedition should have reached Venice.

† "Et que Maistre Valup auoit escript dois Guysnes quil estoit auerty de tous coustez quil ne se parloit dautre en France."

1541.

France, to the Venetian Secretary, and to the gentleman of the duke of Clèves, who is still here. All the privy councillors witnessed the trial, which, after a long discussion lasting six hours, ended in the condemnation of the two abovementioned gentlemen, who were sentenced to be hung and quartered as traitors. Durem (Durham) did confess having known the Queen familiarly before she was either betrothed or promised to the King; but said he did not know that there was any wrong in that, inasmuch as they were then engaged to each other. Colpeper persisted in denying the guilt of which he was accused, maintaining that he never solicited or had anything to do with her; on the contrary, it was she who had importuned him through Mme. de Rochefort, requesting him (Colpeper) to go and meet her in a retired place in Lincolnshire, to which she appointed him, and that on that occasion he (Colpeper) having kept the appointment, she herself told him, as she had on the first instance sent him word through Mme. Rochefort, that she pined for him, and was actually dying of love for his person. It is thought that both will be beheaded to-day. Dame de Rochefort would have been sentenced at the same time had she not, on the third day after her imprisonment, been seized with a fit of madness (*frenesi*) by which her brain is affected.

True is it that now and then she recovers her reason, and that the King takes care that his own physicians visit her daily, for he desires her recovery chiefly that he may afterwards have her executed as an example and warning to others.

The Queen is still at Syon House, and it is believed that the King, to show clemency in her case, will make no innovation whatever with regard to her, or do more than he has hitherto done until Parliament meets and decides what her fate is to be.

It was thought that the King, who has been amusing himself in the neighbourhood of this city to divert his sorrowful thoughts (pour divertir ung peu sa fantaisie), *would perhaps have gone as far as the place where Mme. de Clèves resides; but no, he has taken quite a different route,* and as yet there is no sign at all of his being in the humour of retaking her. As the clerk of the Council to whom I allude has for a long time been on intimate terms with me, I did not hesitate to propound to him, at all hazards, that if the King separated himself from this queen on account of her having had connexion with a man before her marriage to him, he would have been justified in doing the same with Mme. de Clèves, for if the rumour current in the Low Countries was true, there were plenty of causes for a separation; for, considering that queen's age, her being fond of wine, and of indulging in other excesses, as they (the English) might have had occasion*

* "Qui est alle a lesbat (a l'ebat) icy autour pour diuertir ung peu sa fantasie, dust aller du couste ou est celle de Cleves, mais il a prins autre chem n."

1541.

to observe, it was natural enough to suppose that she had failed in the same manner. The Clerk did not deny the strength of my argument, but said that he did not believe the King would again retake her, or marry another woman unless Parliament positively forced him to it.*

Three days ago the French ambassador's secretary sent me word that his chief had received letters from France of the 23rd ult., and at the same time full powers and instructions to treat of the marriage of the duke of Orleans with the Princess (Mary). He (the ambassador) was to make offers on a very large scale, without stopping, as at other times, at the arrears of pensions and any similar claims by way of a dowry for the Princess. He was above all things to take particular care not to offend the English in any way, nor give them occasion to take Your Imperial Majesty's side. And, as the said secretary affirms, it appears that his chief has now good hope of fulfilling his commission, and accomplishing the marriage in question, and that he knows also the means of preventing it. What those means are the ambassador would not declare to the secretary, who, however, did not insist much upon knowing them, making as if he did not care; perceiving also from certain expressions of his chief that he is not at all satisfied at not having received yet some assurance in answer to his offers of service in future, tacitly implying thereby that he does not wish to have all his secrets wormed out of him, to be afterwards cast away when he has nothing more to give.—London, 3 December 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England du iii. de Decembre. Received at Madrid on the 14th Jan. 1542."

3 Dec. **210.** The SAME to the QUEEN REGENT.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, ff. 78–9.

I have just received by my man Your Majesty's letter of the 27th ult., and must, before all things, humbly thank Your Majesty for the good you have been pleased to do me by ordering the settlement of my account, and also for recommending the treasurers at Brussels to be more punctual in future.

With respect to this king's ambassadors, it seems to me as if it were a very prudent and wise measure to let them alone as long as they do not renew their complaints, of which, however, I very much wonder that the Lord Privy Seal has not spoken to me for some time, *especially now that the French—as*

* "Et que, si le dit roy laissoit cette royne pour avoir este congneue (cognue) auparavant quil leust, selon le commun bruyt quil courroit au pays de par de la, il avoit bien peu laisser la dite de Cleves pour la mesme cause, et que cella nestoit difficile a croire en leage (l'age) quelle estoit. Et considerant quelle patrisoit (practiquoit?) ung peu en cas de vin et autres condicions, comme lon sestoit assez peu apercevoir, ce que ne me nyar."

1541.

the ambassador's man, who has just called, says—are continually representing to these people the shameful trick which they pretend the Emperor has played them by means of the Navigation edict, exaggerating beyond measure the consequences that measure may have upon their trade, and saying that had this king acted towards France as he has acted towards the Low Countries, they would no doubt have resented it, and yet that king Francis prized too much the friendship of England not to postpone his own and his subjects' interests, without taking it in bad part and retaliating as the Emperor had done.

It seems to me that this king is already sufficiently edified and convinced concerning Mr. de Granvelle's stay at Rome, since besides telling him what Your Majesty will see by my despatch of the 19th ult., I have since given him to understand that one of the chief reasons His Imperial Majesty had for leaving that minister behind was the great inclination and desire which you know him to have respecting the accomplishment of those things of which the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner) spoke to him (Granvelle) at his departure from the Imperial court. For that very reason also had Mr. de Granvelle accepted the charge of remaining at Rome and negociating with His Holiness. Nor did I fail then and there to exhibit the letters and papers which Your Imperial Majesty caused to be addressed to me respecting the late doings at Rome, and how that Imperial minister had appeared before the Holy Father for the matter of the observance of the truce.

I cannot see that there is at present any appearance of a new treaty or closer alliance between these people and the French. Should there be any negociations on foot for one, it will be my duty, according to His Imperial Majesty's commands, to use great care and vigilance in finding it out, and, if so, preventing it with all my power. Enclosed is the duplicate of what I have written to the Emperor on the occurrences in this country.—London, 3 Dec. 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 2.

3 Dec. **211.** The SAME to MR. DE GRANVELLE.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, f. 65.

By my preceding letters of the 10th and 19th of November,* your Lordship must have heard the news of this place. What has happened since your Lordship will see by what I now write to the Emperor. I could not if I wished add anything to them, save say that this king has wonderfully felt the case of the Queen, his wife, and that he has certainly shown greater sorrow and regret at her loss than at the faults, loss, or divorce of his preceding wives.† *In fact, I should say that this king's*

* *See* above, Nos. 204 and 207.

† "Dont il a plus monstre de regret que de la faulte, perte ou appartement (?) des precedentes."

1541.

*case resembles very much that of the woman who cried more bitterly at the loss of her tenth husband than she had cried on the death of the other nine put together, though all of them had been equally worthy people and good husbands to her: the reason being that she had never buried one of them without being sure of the next, but that after the tenth husband she had no other one in view, hence her sorrow and her lamentations. Such is the case with the King, who, however, up to this day does not seem to have any plan or female friend to fall back upon.**

The queen of Hungary has sent me a report of what passed lately between His Imperial Majesty's ministers and those of king Francis in the presence of His Holiness respecting the observation of the truce. I will, according to the Queen's instructions, make use of it whenever there is an opportunity, which I fancy will present itself soon, of talking to this king, for on his return from the country, whither he is gone for change of air and to divert his sorrow, I know he intends sending for me.—London, 3 December 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

8 Dec. **212.** KING FRANCIS to his AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 231, f. 79.

Monsr. de Marillac, &c., I have received from several quarters the most pitiful intelligence of the rout of the Emperor's army at Algiers, first owing to the storms that sank, as it is reported, seventeen of his galleys, and one hundred and fifty transport vessels of all sizes; and, secondly, in consequence of the distress and famine caused by the loss and dispersion of the Imperial fleet. Owing to which reason the Emperor has been obliged to raise the siege of Algiers and take to the galleys and ships still afloat, not, however, without a great number of his men being drowned or slain by the enemy, at which sad event I am greatly concerned (*dont il me desplait grandement*). There is much uncertainty as to the place where the Emperor has taken refuge. Some think that he is at Bulgea (Bugia); others say that he is still on the high seas, driven by the winds, and in danger of being swallowed by the waves.

As the English might imagine that owing to the sad event to which I allude my affection for their king has cooled down, and that from this moment I should be less solicitous in procuring closer friendship and alliance with them, you will try to make them understand—nay, assure them in the most positive manner, that no event whatever, prosperous or adverse,

* "Et luy en doit prendre comme a la femme, que pleuroit plus fort le x^e^ mary quelle navoit tous les autres ensemble oyres quilz eussent este trop plus gens de bien, mais la cause estoit que jamais elle n'en avoit subterre les autres, quelle ne fut asheuree (assurée) de (du) nouveau, synon au dit x^e^, et jusques icy nappart quil y aye convencion ni affection nulle (nouvelle?)."

1541.

will in the least change or diminish my affection and goodwill towards their king.—Fontainebleau, 8 December 1541.

Indorsed: "Copy of a ciphered letter from king Francis to his ambassador in England."

French. p. 1.

11 Dec. **213.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 85–92.

By my last dispatch of the 3rd inst. I informed Your Majesty of the condemnation and sentence of Colpeper and Durem, who were both executed, the former, having obtained the grace of being beheaded according to his petition; the other meeting with a more cruel death, according to the sentence passed by his judges. Not to leave the Tower empty of lodgers, no sooner had the abovementioned left for the place of execution than the old duchess of Norphocq (Norfolk),* second wife of the father of the present Duke, was conveyed to it, along with the wife of Lord Vullien (William),† who himself had returned from his embassy to France only eight days ago, and was the day before yesterday also lodged in the Tower. It would appear that the mother, as well as the wife and a sister of Lord Vullien (William), have been arrested in consequence of the declaration made by a secretary of that lord, who was himself arrested on St. Andrew's eve. This man declared, among other things, that his master and the said ladies of his family were well informed of the improper conduct of this queen before she was in the grace and favor of this king, which is considered a great crime. Until now no other cause is pointed out as likely to have caused their imprisonment. The duke of Norphocq (Norfolk), some time before the return of his half-brother to London, had left for his estates in that county. It is presumed that he did not go thither of his own free will, but was sent on some pretence or other, to have him away from the Privy Council now that business touching his own family must necessarily be discussed therein.

On the 5th inst. Mr. de Morvillier‡ arrived here, on his way to Scotland, sent by the king of France, and also, as himself has given people to understand, on certain business of Monsieur de Guise. He remained in this city until yesterday, the 10th, in the afternoon, waiting for his passports, which the French resident ambassador has solicited and obtained for him, without either he or the other ambassador having seen the King or the privy councillors about it.

* Agnes Tylney, mother of Lord William and Lord Thomas Howard.
† Margaret Gamage (?).
‡ Morveillier, Morbillier, or Morvilliers, for his name is spelt in three different ways in this very letter; his name was Jean de.

1541.

The ambassador's secretary has informed me that Morviellier (sic) *would, by the express command of the King, his master, have taken the direct route to Scotland by sea, had not unfavorable winds and a very high sea obliged him to pass through this city, and that the French resident ambassador and he himself* (*Morvillier*) *had been very much engaged in devising excuses, for fear this king and his ministers should find fault with his voyage, or, what would have been still worse, refuse him a passport. Among the excuses they thought of, one was to say that Morvillier was going to condole with king James, on the part of king Francis and of the duke of Guise, for the loss of his royal mother* [*Margaret Tudor*]. *So it was that the ambassador's man, my confidant, sent me word that for two consecutive days after his arrival in this city Morvilliers had not left his room, thus showing that he did not like to be seen, or that this king and his ministers should know that he was in England, as most of them must have seen him the last time that the bishop of Terbez* (*Tarbes*)*—since deceased in Spain—was here. The secretary* (*my confidant*) *had been with him some time, and tried to learn what his mission was, but he could get nothing important out of him. The only person Mr. de Morveillier spoke about was the duke of Clèves, whose wit, dexterity, and power he extolled beyond measure. The same praises did he sing of the duke of Saxony, saying that he was the sincere friend of the King, his master, and ready to do his will in all matters, and that he had lately sent to Madame d'Alebret,† whom these Frenchmen call queen of Navarre, the portrait of his wife and of the rest of his family.*

For the last two days the news of Your Majesty's retreat from the coast of Africa has been known here; I am sure that this king will be sorry to hear of it, or at least the majority of his privy councillors, *though, on the other hand, the hope of treating more readily and advantageously with Your Imperial Majesty will sweeten their sorrow, unless they lean too much on the other side of the balance, for fear Your Imperial Majesty should gratify the French more than before. I will, however, take every possible care to watch and discover the whims of these people and report accordingly. The French ambassador has not yet had news of the affair he has in hand, but the admiral of France* (*Brion-Chabot*) *wrote to him on the 19th and 29th ult., that he and his colleagues considered the enterprize in which they are now engaged a difficult one.*

Two honest citizens were three days ago confined to prison for having lately stated, after the publication of this queen's misbehaviour, that the whole thing seemed to them a

* That is Antoine de Castelnau, who died in 1539.

† Allebrecht or Albret, that is Marguerite de Valois, sister of Francis, better known as Marguerite de Navarre, from her marriage to Henri d'Albret, titular king of Navarre.

1541.

judgment of God, for, after all, Mme. de Clèves was really the King's wife, and, although the rumour had been purposely spread that the King had had no connexion whatever with her, yet the contrary might be asserted, since she was known to have gone away [from London] in the family way from the King, and had actually been confined this last summer, the rumour of which confinement, real or supposed, has widely circulated among the people.*—London, 11 December 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England, the xith of Dec. 1541. Received on the 8th of January 1542."

French. Original, partly in cipher. pp. 3.

14 Dec. **214.** Mr. de Granvelle to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 1188, ff. 129–134. B. M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 85.

On the 30th ult. I despatched an express to Your Majesty with our common letter (Aguilar's and mine), giving an account of what passed up to my departure from Rome, and making also an abstract of the intelligence contained in the letters of the king of the Romans, dowager queen of Hungary, and Your Majesty's ambassador in England during my stay in the Papal court, as well as a discourse† of what seemed to me ought to be provided for in each particular case, according to the state in which Your Majesty's political affairs and those of other princes are just now. I fancy that both my letter and the paper alluded to have safely reached Your Majesty's hands, and therefore I will not append the duplicate thereof to this present despatch, which goes by a courier of the king of Portugal.

The last news we have of Your Majesty is that you had arrived at Bugia, and that prince Doria was daily expected at Genoa with his galleys, for Figueroa's advices are that on the 5th inst. the Prince's galleon had entered that port, and that on the same day several German and 200 Spanish soldiers had landed. The marquis de Aguilar writes from Rome on the 9th that people lately arrived from Palermo certified that the viceroy of Sicily (Ferrante Gonzaga) had reached Sicily with 11 galleys on the eve of Saint Catharine's day, and that the Spanish infantry that was to winter in Sardinia were already in that island. The Marquis del Gasto also writes

* "Deux honnestez borgeoysez (bourgeois) de ceste ville ont este puyz trois jours confines en prison pour avoyr dict apres la publication du maulvays gouvernement de ceste royne quil sembloit que ce fust jugement de Dieu, car celle de Clevez estoit sa femme, et quoy que lon eust voula donner dentendre que le dit S^r^ roy ne leust cogneue, yl se monstroit bien le contraire, car elle estoit partie ençaincte de luy et avoit enfante ce este, duquel enfantement, sere, le bruit en a este cydevant bien commung, oerez (oyres) quil nen ait riens este."

† The discourse (*discurso*) is not among Bergenroth's copies in the British Museum. Perhaps it was intercepted, or did not reach its destination, since the letter of the 30th of November, which Granvelle lower down says went with it, is also missing.

1541.

that he hears Your Majesty was about to send to Lombardy nine companies (*banderas*) of Spanish infantry under field-marshall Vargas; but that at the time he closed his letter only the 200 men above alluded to had landed. The greater part of the Italian infantry has also landed at Liorna (Livorno), Piombino, and other ports of Tuscany without accident of any sort. Cano also came through this place (Siena), and told us that the retreat had been caused entirely by the loss of some transports with provisions, but that it had been executed in perfect order and without confusion. The loss in armed galleys had not been so great as was said at first, nor had it happened in the manner described. Cano's report* in writing I have sent to the Privy Council in Spain.

As yet the French are not stirring on the frontiers of Lombardy, nor in France either is there any hostile movement announced on the part of Anibaut (Hannebault) or Langes. Nevertheless about La Mirandola they brag considerably, and make show of enlisting captains and men. Cheri has been, or is still, in the Modenese with 15 *horse making a great fuss, and thence he is going to La Mirandola; but nowhere else is there any stir. As to count Pitigliano and Paulo de Chieri,† they have certainly been trying to make levies in the Roman States, and here it is reported that they have had secret conferences with His Holiness. As the intelligence comes from the Florentine ambassador in Rome, I attach no great faith to it, nor to another piece of news which the duke of Florence (Cosmo) has written to me, namely, that Pitigliano and Chieri might very easily have gone to Perose (Perugia) where they can raise* 5 *or* 6,000 *men. Though I do not believe in such reports, however much the Pope may countenance those two* condottieri, *as it is surmised, I have, nevertheless, written to Rome to the Marquis that he may be on his guard.*

The Marquis del Gasto has sent count Landriano to ask me whether I approve or not of his taking in his pay for the defence of Lombardy 2,000 *German* lanskennets *from those lately landed from Algiers, to be in the meanwhile supported by Florence and the people of Lucca. My answer has been that he may enlist the Germans if he finds that he cannot possibly do without them; but that they must be sent straight to the estate of count Malespina, and once there we can treat with the duke Cosmo, who, I hear, has at this moment a large quantity of wheat in store, and who, for fear of those Germans penetrating into his estate, would rather support them outside or give them money to go elsewhere. He has since written to me that since he hears that the Emperor is about to send to Tuscany some of the Spanish infantry that was at Algiers, he prefers the latter to the Germans, and besides that there is no fear of king Francis undertaking anything in Italy for*

* Not in Bergenroth's collection.
† That is Paolo da Ceri, Renzo's son.

1541.

three months to come. I have told him that I approve of the measure, but that in any case, whether Germans or Spaniards, they must go first to the lands of the count of Malespina and take up their quarters there; for according to the advice of Don Juan de Luna, now here with count Landriano, that seems to me to be the best course to pursue in these matters of the quartering of troops, it being always preferable to tax the inhabitants in that way than extort money from them.

From the Levant and from Venice I have no other information than that contained in the letters of D. Diego de Mendoza, here enclosed.*

No news from the bishop of Fossombrone,† His Holiness' Datary, who started several days ago for France. I very much fear that king Francis will keep him there without coming to a decision until he hears what is to be the probable destination of Your Majesty's fleet, and how and where your land forces are situated; then he will answer, not before. For the present I see no danger for Italy; but I am afraid of Flanders, where matters are not very smooth just now, as the Queen Regent writes.

It also seems to me, subject to correction, that the remarks made by me in the above-mentioned discourse with regard to England ought to be taken into consideration, chiefly if the account sent by Your Majesty's ambassador in that country (Eustace Chapuys) of his conversation with the Lord Privy Seal, and the latter's overtures, can be depended upon; because if it were possible to make there, in England, some sort of agreement (*concierto*), it might serve to bridle in some manner the turbulent spirit of the French, though no other result might come out of it than that of inducing the king of the former country to declare openly against France.

What state German affairs are in just now Your Majesty will be able to judge by the enclosed letters of the king of the Romans, and by the instructions of the duke Lewis of Bavaria and of the councillors of the Catholic League. I have noted on the margins of the latter paper my own observations about it, and written to the king of the Romans in conformity.

I have received a ciphered letter from the Marquis del Gasto respecting the quarters for the Spanish infantry; I enclose it also.‡

Ever since my arrival in this city (Sena) I have been continually working for its pacification in union with cardinal Sfrondato. On Sunday, the 4th inst., I myself went to the Council rooms, to a meeting attended by no less than 500 *persons, and after a discussion, which lasted from the* 22 *to the* 24 *hours of the day, it was resolved that one "capitano di Giusticia" should be created for criminal cases*

* Not in the packet.

† In the original Fon San Bruno.

‡ The same remark as in note *. Some of the letters at Simancas have for some reason or other been deprived of their enclosures.

1541.

and another for the civil ones; that each of these should have a vicar, lieutenant or legal assessor, and two "barrachellos," *one for the city and the other for the country, with a number of foot and horse. That the salary and perquisites of each captain should amount every month to* 160 "scuti." *This captain to replace the six judges that existed before, and who never administered justice except by favor. It was agreed that the first time the captain should be elected by me, and that after one or two years, according as his government was good or bad, he should cease in his office. The next two elections to be made by the Imperial Senate of Milan or by the Collateral Council of Naples, and after that the Republic to elect their own captain, provided the latter be one attached to the Imperial party, not a native of this city, nor residing within so many miles of it. This being agreed upon I have written to the Marquis del Gasto at Milan, to designate, conjointly with the president of the Senate of Milan, the Chancellor, and ambassador Figueroa, the person they may consider most fit for the charge. It was likewise agreed that a new* "Balia" *of* 40 *persons should be elected instead of the* 20 *who were before, and that I myself should appoint eight more bailiffs, two for each* "monte."

The election and appointments took place, passed very well and with great order and respect for Your Imperial Majesty, most of the people of this city being sincerely attached to your service, only I observed that at each ballot there were always 80 *black balls, which I presume were thrown in by the Salvis* and their party, or by people in their pay. I will dissemble in this as in other matters, and will forward to Your Imperial Majesty a full description of what passed in that consistory or assembly.*

The election, as I said above, lasted from five to seven,† which reminded me of the celebrated sitting at the Cortes of Monçon. Upon the whole it turned out satisfactorily enough, only that several deserving persons were excluded from it owing to family feuds and parties—of which there are many here—the same whom I afterwards appointed according to agreement, considering them to be honest citizens without too violent bias. Of the Salvis (Salviati?) not one was elected, owing to their being much hated in this place.

As far as I can gather there are three different factions or parties in this city. Some are honestly looking out for the remedy, no matter whence it comes. Others would have it immediately, so that by crushing the Salvis and their adherents they might afterwards gain the superiority. These are divided into two sections; one is that of the archbishop and his brother, who may perhaps think that it is the surest

* Thus in the original at Simancas, but I presume that it is meant for the Salviati, a celebrated Florentine family.

† That is from ten to twelve o'clock at night according to the Italian mode of reckoning the hours. *See* the preceding page.

1541.

path to the cardinalate; those who went to Lucca to lay their complaints before Your Majesty claim also, as far as I can gather, to have sooner or later the command of this place.

As to the third faction, the Salvis, they would prefer that things remain as they were, because they hope that when I am gone they will be able to effect a revolution, and perhaps also become masters of Siena (Sena) with the assistance of the Pope and of France. That is what the Sienese attached to Your Majesty tell me every day—that if I go away without providing sufficient means for their defence, even though the duke of Malfi (Amalfi) should have the command of the place in Your Majesty's name, they will leave this city and settle elsewhere, and that upwards of one hundred well-to-do citizens are ready to emigrate. Those who went to Lucca, on the contrary, pretend that nothing of the sort will happen whether the Duke returns or not, because the Salviatis do not exceed the number of 150 *at the utmost, and have no chance against all the other* "monti."

The Duke, moreover, is accused, even by his own partisans—and the truth is that he has very few—of having given way too much to the Salviatis, from which I conclude that it is not desirable that he should return here, for having, as he has, lost credit during his government, no one will trust him in future.

After much consideration I fear that when I leave this city, whatever arrangements may be made, there will be soon some revolution or disturbance; for I am given to understand that among the Salviatis there are many who have committed murders and most horrible crimes all over the land, and who cease not to threaten and brag. They are known to be all well armed, and to have under their houses secret and subterraneous passages leading to the city walls, through which they themselves can escape, or at any time introduce foreigners. I have, therefore, made arrangements for the garrison, now consisting only of 80 *soldiers, Spaniards and Italians, to be reinforced by* 300 *of the former nation from Milan, and an agreement has also been entered into with the citizens that, although the revenues of the Republic are mortgaged for many years to come, and they themselves are very poor, they will share their food with the garrison. Meanwhile I have written to Don Juan de Luna to send me* 30 *Spaniards, with whom, and with those who are already here, I hope to keep this city in peace, and prevent any mischief on the part of the Salvis. When the rest of the Spanish infantry comes I myself will go to Milan, and thence to Genoa to embark for Spain, although they tell me that I am watched, and that my life is in danger.*

Count Noguerol is now here on his way to Rome to inform His Holiness of a conversation he has had with the Grand Turk concerning Hungary, and to ask him for help and assistance against that Infidel. I have acquainted him with the

1541.

state of our negociations here at Rome with the Pope, and encouraged him to explain the object of his mission, though, in my opinion, there is but a small chance, if any, of his obtaining a better answer than that which Aguilar and myself got from his own lips.

With regard to the negociations for the agreement to which the Marquis del Gasto alludes in his letter, it would appear that the promoters of it are the friar and bishop Estatydius, all with a view to adjusting the differences existing between the Queen and her son, and also her own private affairs with the King; the thing was not certain, only the latter was determined to do in it all he possibly could to arrive at such an agreement.*—Siena (Sena), 13 December 1541.

Signed: "Perrenot."

18 Dec. **215.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, ff. 77–81.

Since my last of the 11th there has been nothing new worth reporting from this city, except, perhaps, that *the secretary of the French ambassador has procured me the ciphered letter, of which a copy is enclosed. The said secretary was yesterday to have communicated with one of mine respecting other matters, but must have been prevented somehow, for on my man going to the appointed place, he did not find the other there.*

Ever since the Lord Privy Seal called on me this king has been constantly out in the fields, for the purpose of diverting his ill-humour, and escaping from the labour of administrative business and government in general, of which he will not hear just now. In three days hence he is expected back at Greenwich, and then, should he not send for me according to promise, I shall not fail to apply urgently for an audience, as I am particularly anxious at this moment to speak to him and see what humour he is in, that I may inform Your Majesty of his present disposition, inclination, as well as will. *This I hold to be more necessary now than at any time before, also to bring him over to Your Majesty's side, owing to the secret practices of the French in every quarter, with which, besides the information obtained elsewhere, I have lately been made sufficiently acquainted by the queen regent of Flanders.*

* "Dice que el dicho frayle y el obispo Estatylius han movido la dicha platica para concertar lo de la Reyna y su hijo, y tambien sus particulares, con el Rey; pero la cosa aun no tenia otra certinidad sino que el dicho Rey era determinado de hacer todo lo que él pudiesse buenamente para venir á este concierto, y en fin es todo en conformidad de lo que scrive el Rey á V. M." For the Queen in the above passage the widow of Jean Zapoli or Zapolski, who died in 1540, must be meant. He left behind him one son, who took the title of prince of Transylvania. As to the "bishop Estatilius," his right name must have been "Statilius," for both Gams in his *Notitia Episcoporum totius orbis Christiani*, and Cesar Baronio in his *Annales Ecclesiastici*, call him by the same name.

1541.

The King's letter to the French ambassador, which I myself have deciphered, is as follows:—

Copy of the letter of the king of France to his ambassador, Monsr. de Marillac: I have received from various quarters the pitiful news of the defeat of the Emperor's army at Algiers, caused principally by the terrific storm—which sank, it is said, no less than 17 *of his galleys and* 150 *other transport vessels, large and small—as well as by the famine which ensued, and which obliged the Emperor to re-embark, which however, could not be done without great loss in men. I am exceedingly sorry to hear of this, especially as it is not known at present whether he himself is safe, and where he may be, some presuming that he is at Bugia, whilst others think that he is still at sea.*

As the English might think that an event of this sort is likely to cool down the affection I entertain for them, and make me less desirous of their friendship and alliance, you will make them understand, and at the same time assure them, that no event whatever, prosperous or adverse, will ever change or diminish my good-will and affection towards their king, and that I beg them to attach implicit faith to my words.

I am also in receipt of news from Germany, stating that the inhabitants of Silesia and Moravia have actually revolted against the king of the Romans, and elected a prince of their own—Maurice, the son of duke Hans of Saxony; and that in consequence of that and other losses lately sustained, the said king of the Romans has fallen into such a state of despondency and grief that many think he must be dead by this time.

On the side of Hungary the news is that the Turk has retreated to Constantinople, where some sort of truce will probably be made to last until the 23*rd of April, or so. This is the news I can give you up to the present.—Fontainebleau,* 8 *December* 1541. *François.**

The above is an exact copy of the French King's letter to his ambassador, Marillac.—London, 18 December 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. pp. 2.

18 Dec. **216.** The Same to the Queen Regent.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, f. 32–3.

Madame,—Yesterday Your Majesty's letter of the 4th inst. came to hand. Its very wise and discreet contents have been more than sufficient to instruct me as to Your Majesty's will and intention, as well as commands. To obey these in all matters I will take the greatest possible care and trouble, according to time and circumstances. Indeed, had it not been that this king is actually absent from Court, for the purpose, as I have already written to Your Majesty, of escaping his councillors' debates on politics, or in any other way having to

* The letter itself is only a duplicate, with a few slight variations, of that already abstracted under No. 212.

1541.

attend to business, I would easily have found some opportunity of going to him; but as in three days hence he is expected back at Greenwich, I think that he will neither refuse me an audience nor delay it, as he did lately when I asked him for one through the Lord Privy Seal's intermediation. Of whatever may pass at that audience between the King's privy councillors and myself I shall not fail to inform Your Majesty immediately.

Enclosed is the copy of a letter from the king of France to his resident ambassador at this court. I have procured it from the ambassador's man, who was to have met yesterday one of my own, for the purpose of confiding to him certain secrets of his government; but he must have been prevented from doing so, for he did not keep his engagement.*—London, 18 December 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England, xi Dec. 1541. Received on the viii. of January."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

19 Dec. **217.** The Same and Mr. de Granvelle to the Emperor.

S E., L. 870, ff. 97–8.
B. M. *Add.* 28,593, ff. 106–7.

Are in receipt of the Emperor's letter dated Cartagena the 4th. Since their last of the 23rd Nov. the bishop of Fossombrone (Andrighelli) has returned from France. He has not yet arrived in Rome, owing to some slight indisposition, which has detained him on the road; but he has written, giving an account of his mission, the substance of which is that king Francis declares that, as regards peace, he will not for the sake of it accept the marriage proposed with the suzerainty of Flanders as dowry. That as to the observance of the truce, no further declaration on his part is needed; and, therefore, he begs no more should be said about it. It was not he who had broken the truce. As to the bishop of Valence (Valencia), he would release him as soon as he had heard that his own ambassadors were safe and free. As to the Avignon business, he had no knowledge whatever of it. Such is the substance of king Francis' answer to the Papal Nuncio.

Cardinal Carpi says that his news from France is that king Francis intends declaring war next spring, and attacking the Emperor on every side in Flanders, Naples, and Piedmont. Flanders was the point whither he was likely to direct the greater part of his forces, since he counts, as it appears, upon the assistance of the duke of Clèves and other allies in those parts.

The Marquis del Gasto writes from Cremona that he is on the eve of returning to Milan for the purpose of borrowing

* The same mentioned at p. 411, that is Marillac.

1541.

from bankers and merchants money to pay the Spanish infantry and the 500 light horse he had lately enlisted. Respecting Barbarossa, there is no other news save that contained in Don Diego de Mendoza's letter to me, which I enclose. The viceroy of Naples (Don Pedro de Toledo) writes also that no intelligence has lately come concerning that corsair's doings.

The French in Piedmont are quiet enough for the present. Here, in Tuscany, count Pitiglian and Paulo de Cheri (Paolo da Ceri) still bluster and brag of enlisting men and suddenly attacking Siena, thinking, no doubt, that I should not stay here more than three or four days, as was my intention at first, and that they would soon find an opportunity as well as the means, of creating some disturbance; but they are cooler now, though they still keep threatening, as Your Imperial Majesty will see by the Marquis' letters to me, which I enclose.

As to the Datary's mission to France, Your Imperial Majesty will see by the Marquis' letters, as well as by those of commander Valençuela, what little hope there is at present of king Francis answering categorically the questions which His Holiness has addressed to him. The Commander adds that cardinal Frenesio (Farnese) told him in secret that king Francis seemed to be harder than ever, and rejected entirely the proposal made by His Holiness of part of Flanders with the hand [of the Infanta Doña Maria]. With regard to Mr. de Valence, the Datary had not yet had time to speak to him. My opinion is that king Francis will delay as much as possible answering His Holiness' request, in order to consider what he had better do for securing the friendship of the Grand Turk, of the king of England, of the German Lutherans, and, in fact, of such among the Italians as wish for troubled times in order to make their own profit out of the confusion, especially if what the Queen Regent (Mary) writes of French intelligence in Germany turns out true, which is most likely to be the case, considering the wretched state of Hungary and the failure of Your Majesty's expedition to Algiers. It is therefore urgent to consider what measures may be adopted to counteract the bad intentions of the French, and in the meantime send us instructions as to how I and the rest of Your Imperial Majesty's ministers are to act in the emergency, both here and in Germany.

In this latter country things are as they were some time ago. There is nothing new, save that councillor Naves writes that the French in these parts, as well as those who were no friends to Your Imperial Majesty, had spread the rumour that you took no notice whatever of the danger in which the affairs of Christendom were, and that to all those who had spoken to him in that sense, that councillor had answered as best he could, excusing Your Majesty, and alleging that your interview with the Pope [at Lucca], and the commission given

1541.

to me for the remedy against Turkish invasion and religious dissension, were the real causes of the apparent indifference with which they charged you.

With regard to the charge of count Noguerol, who passed the other day through this city on his way to Rome with a mission from His most Serene Majesty, the king of the Romans, Ferdinand, I have nothing to say, save that having shewn me his instructions, and consulted me thereupon, I gave him such advice as I could, and have besides written to his master the letter of which the enclosed is a copy.

At Genoa all is quiet, as ambassador Figueroa writes to me. The inhabitants are extremely sorry at the ill success of the expedition against Algiers, for they love Your Imperial Majesty most sincerely.

Cardinal Carpi has been, and is, very useful. He is sincerely attached to Your Imperial Majesty, and enjoys great credit with the Pope. I beg to recommend him most particularly to Your Majesty, for his knowledge of French affairs is very great, and he is desirous of doing service. Let a letter be written to him, and the rest may remain a profound secret.

Mr. de Granvelle.—

Here in Siena, since the appointment of a "Captain of Justice" for the criminal, and of 40 members for the new "Balia," which is to last two years, the edicts and ordinances herein enclosed have been duly promulgated and cried. All goes well, and law is obeyed. I have also obtained that a Spanish captain, with eight or ten men, also Spaniards, and if necessary more, should take charge of the Rocca or castle of Porto Hercole, provided he swears to keep the same for the security of this city, and to answer for its remaining faithful to Your Majesty; and I have written to Don Juan de Luna, at Milan, to pick out and send me from the garrison of the castle a captain and soldiers in whom he can trust. All this I must say has been done with the consent and approval of the Salviatis.

There is still another castle in the neighbourhood of this city which is in the hands of a native of Corsica, a captain of the Papal galleys, who has gained so much credit with the Sienese that it will be a difficult matter to gain him over, and make him give up his stronghold. We shall see what can be done, although there is no hurry just now, for the castle itself is of no great importance, and besides it is not likely that His Holiness will attempt anything on this side.

An agreement has been entered into with the Salviatis. Julio, the eldest, is to remain here; the other four brothers are to go to Milan, and serve there the time that Your Majesty may decide. This they have willingly accepted, hoping, no doubt, that Your Imperial Majesty will hereafter pardon their many excesses and crimes. Meanwhile, with the authority of the Senate, the judicial proceedings instituted against them have been suspended. It could not be otherwise, dreaded as they

1541.

are all round, especially after what happened between Julio and Ludovico de Bearne, whom many people here suspect, but who, in reality, can brew no mischief except with the help of his brothers, much less now that the Rocca at Porto Hercole will be *in good hands. Besides which Julio is not the man to undertake anything single-handed; he is now much crest-fallen and intimidated at the administrative changes lately introduced, and thinks that enough has been done in his and in his brethren's favor.**

The only point remaining unsettled is that of the duke of Melfi (Amalfi), who begins to perceive clearly enough that he cannot possibly return here as governor; firstly, because the people will not have him; and, secondly, because there is no fund from which to draw his salary. Indeed, many think that were he to return here in command that would be cause for fresh riots and troubles. I have sent him a message through count Francesco Sfrondato, representing the danger of his return to this city, and what my opinion is in the matter. The Prince, who for the last month has been detained by illness at Piença, has answered that he is ready, as a good vassal of Your Imperial Majesty, to follow my advice. He will shortly send his resignation to the Senate. I will take care that it be accepted honorably for him, and if I can get a pension for his son, the Marquis, who is living here with his wife, I think that the affair will be satisfactorily settled for both parties. All I hear about the Prince is that he is a most excellent, honorable, peaceful, and virtuous man; whilst he was governing here justice had its course, and no violences were committed, and yet people are terribly afraid that should he resume the command of the place the Salviatis would again raise their heads, and cause a fresh revolution with their robberies, their violences, and their crimes of every description.

This point once settled, and the Captain of Justice—who is already on the road with 200 Spanish infantry—having arrived from Milan, I myself will take my departure, leaving count Sfrondato behind for a few days until the Spanish infantry comes. It will be for him to decide if the force that is to come from Milan will be sufficient to maintain this city in order; if not he will apply for more men, and not leave Siena until he is satisfied that everything is in perfect order and secure. Sfrondato, who, besides being an honest and worthy man, prudent and wise, has done good offices here, will remain here at the expense of this Republic.

I have also prevailed upon the Archbishop of this city,† as good pastor and father of all the Sienese, to do his best to prevent family feuds and other causes of discord among the inhabitants; he has promised me to do so, and I

* "Y tambien que él no me parece de si hombre para emprender algo, y está muy abatido y atemorizado de estas provisiones, y le parece que se ha hecho mucho por él y sus hermanos."

† Francesco Bandini, from 1529 to 1588.

1541.

have warned Sfrondato to be on his guard, and take care that order and peace be not disturbed by anyone. I, therefore, imagine that, in case of an attack by the enemy, this city will defend itself without the assistance of any considerable force, such is the devotion which the people in general seem to have for Your Majesty. And let me be excused and pardoned if this report, destined for the Emperor's inspection, is couched in Spanish instead of French, because I fancy that the privy councillors, through whose hands it has to pass, will understand it better so than if it were written in the latter language.*—Siena (Sena), 19 December 1541.

Signed: "Perrenot."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Imp. and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 12.

24 Dec. **218.** The MARQUIS DE AGUILAR to the SAME.

S. E., L. 870, ff. 93–4.
B. M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 104.

After his despatch of the 26th ult. the Emperor's letters of the 2nd and 15th came to hand, advising the events of his voyage from the day of his sailing from Mallorca up to the landing at Bugia. On the 18th inst. he (Aguilar) heard from High Commander Covos that 22 rowing galleys had been signalled off Cartagena, and that no doubt they were the Imperial fleet, and the Emperor was on board one of them. God be praised!

His Holiness was glad to hear the Emperor's offer to help with all his power now that Barbarroja is said to be coming to Italy. Told him that the Emperor was now more in want of money than he was when he last spoke to him at Lucca, and that he hoped His Holiness would now help and assist him and his brother, the king of the Romans, in their wars with the Turk by sea and land more effectually than he had done on the last occasion.

Letters from the bishop of Fossombrone † have been received, in which he gives an account of the first audience he had from king Francis. It appears that the latter's answer was anything but satisfactory. On the subject of the truce he would not declare whether he would keep it or not. As to the peace, he said that having once refused the offer of a marriage with the dominion of Flanders for his son, the duke of Orleans, unless the marriage contract were signed by the parties inside Milan, he would in nowise hear of it. He (king Francis) knew very well what His Holiness was aiming at by sending to him the bishop of Fossombrone; it was merely for the sake of amusing him with words, and in the meantime

* "Y vra m^d y essos señores [del Consejo] que veran esta casta perdonen el atrevimiento de scrivir en español, que lo hago porque pienso que entenderan mejor esto que el traslado sacado del frances."

† Nicolas Andrighelli, from 1541 to 1547, created cardinal in 1544.

1541.

making him lose his friends. In short, the bad treatment to which the Avignon prisoners have lately been subjected, after the ill success of the Algiers expedition—already well known in France—shows that king Francis is more obstinate than ever; so much so, that in the Bishop's opinion there is very little chance of his consenting to keep the truce, much less concluding peace on reasonable terms. Of the bishop of Valence* there was no time to talk, for in the midst of the audience the King withdrew, saying that on the next day he would again receive the Papal Nuncio.

As to the Avignon prisoners, he (Aguilar) learns from a letter of Don Miguel de Çanoguera to D. Alvaro de Luna that they were taken in the following manner:—On the night of the very same day on which the Papal vice-legate took leave to return to Rome, the gates of his palace and the door of his own apartment were forced all of a sudden by a squad of armed men. The inmates defended themselves as long as they could, but the assailants, being in greater number, got inside, sacked the palace of its contents, and went away, taking with them as prisoners Don Carlos de Luna, son of D. Carlos, Don Juan de Aguilon, and two or three more such as Marradas and D. Miguel Çanoguera, the writer of the letter, who after being taken with the others, managed to bribe the very man who had charge of him, was set free by him, and advised to leap from a window. So he did, and though he was nearly killed by the fall—the height of the window above the ground being considerable—he managed to run away. After this Çanoguera went to the abode of the new vice-legate, the bishop of Bologna,† who had just arrived at Avignon. The bishop, who is the son of cardinal Campeggio (Lorenço), received him well, sheltered him, and attended to his cure. It was not known for certain where the other prisoners had been lodged, nor what had become of them. Some say that they have been taken to Marseilles, others that they are in Lyons, but cardinal Carpi has had a letter from a friend in France advising that they are kept in one of the High Constable's (Montmorency) castles.

The above-named Cardinal‡ shows attachment for the Emperor, and brings occasional news from France, where he has many friends, having long resided in Lyons and Paris and other places as Papal Nuncio and Legate. Among other things he says that king Francis has lately sent for count Petillano (Pitigliano), and for Paolo de Ceri, telling them both that he intends employing them at Sena and in other cities. The former has accepted, and will most likely do some mischief in that city, where he has friends and partisans. The latter has

* Archbishop of Valencia in Spain, George of Austria. *See* above, pp. 369–70, 421.

† Alessandro Campeggio, 1526–53.

‡ The bishop of Fossombrone, or cardinal Carpi ?

1541.

answered that he is solely and simply a military man, and that this is not the time to make war; that in a month or two he will consider king Francis' offers.

The Emperor's agent in Switzerland happens to have been once the Cardinal's servant, and, therefore, the information he has procured in the Swiss cantons may be relied upon. The Cardinal (Carpi) has letters from him announcing that king Francis pretends that the duke of Clèves ought to be included in the old league and confederacy which the Catholic Cantons had of old with France; but this the Swiss have flatly refused. Then the King, in order to make sure of them, asked them whether they would not give him the men he required, but their answer has been that since he himself is recruiting thousands of Germans, he has no need of their services. With all this it is generally believed that the cantons, whether Catholic or Lutheran—for in this matter Francis makes no difference—will in the end furnish him as many men as he may want; and, indeed, there is at present among them a treasurer of the King to that effect.

A cardinal's hat for the bishop of Viseu.* Three French ecclesiastics who want them are also on the list. One is the present ambassador in Rome, recommended by Mme. Labrit; 2, the nephew of Mr. Sambaut; 3, the grand chancellor of France himself.

The decimas granted to Venice.—

Don Juan de Luna writes from Milan that as long as the defences of that castle are unfinished he cannot answer for the security of that city, and that it would not be amiss to increase the garrison under his orders.

Count Santa Flor (Sanctafiore) has arrived, and brought news that the duke of Camarino Ottavio Farnese has been appointed "capitan de la Casa." His Holiness has rejoiced at it, because there is nothing he likes so much as to see all the members of his family promoted.

Mma. Margarita is doing well, and seems much pleased with the services of commander Valençuela.—Rome, 24 Dec. 1541.

Signed: "El Marques de Aguilar."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the King our lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 12.

27 Dec. **219.** The Same to the Same.

E. Roma, L. 870, f. 97–8.
B.M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 111.

After writing on the 22nd and enclosing my letter to Mr. de Granvelle, I received Your Majesty's of the 4th inst. from Cartagena, which I was glad to receive in order *to contradict and defeat the lies* of these Frenchmen at Rome, who for some time past have been saying that the letters from

* Miguel de Silva, 1527–47.

1541.

Spain announcing Your Majesty's return were pure invention, and had been expressly forged for the purpose of keeping matters in *statu quo*.

As no answer is needed to that letter—since both Mr. de Granvelle and I have fully and in detail informed Your Majesty of the state of affairs here at Rome, as well as in the rest of Italy—I will only add that no sooner did His Holiness hear of Your Majesty's safe arrival at Cartagena than he sent for Juan de Montepulchano, his chamberlain (*camarlengo*), and told him to prepare for a journey to Spain, for the sole and exclusive purpose of congratulating Your Majesty, and at the same time informing you more particularly of the result of his Datary's mission to France.* Having been obliged to stop on the road on account of illness, the Datary had sent an express, who entered Rome yesterday, giving an account of his commission, and so forth, &c. His Holiness, however, would not wait for the arrival of his Datary, who is expected shortly, and decided that Montepulchano should leave, which he has perhaps done already.

From what His Holiness himself and cardinal Farnese tell me, king Francis' answer has been rather unsatisfactory. [As in Granvelle's despatch of the 14th.]

I shall not fail to urge on His Holiness to take action in this case as befits his authority, insisting upon the archbishop of Valencia and the Avignon prisoners being set free. Should Montepulchano be still in Rome before closing this despatch of mine, I will inform Your Majesty of the Pope's answer to my application. The bishop of Fossombrone is also expected within six days, and we shall hear from him all the particulars. Methinks that all these threats on the part of the king of France have no other origin than his believing that this is the opportunity for him to get Milan, but when he hears that Your Majesty is back in your Spanish dominions, he will no doubt change his tone.

I have written to the viceroy of Naples (D. Pedro de Toledo) to be on the alert for fear the French should undertake something in those parts in combination with their ally, Barbarossa.

Cardinal Farnese tells me that His Holiness is very anxious for the proposed marriage between his grand-daughter and the son of the duke [Carlo] of Savoy to be effected at once. Though His Holiness knows through Mr. de Granvelle that Your Imperial Majesty will be glad of that marriage taking place, he wants more than that, and would like to have your own personal consent. Told the Cardinal that I knew nothing about it, but that as Montepulchano had gone to Spain, there could be no delay.

He (the Cardinal) told me to thank Your Majesty for the treatment which the duke of Camarino had received at your

* Andrighelli, the bishop of Fossombrone, and Papal Datary. *See* above, p. 422.

1541.

hands. He wished above all things that Your Majesty should employ him in military matters, for which, he said, the youth showed great inclination and taste. Having inquired from the Cardinal what post he wanted for his nephew, he replied, General of the Spanish or the Italian infantry, or of the Imperial light horse, and that in the event of a war no one could as well as he himself raise an army in Italy. To advise him in the duties of his office, Allessandro Bitello (Vitelli) Giovan Battista Sabelli, or some other veteran and experienced captain, might be appointed. My answer was that I had no doubt, when Your Majesty knows His Holiness' wish with regard to his grandson, he will be employed according to his rank and station, and I am also certain that Madame, the Duchess, his wife, wishes him to be in Your Majesty's service.

At this very moment I hear that an application has been made to relieve the Duchy of Camarino from the payment of about 1,000 ducats or more owing to the Apostolic Chamber, and that His Holiness has granted the petition owing to the last duke (Varana) having accompanied the expedition against the Infidels of Algiers.—Rome, 27 Dec. 1541.

Signed: "El Marques de Aguilar."

Spanish. Original. pp. 8.

29 Dec. **220.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, f. 84–6.

Madame,—Last Monday I went to the King, and had a long conversation with him on several affairs, and principally on the one mentioned in your letters of the 4th and 15th inst. On Wednesday morning, as I was about to close and seal my letter to Your Majesty, in came the clerk of the Privy Council to request me to go to Court, as the King's councillors (he said) had some important communication to make, and begged me to delay the departure of this courier until I heard from their lips what they had to say. Accordingly, this morning, Tuesday, I went to Greenwich, and had a long conversation with the privy councillors respecting the intercourse of trade and other matters relating thereto. I must say that on this occasion I have found the King's councillors much better informed than on former ones, owing, no doubt, to my having sent them, at their own request, copies of all the papers I have in my possession. Indeed, that they might better meet my application, I have not hesitated to send them transcripts of Your Majesty's reply to their ambassadors at Brussels, as well as of your own letters to me on the subject. They, in the meantime, have promised to send to Calais for the registers of the "tonlieu," in order to ascertain whether at the time mentioned in Your Majesty's letter—the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—the Flemish did not pay more

1541.

duties than the English, as asserted.* And although the King had taken medicine on that particular day, and felt somewhat indisposed, yet, in the afternoon, hearing that I was in the Council room, he made a point of coming and having a long conversation with me on various subjects, which I will report in my ensuing despatch.

In coming back to my lodgings I found at my door the courier, bearer of this, and of whose departure I had only been informed one half-hour before, already in the saddle and about to start. Though I begged him to stop two or three hours more that I might finish this letter and seal the packet, he would not, and hardly gave me time to write these few words in a great hurry, lest Your Majesty should think that the delay had entirely been caused by me.†

The King, in fact, communicated to me one part of the conversation that the French ambassador had with him on Tuesday last, and the offers and promises he had made him. With regard to the chief affair, Your Majesty will hardly conceive the quantity and quality of persuasive and remonstrative arguments of which that ambassador made use to induce this king to make some overture or other, and advance the treaty of closer alliance with France. But I still persist in my opinion so often declared; no one, however shrewd, will suceeed in detaching this king from his fantastic humour, which is not to communicate, impart, or let anyone know what his ideas and intentions are on a given subject, unless he can see and ascertain that ambassadors have full powers to that effect, and that not before he himself has heard what they have to say. Otherwise there is no chance of knowing how he thinks on the matter; he will use the most gracious and flattering language, but will not let you divine his thoughts. He now seems to desire most ardently His Imperial Majesty's friendship; but I apprehend that it is only for the sake of gaining time, and selling himself at a higher price, as Your Majesty will judge by the contents of my despatch to the Emperor that will go by next post.—London, 29 December 1541.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph partly ciphered. pp. 4.

30 Dec. **221.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, ff. 87-160.

Madame,—As this king did not return to Greenwich before Christmas-Eve, I was unable to speak to him as soon as I expected at the date of my last. Immediately on my hearing that he was back, I sent to Greenwich to inquire when I could go thither to present my respects to him. My secretary

* "Sil se trouvera que du temps allegue ausd. (aux dites) responses la, sçavoir XIIII[e] XV., ne paiassent les flamans non plus que les Anglois."

† "Doubtant que lattente de mez lettres ne semble par trop longue a vre. mat[e]."

1541.

addressed himself to the Lord Privy Seal, who immediately and with very good will went into the King's room, and came out of it asking whether I had news from His Imperial Majesty or letters to deliver, and upon my secretary answering in conformity with the instructions I had given him, that is to say, that he could not exactly tell, the Lord Privy Seal went again into the King's room, and coming out of it after half-hour's conversation with the rest of the privy councillors, said to him that I might go to Court the second day of Easter, which was yesterday, and that I would be welcome to the King and to his councillors. Meanwhile, on the night of the very day on which this king arrived at Greenwich, Your Majesty's letters of the 15th, as well as the Emperor's of the 4th inst., with the very pleasing news of his much-desired landing in Spain, had come to hand. I failed not early in the morning of the next day to apprize the King of it, who together with his councillors seemed glad at the intelligence, and sent me word to attend the appointment fixed for Easter Monday, and that I should be well received at Court.

Yesterday, the 29th, at the appointed hour I was at Greenwich in the presence of the King, who, to say the truth, made me on this occasion the most gracious and kind reception that could be imagined. After inquiring about my health, asking me for particulars of the illness I had this last summer, and congratulating me on my recovery, the King thanked me for the very pleasing and agreeable news I had sent him on the previous day. He then inquired about the Emperor's health, wishing to know in what part of Spain His Imperial Majesty intended to pass the winter, whither the men and war material had been sent, &c., which questions I answered according to the information contained in the Emperor's letters to me, and my own private correspondence. With regard to his own ambassador, about whom the King seemed to be in some apprehension and fear, I told him that had anything happened to him His Imperial Majesty would no doubt have written to me, but that I myself had heard nothing concerning him.

Very few people of note (I said) had perished in the undertaking. "And yet," replied the King, "I am told that in the very sight of Cartagena the galley of the Master of the Artillery, with all hands on board, did founder." Then he added: "I have no doubt that the Emperor was almost obliged to undertake that expedition of Algiers, owing to the importunities of his Spanish subjects, but yet it would have been far better and wiser to send thither some lieutenant of his own in command of his army and fleet, rather than risk his precious person. In the meantime he might have attended to several other affairs, no less important for the peace and prosperity of his own dominions in Spain, as well as Italy and Flanders."

My reply was that it was a matter of the greatest importance for His Imperial Majesty first to recover Algiers and

1541.

devote himself entirely to that undertaking; that his presence at the head of the expeditionary force was much needed and required, since he would have to pass through Spain anyhow, and that I was sure that had not His Imperial Majesty promised in the German Diet to hold a conference with His Holiness respecting the affairs of that country; and had he not been engaged at the time, and occupied with the preconcerted expedition to Africa, he would certainly have taken his route through here before he returned to Spain. As to me (I said) I would willingly have lost the very small fortune I possess that such a voyage had taken place, for he (the King) being such a wise prince, and one so experienced in matters of State administration and general politics, having besides great literary attainments, would, I had no doubt, have made several suggestions to the Emperor's profit and honor, and that, although my master was also a very wise and experienced prince, yet I maintained that no lawyer, however good, would in a case of this sort omit asking for assistance and counsel from his colleagues. By means of which, and other equally flattering remarks, and by following in all its parts the advice given to me by the Lord Privy Seal, who, by the way, never scruples to say that such incense is always agreeable to his master, I succeeded, as Your Majesty will presently see, in putting the King in very high spirits.

After talking on various matters, and having thanked the King for the occasional messages he had sent me by the Lord Privy Seal informing me of the French intrigues, I told him that such courtesy and confidence on his part, besides the friendship existing between the Emperor and him—which I hoped would ere long become greater and closer—required that in return for his confidences I should in like manner inform him of certain particulars which had come to my knowledge, and which I would communicate under such reserve as might be anticipated from so virtuous and prudent a prince as he was, but that, as it was time to attend mass, I would beg him to remit the conference to a later hour in the day, which prayer of mine he readily granted, saying, "Well, then, immediately after dinner I will attend to whatever you have to say to me."

The dinner over, the King sent for me, and I was again introduced by the Lord Privy Seal to the Royal chamber, with no other attendance than the above-mentioned personage, and two more privy councillors, also gentlemen of the King's Chamber, namely, the Admiral and the Grand Squire. Having sat down at the King's request, I addressed him in almost similar words to those I had used in the morning, thanking him for the confidential information repecting the practices and intrigues of the French, to which the King replied: "You may talk to me as confidently and unreservedly as you wish, and be sure that nothing you may say to me in this room will ever be reported in French quarters." I then began to speak about

1541.

the letter which king Francis had caused his Queen (Eleanor) to write, almost by force, in favor of a marriage between his own son, the duke of Orleans, and the Infanta Maria of Portugal, and of the mission of the bishop Dade* to that effect. At which the King seemed somewhat surprised, and changed color, and although he had perfectly understood, yet, not knowing what answer to make quickly, and wishing for a delay in order to prepare it, he made me repeat my statement two or three times, and then said: "That may well be; most probably the king of France would have wished to have the Infanta of Portugal in his power, not indeed in order to marry her to the duke of Orleans, his son, but for other purposes and intentions of much greater consequence than people imagine. As to the marriage itself, there can be no question at all, inasmuch as the Infanta is not yet of marriageable age." Such were the King's words, and although I did my best to persuade him that he was in the wrong and that the Infanta was already old enough to be married, he still persisted in his opinion. Nor was he likely to give in, considering that at this present moment, as Your Majesty must know, the French are soliciting the hand of the Princess for the Duke [of Orleans], and would already have sent from France an embassy composed of very high personages had this king only permitted one of his privy councillors to enter into negociation with the French ambassador residing here, a thing which the former would certainly have resisted as long as the French ambassador did not possess sufficient powers to carry on the negociation. The ambassador, said the King, was to come next day to him furnished, as he thought, with the said powers; he (the King) would listen to what he had to say, and then, not before, would decide whether to accept or refuse the French offers. "I am perfectly free and without obligations towards anyone whomsoever (said the King to me); this is merely a matter of giving and taking, and I am not bound to declare my intention to king Francis or to his ministers, without knowing first, and weighing afterwards, the conditions offered for that marriage."

Upon which, after many humble protestations that my language was that of a devoted servant of his, and that I spoke only subject to correction, as coming from the prince best versed among those now living in political affairs in general, and particularly in the stratagems and intrigues of the French—a nation naturally inclined to deceit, as Mr. de Montreull (Montreuil) asserts, and amongst whom "the stronger the assertion the greater the lie"—I said to him that he might hold for certain that the French did not expect in the least his royal consent to the said marriage, even under conditions to which they themselves would never subscribe—such as declaring the legitimacy of the Princess, and certain others

* Et de l'envoy et charge de levesque Dade. Could it be *d'Agde* in the dep. of Herault (?). If so, the bishop's name was Claude la Guiche.

1541.

which need not be mentioned. Indeed, I thought that even if he were to grant all the conditions they (the French) wanted, the latter would never entertain sincerely the idea of such a marriage on many considerations.

Then, without letting me proceed with my argument, the King remarked that I was greatly mistaken as to that; for the French, considering the quality of the person, the help and importance of the alliance, and the hope that the Princess might one of these days succeed to the crown of England—considering also that he (the King) had only one son, who might perhaps die, and that though the Princess was not his legitimate daughter, yet there was some chance (should he himself come to die without legitimate children) of her becoming queen of England—since he himself could, in virtue of the faculty and powers granted to him by both Houses of Parliament, enable her to succeed to the crown—were strongly in favor of that marriage.

My reply was that since he founded himself principally on this last consideration, I would lose no time in alleging several others, which in my opinion were equally important, and would, with his permission, limit myself to opposing his argument. I assured him that I had often heard from the lips of Frenchmen—men of quality and experience, and who, from their position and rank, ought to be acquainted with State affairs—that on no account would France wish that the duke of Orleans should arrive at the crown of England through such means, for that would be tantamount to reviving the old feuds and wars between the two countries. For the French (I added) know very well that there is at present no chance of the Princess succeeding to the crown of England, and yet causes for war might arise from the said marriage, inasmuch as, putting aside the preservation of the Princess' rights to legitimisation and so forth, they might flatter themselves with the idea that he (Henry) would not consent to his son-in-law being frustrated of the duchy of Bretagne, which belongs to him, and other estates of his own, which however promised or made one of the conditions of the marriage could not be realised, not to say anything of the payment of the pensions, and divers other promises. I much regretted that the French personages, of whom he (the King) had spoken, had not yet arrived in England, as he might then, without further argumentation on my part, have been the sooner convinced of the fallacy and deceit of the French, who are persuaded that without the payment of the arrears of pension—now amounting to upwards of one million and two hundred thousand ducats—all attempts they may make to obtain help or at least tokens of closer friendship and alliance with the English must be vain. Nor could they, if they chose, in the bad state of their finances, at present redeem their debt to him, and place themselves in a condition to undertake a war and recover their losses, which, please God, they will never be able to do.

1541.

Upon which the King again replied that there was nothing so certain as the fact that the French were now having fair play with him ;* in proof of which he would, under reserve, mention to me one single fact, among others, namely, that king Francis was at this very moment soliciting an interview with him. I told him that I was already aware of it, owing to the disclosure of a merchant from Gascony, a familiar friend of the French ambassador, who had assured me that the interview was already a settled thing. "As to me (I added), I cannot imagine how king Francis' offer of an interview at the present time can be taken as a proof of the sincerity of his words and professions or the integrity of his intentions ; for it strikes me that the French could not, under the circumstances, have chosen a better expedient to colour and disguise their present attempt to mar the negociations between Spain and England than the one they have hit upon." I further said to the King, that knowing him to be a remarkably prudent and wise prince, I refrained from making any more allusions to the subject, and would content myself with praying God that those with whom they (the French) were now treating for a closer alliance had better success than had the good duke of Savoy, against whom they had no just cause or reason for quarrel.

Of one thing, however, I wished to inform him by way of advise, namely, that at the very same time that the abovementioned bishop had been dispatched [to Portugal] to ask for the hand of the Infanta (Doña Maria), king Francis had sent to Scotland the Sieur de Morvilliers, with express orders to go thither directly, and not touch at any port of England, by which it might be inferred what his general commission was, as he (the King) with his great sagacity and wisdom could well understand.

Hearing these last words, the King visibly changed colour, and after some minutes of thought, said to me: "As to the Scotch, they are now wonderfully humble and supple ; they are afraid of me, if I am to judge by the embassy that their King [James] sent me when I was in the Northern counties." I replied that he must know, as well as myself, that the frequent visits of the Scotch to France had lately rendered them subtle and crafty, and that perhaps king James believed, or had been persuaded, that the marriage of the Princess to the duke of Orleans was already a settled thing. This the King granted, and upon my remarking to him that Mr. de Morvillier's embassy would probably cause king James to change his mind and purpose, he replied : "That may be ; but I have taken my measures and fear no one."

After this, I informed him of the agreement entered into by the king of Sweden† and the duke of Holstein,‡ who entitles

* "Quil nestoit riens si certain que les ditz françois alloyent avec luy a ung bon jeu bon compte."

† Gustav Vasa from 1523 to 1560.

‡ Frederic III.

1541.

himself king of Denmark, which agreement king Francis or his ministers had promoted and procured for the sole purpose of obtaining the supremacy in the Northern seas, and preventing the vessels of the Easterlings and others navigating the Germanic Ocean unlading their goods elsewhere than in France, and not taking on board woollen cloth, salt and other commodities, except from France, and that although they might at first, for his sake, and not to over-irritate him, exempt the ports of England from that prohibition, and allow the Easterlings to take their goods thither, it was quite evident, as he might well understand, that the permission would not last long, and the English traders would be ruined by it; the upshot of which would be that France would ultimately have the command of those seas, and place under subjection all the maritime powers [of Europe].

The King's answer was that the king of Denmark was his great friend, and upon my remarking to him that the other could not do less than be his friend also, or at least dissemble for the present and act as if he were such a friend; and yet that I had been told by one of his own people, whom I named, that whilst at Lubeck, where he was at the time residing for this king, he had heard him of Denmark say in public to certain soldiers (*soudards*) he was then enlisting that very soon he would make them all rich with the spoils of this country, which he intended to recover as belonging to him—and that he had oftentimes repeated that assertion and taunt, especially at the storming of a castle that a captain of Lubeck, named Mark, once held for this King—the King replied that though the king of Denmark might not be his friend just now, and there might be a defensive and offensive league between him and the king of France, yet he fancied himself so well provided that neither the king of Sweden nor he of Denmark could do him much harm, besides which the latter (he said) was already so old that he could not do much. It was of no use my telling him that he was mistaken, and that the present king of Denmark is a young man, and son of the uncle of old Christiern; he would not give in, and persisted in his opinion.

When I came to mention the way in which king Francis had snatched Astenay from the duke of Lorraine, the King shrugged his shoulders, and shortly after began to say that he wondered much how, after the political considerations and reasons he himself had laid before me, Your Majesty could have consented to the marriage of the dowager duchess of Milan to the Duke of Bar.

As to the herald sent to Liege, the message which that herald delivered in king Francis' name to the Municipal Corporation, and the intrigues the French were carrying on in that town, when I mentioned them, the King replied: "That is a mere quarrel about a certain lady," whose name he did not declare.*

* "Il me dit que cestoit quelque querelle pour certaine dame quil ne me sçeut declairer."

1541.

As to Francis' intelligences with the duke of Lorraine, the King would scarcely listen to my remarks, saying that it was a thing hardly worth talking about; there were (he said) many other matters of much greater importance, such as the King's practices in Germany, where, notwithstanding the orders issued at the last recess of the Reghensburg Diet, king Francis will be able any day to recruit as many men as he chooses; whilst in Italy he will not only secure the services of many a captain and "*condottiere*" of his own party, but he will also have in his favor both the Pope and the Venetians. "In short (continued the King), I firmly believe that king Francis will this next spring invade Flanders, and I have no doubt that had I shown more docility in accepting his daughter's hand, he would have offered me a share in the conquest he meditated, as he did a few years before That is the plain fact (added the King), though he (Francis) had given it to be understood in Spain that I was the promoter of that war—as the Emperor told Maistre Hoyet by way of reproach." That to judge from the delay and procrastination used in the Low Countries (*de par de la*) in the transaction of public and political business, affairs there must be disorderly and out of condition, specially as there were few men capable of commanding an army in time of war. Indeed, he (the King) doubted whether there was in the whole of Flanders and the Low Countries one single man to whom the management of affairs in such an emergency could be trusted. "Had the Emperor whilst in Spain listened to the message and advice sent him through my ambassadors, all directed to the preservation and insurance of his own succession and that of his realms; had he consented to treat with me of closer friendship and alliance, surely it would have been much better for him, and his affairs would not be in the bad and dangerous state in which they are just now." After which words, pronounced in emphatical tone, he lifted his eyes to heaven in a piteous manner, and raised his shoulders. "God knows the answer I received* to so amicable and cordial piece of advice as the one I sent to Spain through Philippe Hobin. But, alas! I presume that it was all owing to the Emperor's councillors in Spain, who, owing to their immeasurable pride, do not care a fig for the rest of the World put together. Indeed, the said councillors would wish their master to get rid of the Low Countries anyhow, rather than have him go thither so often and spend so much treasure. That is why the Emperor, acting on their advice, had made the offer of Flanders to king Francis in order to make him relinquish his claims on the duchy of Milan. Indeed one of the Imperial councillors had positively made such an offer to the French ambassador, and that king Francis had refused, saying, 'I shall not abandon the

* Et sur ce il leva la teste contre le ciel assez pitieusement serrant les espaules. Dieu sçait quelle response me fut donnee.

1541.

right which I possess already for the sake of what I may get at any time I choose.'" My reply was: "Those who made such a report to Your Highness were really making a mock at God and the World, for to attribute that saying to king Francis is equivalent to declaring that heat and cold are one and the same thing. Had all the Emperor's privy councillors, nay, the Emperor himself, made such an assertion I should attach no faith to the report, and wait for the result; for the Emperor, my master, would rather give away ten Milans than renounce his possession of the Low Countries, which, after all, are not so easy a conquest as king Francis' answer seems to imply, considering that he has been unable to retain two such strongly fortified places as Tournay and Saint Pol, which he took in a former war. Perhaps the French boasted that they had been offered the Franche Comte in the county of Burgundy."

With regard to the partition of the territories to be conquered in the next campaign in the Low Countries, I did really believe that the offer had been made by the French, but I also suspected that it was in hope of expelling the English therefrom as easily as the Spaniards had driven out the French from the kingdom of Naples. "Indeed, I added, I do really believe that the partition has already been projected beforehand, perhaps, also with Princes who would rather think of taking away land from others than helping them to increase their patrimonial estates"—meaning the dukes of Holstein and Clèves.

After this the King returned to the subject of the Algiers expedition, the failure of which he imputed entirely to the Spaniards, very much regretting that His Imperial Majesty had not with him some experienced sailor to warn him against the danger of sailing to the African coast, where in case of a storm at sea his galleys and ships could find no port of refuge; and that since there was then a rumour afloat that His Imperial Majesty and the king of France wished to make war upon him, his chief hope consisted in the fleet retreating in disorder and danger to the very ports of Sicily whence it had sailed, or else that it should be wrecked on the coast of England, and by God's mercy place itself under shelter of the bulwarks and forts which he himself had erected on his coast. No arguments or remonstrances on my part were powerful enough to convince him that the ships (*navires*) which Mr. de Bossu had fitted out in Zeeland had never been intended for an invasion of England in connection with France, which he maintained had been planned, and only delayed when it was found that the fortifications along his coast and his own warlike preparations had rendered the attack impossible.

After this, Madame, this king went on to say that he wondered why, perceiving the state of politics in Europe, and the danger in which the Emperor's dominions in Spain and

1541.

Italy, and even in the Low Countries, might have been placed had the expedition to Algiers completely failed, as it had, you did not at the time try to come to a closer alliance and friendship with him immediately, instead of putting off the thing till ten months later. And that he also wondered why it was that His Imperial Majesty had not since then, and after the above-mentioned ill-success, written a single word or made the least application on the subject. That the ten months would expire next March, and that if by that time no movement was made, he should be obliged to look out and provide for his own affairs.

After making all manner of excuses in the name of the Emperor, who, I said, had been prevented from writing by the expedition [to Algiers] and other urgent business, as well as by the non-arrival of Granvelle, who was still in Italy, I begged and entreated him as humbly and persuasively as was in my power to be pleased, for the sake of gaining time and pushing on the negociation, to declare to me summarily what his intentions were, promising that if he did so I would immediately write a letter to the Emperor announcing his determination. But all efforts I made to persuade him were in vain; he would not say whether he wished or did not wish for a treaty of defensive and offensive alliance with His Imperial Majesty, persisting that he would not speak out unless he saw full and ample powers, for fear he should be treated as on former occasions, when people boasted that he was looking everywhere for friends and found none. "I am quite independent and want no one. If people want me let them come forward with proper offers. I am solicited on both sides, and I will choose that which seems to me the best."

I replied that if his choice were to be determined by convenience, I was sure he would rather lean to our side than to that of France. This the King would not admit at first, no doubt in order to render his merchandize dearer and sell it at a higher price; but towards the end of the conference, unable to keep up his dissimulation, and after my again begging him to disclose part of his mind, inasmuch as the urgency of public affairs required immediate attention, he began to be more open with me. I told him that the state of political affairs in Europe admitted of no delay; the Turk, for instance, as he himself had stated, had already begun to make incursions into Austria, and was now preparing a much larger armament by land and sea than he had ever done before. The King might easily imagine that those princes who keep up an understanding with the Turk, nay, who have for some time past been soliciting him to invade Christendom, will not let the opportunity pass, and that whilst the Infidel attacks on one side they will excuse their damnable and diabolical undertaking, which consists in taking possession of the Low Countries, and after that of any other kingdom or country in the neighbourhood,

1541.

especially England, the conquest of which would, without comparison, be more profitable for Francis than that of the Low Countries; for, putting aside the great spoil and treasure to be gained by it, they (the French) would marvellously increase their power as a nation through the riches thus acquired, and the numbers of men they might in future be able to raise and put in the field. Besides which they would get rid of the continual fear in which they have always been —and are still—of an English invasion supported by the people of the Low Countries and their confederates. And that as the French foresaw that they could never have a bite at this country unless they first took possession somehow of the Low Countries, on that and other considerations, which he (the King) might appreciate much better than I could, it was urgent for him to decide against the French and openly espouse His Majesty's cause. It was not the first time that under various pretences the French had tried to take possession of England, as, for instance, in the time of Louis the dauphin of France, who, in the lifetime of king John, was here crowned King, they (the French) fancying all the time that if one of their kings, when they had hardly power enough to keep and maintain possession of their kingdom, had the courage of invading England, it would be much easier for them to attempt the same thing now-a-days. "And indeed (said I) I could desire, at the risk of losing that which I might miss during the rest of my life, that you, the king of England, should know as much of the plans and intentions of the French as I myself happen to do." It ought to be considered (I added) that the Grand Turk, whenever questions of war and conquest over the Christians have been treated in his presence, has almost always declared that there ought to be no other powers in Europe but an emperor and a king; that he himself ought to be the Emperor, and Francis—his good brother, friend and ally—the King, whom he would elevate and magnify to the utmost of his power.

On the other hand king Francis had boasted that he will subdue and unite to his crown all the country lying between France and the Rhine, as having once, according to Julius Cæsar's description, made part of Gaul over which he now ruled, and there is little doubt that if he (Francis) cannot carry his plan into execution—which I hope by God's help he never will—he will continue, as Charlemagne's successor, molesting and making war on his neighbours until he becomes emperor of the West. Indeed, I am certain that such is his aim, and that at this present moment both he (Francis) and his councillors are busily engaged in looking out for the means of his becoming at once the supreme ruler and monarch in Christendom.

That in order the better to disguise his own insatiable ambition and lust of power, and conceal his envy of the Emperor, he is now accusing him of aiming at universal

1541.

monarchy, which is the last thing he (the Emperor) thinks of, as every one knows; for had he aspired to it he would not have given away twice the duchy of Milan, nor many a time afterwards offered it to the duke of Orleans; nor would he have given away Florence, notwithstanding the pressing requests of the Florentines, who begged him to retain it in his power, offering him a large sum of money on that account. A further proof of the Emperor's generosity is the grant of liberties to Genoa, and his refusal of the castle Monego (Monaco), for which place king Francis would willingly have paid any price that might have been asked of him. And yet king Francis, not satisfied with keeping in his possession so many towns and lands virtually belonging to the Empire, or forming part of his own patrimonial dominions, such as the territory belonging to the duke of Savoy, as well as the usurped duchies of Guienne and Normandy, and lately Avignon, is still trying to seize what belongs to others! Notwithstanding such exorbitant and aggressive conduct on his part, king Francis knows well, with his sweet and flattering words, how to lull (*endormir*) people to sleep—words against which one ought to guard more than against the songs of the syrens; for, after all, the sweeter a Frenchman's words are, the more one ought to be on one's guard against them. "Indeed (said I to the King) one of the things which makes me suspect that the French are now meditating some harm against the Emperor is this, that they never cease protesting that their intention is to keep and observe the truce, and that is why I suspect that under cover of their sweet and amiable words some mischief is latent against this kingdom."

The King's reply, beginning at the last point, was that he knew the French well of old, and would guard against their words as against their deeds; they might stop and lay an embargo on such English ships as might be found in French ports at the end of January next, but he would take care that not one of them should remain behind by that time. That respecting Avignon, he would maintain that the town and castle had always belonged to France, adding that Francis could not be blamed for having seized it, owing to the suspicious people who had been found inside wearing masks or disguised, and who were still kept prisoners. With regard to king Francis' accusation that Your Majesty was aiming at universal monarchy, he could not say that there had not been some semblance of it in past times, though he owned that of late some of those signs had been effaced. That as to king Francis himself, he would be on his guard, and if he was not to invade England before the conquest of the above-mentioned countries, or until he had taken possession of the Low Countries, he would by that time be so low in money and men as to be scarcely able to do England any harm. And upon my telling him that if it came to pass—which I hoped it never would—that the French invaded and took

1541.

possession of the Low Countries, they would find there riches enough, for in such cases it is only the frontier towns and fortresses which offer resistance that are sacked, not the whole of the country. Even if it were so, those who would thus lose their property would promote a war against England as the best chance of recovering what they had lost. The King's answer was: "Then we will see what is to be done."*

With regard to the Turk, the King said that he should have thought it his duty to contribute towards the expenses of the war, and help and assist against him, had His Majesty consented to treat of closer friendship and alliance with him; but since those most concerned in the affair did not care for it, or were looking out for the best means of engaging others to contribute and help, it was not for him, who was far away, and perhaps the last to be affected by an invasion of that Infidel, to provide the means. He had no occasion to rack his brains about it, and as to declaring to me, as I seemed to desire, what aid and assistance he was prepared to give in such an event, that he would never do, nay, he would not answer one of my questions without having first examined the powers I had from His Imperial Majesty, and seen whether those powers did or did not agree with my words. Unless those powers arrived at a fixed date, were in due form, and to the point, he would act as above stated; "for (said he) I have already been cheated once, and turned into ridicule by the Emperor and by the king of France, owing to my having spoken and declared beforehand part of my will and intention, and I will take care in future not to be cheated, but try to have the basis of all negociation put down in writing, so that there should be no breaking of faith, as in past times, when it was evident to me that His Imperial Majesty was acting in contravention to the treaties."

Thinking that by such accusation the King meant the edict on the Navigation, and what had happened since with his ambassadors residing at Your Majesty's court, I told him that if he meant that, he had been misinformed, and that I would, whenever he pleased, meet his Privy Councillors and discuss the affair with them. His reply was that there was no need of renewing old quarrels and causes for complaints, especially since Monsr. de Granvelle had lately spoken on the subject to the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner), and to his resident ambassador at that Court [Bruxels]. And upon my remarking to him that I did not mean that disagreeable business for which the bishop went to Brussels, but only the one for which

* "Et lui disant que sil venoit, que Dieu ne veuille, que le dit roy gaignat les pays, il trouveroit assez richesses, car en tel cas il ne se butineroit tout comme il disoit, ains seulement les places des frontieres, que veullent resister, et quant bien ainsi seroit, ceulx qui se trouveroient destruitz procureroient la guerre contre ce royaulme, pour se pouvoir restaurer, il me respondit que lors pour lors."

1541.

he lately sent his ambassador to Your Majesty's court,* he replied that he would be glad if I met his privy councillors on the first available opportunity, inasmuch as his ambassadors had frequently written from the Low Countries, begging him to have a letter written to me on the subject. "I am sure (said the King) that had the Emperor ministers like you in those parts, I should have got a much better answer, and the affair between us would have been settled long ago. However that may be, perceiving that my ambassadors did nothing, and were merely losing their time, I have now recalled them." After which he began to praise me in such terms that he actually made me ashamed of myself, saying, among other things, that his eulogy and praises of me were not dictated by flattery, which he would not use whilst speaking of the Emperor or of any other prince, much less of me, from whom he had nothing to expect, and who had occasionally caused him the greatest possible annoyance.† And upon my apologizing on the nature of the business itself, its intricacy and gravity, besides the prevailing custom at his court not to decide in cases of that sort unless they had gone first through the Cardinal's hands, he seemed more satisfied. No sooner, however, did he hear the Cardinal's name, than he began to sigh, and exclaimed: "I never in my life did, or expect to, see a more able or wiser man than the Cardinal was in matters of government and administration." I fully assented and confirmed his opinion, attributing however the honor and glory of it all to his own direction and tact. This the King granted, adding that the Cardinal did nothing by himself, but in obedience to his royal commands, after consulting him. The above remark of mine the King took in very good part, as he also did what I said about the annoyances (*fascheries*) which had happened to him, which was equivalent to telling him, as the Privy Seal advised, that his countenance and his acts testified enough to his great prudence and wisdom.‡

In short, I begged him not to tax me with importunity for having made so long a discourse, nor with temerity for having,

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* "A quoy il me dit quil nestoit besoing refreschir vielles querelles, mesmes en ayant Mons^r de Granvelle requis dernierement a leuesque de Wyncestre et son aultre ambassadeur; et laduertissant que nentendoie de ses dites fascheries, ains seulement des affaires pour les quelz il avoit envoye ses dits ambassadeurs a vostre maieste . . . ."

† "Et pour mieulx le coulourer il dit que ce nestoit pour me flatter car a sa mesme ma^te ne a aultre prince il ne useroit des flatteries, et tant moins a moy, de quoy (de qui?) il nattendoit riens et auoit este fasche plus que dhomme du monde."

‡ "Il que je luy confirmay attribuant toutesfois lhonneur et gloire au dit S^r roy, questoit lenchemineur et directeur de toutes les actions du dit cardinal, ce quil madvoua estre vray, disant que le dit cardinal ne faisoit riens sans son sçeu et commandement. Et print les dits propos en tres bonne part, si fait il cela que je luy dis quant aux facheries que luy estoient survenues que ne fut sinon luy dire par laduis du priuesel que son visaige et ses œuvres tesmoignent tres euidamment de sa grande prudence."

1541.

as it were, undertaken to preach to the franciscans, and argued with the doctors of La Minerva,* but to take my words as if coming from the mouth of one of his humblest and most devoted servants, imputing my faults, if I had committed any, to my ardent desire of doing him service, which I considered myself bound to do on innumerable accounts. As I had not yet had an opportunity of speaking to his privy councillors on the affair in question, I begged the King to give orders that I should be summoned to their presence whenever they were at leisure, and had examined the papers from Flanders relating to the affair. This the King readily granted, saying that he would not forget it, adding besides that he took in good part everything I had told him as coming from a good friend of his. After which, having taken leave of him, I went into the next room, and exchanged a few words with the Privy Seal, the duke of Suffolk, the Admiral, and the bishop of Winchester on the affair in question, all and every one of them promising to consider it and do good offices. But whilst I was thus engaged a message came from the King requesting them to go into his rooms, which they hastily did, and our conversation was thus cut short.

The day after the French ambassador went also to Court, and was received *more coldly than usual* (plus maigrement quil ne souloit). *On the following day, which was Wednesday, in the morning, just as I was about to close and seal this despatch, the clerk of the king's council came to request my presence there at eight o'clock of the morning of Thursday, at the same time begging me to delay the departure of the courier till I had communicated with them.*

Yesterday, as agreed, I appeared before the King's Council, when one of its members read a paper on the edict lately promulgated by Your Majesty, forbidding English vessels to lade goods and merchandize in the ports of the Low Countries and Flanders. Besides the reasons and arguments which the privy councillors and this King's ambassadors to Your Majesty had previously alleged, and which on this occasion were again reproduced, if possible with greater force, to prove that the said Navigation edict was unjust and uncalled for, the paper went on to say that since the cause and pretence on which the edict rested was evidently untrue and false, it ought to be at once declared null and void. That I ought to know that the assertion therein contained, of the King having forbidden foreign vessels to lade goods in the ports of England, was a false one; and, moreover, that the manifest iniquity of the Imperial edict was coupled with a gross inadvertency as regards the general principles of trade, inasmuch as the edict not only injured the English merchants in their commercial transactions, but threw also a stain on the King's honor and

* Ne de temerite, con me lon dit, de prescher aux cordeliers et instruire la mineruie (*sic*, la Minerve?), which must be meant for the University of Rome.

1541.

reputation, by supposing and affirming that their master had made statutes and ordinances in violation of his promised word, and against the commercial treaties existing between him and the Emperor. Such an infraction of the treaties had not taken place, and could not be proved. True, the statutes and ordinances promulgated by the King forbade the transport of victuals, but that was no infraction of the commercial treaties existing between the two nations—England and the Low Countries—as we pretended; for although in most of the treaties it was stipulated that the inhabitants of the Low Countries might buy all sorts of merchandize [in England], yet it had been declared and specified in one of the treaties with the late king Don Philippe,* as the privy councillors afterwards showed me, that notwithstanding that general declaration, each of the contracting parties might—a legitimate cause supervening—forbid the export of victuals from their respective dominions.

That with regard to the expulsion from England of a great number of Flemings and other subjects of Your Majesty, that was no contravention at all to the treaties, inasmuch as though the letter of one of the articles is that it will be allowable for the merchants of Flanders and the Low Countries to come to England to reside and go away at pleasure, this must be understood of those merchants who may come to this country for the purpose of bartering or negociating, and who may remain as long as their business retains them in England; not of those who, like mechanics and workmen of every denomination, come to take up quarters in London and other towns of the King's dominions, for these last might, in the course of time, so multiply and increase that they might end by driving away the natives of this kingdom, and calling themselves Englishmen.

And that although by the commercial treaty of 1506 it was stipulated that, after proper declaration by letters-patent or through the public crier, and after giving notice one year before, king Don Philippe might revoke and annul the said treaty, yet that clause was virtually derogated by the treaty of 1520, which, as these people maintain, rendered the said article perpetual until a fresh treaty be made and a derogatory clause introduced in it. That nothing was so certain as that the [Flemish] commissioners who intervened in the treaty of 1520 had not the least idea of introducing such a clause, being old people, and that they thought only of making the treaty perpetual.† Yet to remove all occasion for the Flemings to grumble, as was their wont in such cases, the deputies had couched the affair in rather obscure and enigmatical

* Charles' father married to Doña Juana since 1495, and therefore king consort of Castille since the death of Isabella in 1504.

† "Et quil nestoit riens si certain que lez commis que entrevindrent au dit traicte de lan XX. ne pensissent oncques autre chose, comme gens caigez (?) quilz estoint, sinon de perpetuer le dit traytte."

1541.

words; and that, although the Flemish Commissioners had not special powers to treat and conclude on the said articles previously granted by them, yet the ratification which followed, expressly as well as tacitly confirmed by subsequent treaties, fully established their validity.*

To the above allegations, and several others of the same sort, I replied that though in such matters as those I was considered rather open to suspicion in Flanders, yet I had received for my guidance instructions which I was bound to follow and observe. I then made use of such arguments in favor of the Imperial edict as my knowledge of the matter suggested, and have reason to believe with some effect, for not one of the privy councillors knew how to contradict them. The debate lasted from before dinner time till four o'clock in the afternoon, so that it would take me four and twenty hours to describe what passed at the conference. Nor is it necessary that I should dwell more on the business till I hear from them at our next conference what course they are likely to pursue. Nevertheless, I must say that this first conference ended, as I had yesterday the honor of informing Your Majesty in haste, by the privy councillors begging me to give them a copy of the advice and direction which Your Majesty's privy councillors gave me on the subject, that they might be better informed on the affair, and that if they thought that an answer was needed they would have their books or registers and *tonlieux* examined, and ascertain what duties the people of Flanders and the Low Countries had been in the habit of paying for the preceding 60 or 70 years, and that after that a mighty resolution should be taken on the affair, and perhaps also on the expediency of framing a new treaty, and that they would not fail to report to the King the remonstrances which I addressed to them.

After dinner the Lord Privy Seal came to tell me that the King had just heard that I was still within the palace, and that though he had taken medicine that very morning, and did not feel quite the thing, yet he would not let me go away without speaking to me again. Upon which I entered the King's apartments, who received me as graciously as the last time I saw him, and after some familiar conversation asked me whether I knew what His Imperial Majesty intended doing after holding the Cortes of Castille, the prelates and the nobility of which, he had no doubt, would urge His Imperial Majesty to repeat the expedition against Algiers. That if the Emperor was well advised he ought never to return thither; the enterprise was too hazardous for such a prince as His Imperial Majesty, besides which Algiers was but a small town, and it would be quite sufficient to send against it one of his own lieutenants with a proportionate force. Under that excuse his Imperial Majesty might get a large

* "Et que orez que les dits commiz neussent special povoir de traicter et conclure lez articlez par eulx accordez, toutesfois la rattification sur ce ensuyvie tant expressement que tacitement par les subsequens traictez validoient le tout."

1541.

sum of money from the Cortes of Spain. "This done (added the King), my opinion is that the Emperor should come to Flanders, after appointing a number of notable councillors—part of whom ought by no means to be natives of Spain—to surround the Prince's person; on condition, however, that neither the Prince nor his Council could conclude anything important without his consent or Imperial seal. The Prince to have besides a body-guard of his own—a good number of gentlemen attached to his person, and a division of regular troops (*gens d'ordonnance*) to defend him against the insolence of the Spanish grandees, keeping them in order and under subjection, and should any of the latter raise his head have him punished at once. The better to show the discreet tendency of his speech, the King made use of two arguments—God knows to what end! One was that an organized force round the Prince's person was for the purpose of preventing or removing all causes and opportunities for rebellion in Spain, as well as any attempt to raise the Prince his son to the throne of Spain and shut the Emperor out of it. The other was that in order to avoid disturbances and confusion (*garboilles*), the Emperor ought to bring with him secretly to Flanders his own mother. It was in vain for me to tell the King that no such dangers were now-a-days to be apprehended in Spain; he persisted in his fantastic idea, and was, as I presume, induced to make me the above speech owing to my having from the very beginning answered his question rather hesitatingly, and telling him that I did not know what route the Emperor had decided to take, nor what he intended doing next spring; that most likely he (the Emperor) would act according as the pressure of time and public affairs required, and with due regard to the advice of his good friends, in whose number he counted him as one of the best. I fancy that this king's wish, so delicately and cunningly expressed, is that the Emperor in coming to Brussels or Germany may touch in England, and perhaps hold an interview with him, and such, I believe, was the principal motive for his questions and advice. However this may be, I did my best to discountenance any ideas he might have on that score, by representing to him the length, difficulty, and great cost of a voyage by this sea when compared with the Mediterranean; besides which, in order to receive from Aragon the usual grant of 600,000 ducats which the Aragonese have to pay as part and portion of their subsidy or grant, he (the Emperor) would have to go to that kingdom—the nearest point to his Italian dominions.

The King then went on to say that he gathered from the words of the French ambassador, when he last came to him, that he must suspect something of what is going on between his Imperial Majesty and himself, that matters are far advanced, perhaps, too, on the eve of some treaty or other; "for (said he) I found the ambassador so low and dejected that scarcely could he utter one word in my presence, or speak to my privy

1541.

councillors, whom he avoided as much as he could. Indeed (said the King) I hear that this very morning in the Council room, if one of the councillors happened to approach him, he would immediately get up and change his seat." And upon my remarking to the King that, in my opinion, such "*grimaces*" on the part of the ambassador proceeded more from hurt pride than from low spirits and sadness, he replied: "On my faith, I believe you are right in your conjecture, and that you have guessed aright* what the Frenchman's ailment must be; for when he came to me he at first was grave and composed, then became more excited and boisterous, and ended by saying, dryly and curtly enough, that notwithstanding the very great and almost incalculable loss which the Emperor had just sustained [in Africa], the King, his master, was no less desirous now than he had been before of becoming his friend."

After expressing himself in this manner, the French ambassador imparted to the King the news contained in the duplicate of my letter to his Imperial Majesty. Yet it seems to me that, notwithstanding the information brought to me by his secretary, he has no powers from his master to treat of the duke of Orleans' marriage, for had it been so the King would scarcely have failed telling me. Indeed, not only did the King not mention the subject, but he said something that persuades me to the contrary, which is, that the ambassador had offered to produce a letter of credence from his master to this King authorizing him to negociate the said marriage, which letter of credence (the ambassador observed) would be equivalent to *plein* powers; but that he (the King) had answered that he had some experience of what letters of credence meant in a country like France, where the King was not ashamed to disavow his own ministers whenever he pleased, and deny that he ever had given such a commission, nor his own ministers to contradict what they have written in his name.†

After this the King complained to me and lamented that the Emperor, with the formidable army he had taken against Algiers, had not attacked the Grand Turk [Solyman] in his Asiatic dominions, for (said he) the Infidel would certainly have been defeated and utterly destroyed, whereas he is now as formidable as ever, all owing to the Emperor not having listened then to his advice, conveyed by his ambassadors, and disbelieving that the Turk might personally come down and invade Europe.

* "Car il avoit trouve le dit ambassadeur tant sombre et triste que a peyne vouloit il parler, mesmes a ses conseilliers, desquelz, comme il avoit entendu, il sexlonguoit (*sic*) le matin, et dez ce que quelcun deulx sapprochoit de luy il changeoit de place, et disant a iceluy seigneur que telle grimasse debvoit plustot proceder de bravete que de tristesse, le dit seigneur roy me respondit que sur sa foy il pensoit que jauoye bien conjecture et divine la maladie."

† "Mais quil avoit respondu quil avoit desja assez este travaille de leurs lettres de credence que en France le maistre navoit nulle honte de desauouer le ministre, et nyer dauoir donne telle commission, et moins les ministres de se desmentir et nyer ce quilz ont dit."

1541.

The King also said to me: "Had I been on such good terms with the German Lutherans as I was some time ago, I might have assisted the Emperor wonderfully in his work for the pacification of Germany, but, unluckily, I am no longer in a situation to do so, owing chiefly to the Clèves affair." "Methinks (said I to the King) that the Duke can feel no great concern about his own sister (Anne) having been divorced, as otherwise he himself would not have found in France so advantageous a marriage as the one offered to him. Indeed (I added), had not the French known beforehand that he (the Duke) was a sworn enemy of Your Highness, they would never have cast their eyes on him, nor would they have made so ignominious an alliance with Pope Paul had they not known beforehand that His Holiness was also your irreconcilable enemy." That knowing by experience, as he no doubt knew, the bragging and gesticulations (braverie et grimasses) *to which the French were accustomed, and whence that bragging proceeded, he should, with his good sense and long experience, consider how he himself would be treated if the French ever succeeded in their attempt; and that, as I had told him on other occasions, if they had not offered him part of the spoil, I believed it was because they had, on the contrary, already disposed of part of his kingdom,* and that if I had as many gold crowns in my possession as undertakings the French had planned against England for the last three or four years, I should certainly be one of the richest men [in Europe]. The King replied that he believed in my words, but that he had taken his measures, and was so prepared to meet the French under any circumstances that he was not the least afraid of them. He only wished that all countries on the other side of the Channel were as well prepared as his own kingdom was to meet an enemy; but that from the intelligence he had received, and the delay and procrastination in making such military preparations as were needed, he feared that an invasion of Flanders and the Low Countries by the French might at first be attended with disorder and confusion. That the people of Gand (Ghent) also might do some foolish act unless great care was taken with regard to them and to the personages to whom the government of that city was to be entrusted.*

To the above piece of advice I replied as I thought best, and, finding the opportunity at hand for again alluding to the commercial treaty between the two countries, I begged the King to make some sort of overture towards the progress of the negociations, or to declare at least whether he was or was not disposed to enter into a league both defensive and offensive,

* "Et considerer par son grant sens et longue experience quil a de leurs conditions comme il seroit repute et traicte deulx silz parvenoyent a leurs ententes, et que comme je luy avoyt dit a laultre fois, ilz ne sauançoyent de luy presenter part au buttin mais que croyois plustot que desja ilz auoyent dispose de son royaulme."

1541.

or merely one of the two, between his Imperial Majesty on one side and England on the other. This I did request and beg of him in such terms, and with such supplications and entreaties, that were I to attempt to reproduce one half of them in this my despatch, I might be writing from this hour till to-morrow morning without accomplishing my task. And yet I could not, with all I did and said, prevail on the King to give me any other answer than the summary recapitulation of what he had said during the audience. Indeed, I do not hesitate to say that were the angels to come down from Heaven to solicit and press him, he would not declare a jot of his intentions and purposes unless he saw in my hands sufficient powers from his Imperial Majesty, accompanied by reasonable overtures on my part. In short, it seems to me that he will temporize with the one and with the other as long as he can, so as to see how affairs will turn out and if he can escape having to spend his money in preparations for war. I must say that in order to persuade him I have made use of every possible argument, telling him that this is the fit and proper time for the consolidation and strengthening of that closer friendship and alliance with his Imperial Majesty which he has so warmly solicited; but all in vain, as I said above—much talk, innumerable devices, which it would take me too much time to put down in writing, and substantially nothing at all.*

To put an end to this long despatch, it appears to me that should His Imperial Majesty desire and wish to gain over the king of England to his side, it is not only expedient but necessary that a personage able and fitting (propice) *to take charge of this negociation be sent at once with full powers and sufficient instructions, for as to myself I do not feel strong enough to carry it on. It would also be advisable that His Imperial Majesty caused letters to be written in his name to all the members of this king's Council, thanking them for their good offices in this affair, as well as in all others connected with the preservation of friendship and alliance between His Imperial Majesty and this king.*

I forgot to say that the councillors asked me the other day what Your Majesty and the inhabitants of the Low Countries would think if the King, their master, were to promulgate a general edict on Navigation similar to the Emperor's.† My answer was that I did not hesitate to say, on my own responsibility, that both the Emperor and Your Majesty would be glad of it, and that I begged them to procure the same from their master, sure as I was that such an edict would at

* "Mais comme sommairement et pour toute conclusion, si les anges du ciel venoyent pour len presser et solliciter, il ne declairera ne dira riens en cela quil ne voye pouvoir suffisant de la part de Sa Ma^te^ avec ouvertures raisonnables, et quant tout est dit il me semble quil temporisera avec lung et laultre pour non se mestre en frais."

† "Comme lon seroit content de par dela que le dit S^r^ Roy faist (fist) ung edict aussi general quant a la navigation que celluy de Sa Ma^te^."

1541.

once put an end to all disputes and contentions on matters of trade; and, moreover, that the people of the Low Countries would be safe from the dangers to which they were now frequently exposed, since, not knowing exactly—owing to the ambiguity of the wording of the treaties and subsequent ordinances—what goods they could or could not lade or bring here, and whether those goods would be subject to seizure or not, they might venture to bring to England articles of trade neither tolerated nor forbidden in this country, and consequently incur the penalties thereof. Such, at least (I said), was the impression of the Flemish traders at the present moment, or at least what their correspondents from England wrote to them, and, therefore, the measure above alluded to would be by far the most equitable.

They also asked me whether, if the King, their master, should wish his subjects' ships to navigate the seas, and offer to take freight (*voiture*) one-half cheaper than the Flemish, by which means the latter could no longer lade in the ports of England, the merchants of Flanders and the Low Countries would complain? I answered that they would not provided the English limited themselves to diminishing the price of freights without expressly forbidding the lading here, since they had plenty of means in their hands of indemnifying the shipowners for their loss.*—London, 30 December 1541.†

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Queen of Hungary, Regent of the Low Countries."

French. Original. Almost entirely in cipher. pp. 16.

30 Dec. **222.** The Same to Mr. de Granvelle.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232, ff. 93–5.

"Monseigneur": I should be sorry if the Queen Regent [of the Low Countries], who lately commanded me to communicate with this king, should not have particularly informed His Imperial Majesty of the result of the conference I held with him on the 29th inst., as otherwise my despatch in answer to those commands would not be thoroughly intelligible, and His Imperial Majesty might take in bad part the freedom and frankness of my speech to this king. I also regret that want of health and leisure has hitherto prevented me from writing fully to His Imperial Majesty without referring to my ciphered despatch to the Queen Regent; but not having by me a secretary to keep my cipher—and, indeed, had I one I should never entrust it to him—it would have been quite impossible for me to cipher the contents of my long letter to the

* "Je leur diz que non porvehu quilz ne feissent aultre que amoindryr le fietz sans prohiber expressement la charge aux navyres de par dela a lindempnite desquelles avoit assez moyens de provéoir."

† Two copies of the same letter—one holograph, the other in the hand of Chapuys' secretary—are in the same packet.

1541.

Regent. That is the reason why I have contented myself with sending you by duplicate the substance of my despatch to the queen of Hungary, begging you, Monseigneur, to excuse me with the Emperor if necessary.

Your Lordship will thus learn all the events of this country since I last wrote to His Imperial Majesty, with the single exception, however, of the imprisonment of Lord William [Howard], of which I said nothing to the Queen. On the Thursday before Christmas, Milord William, his wife, his sister, two other gentlewomen, three female servants, and three gentlemen of no very high rank, were sentenced to have their property confiscated, and themselves confined to prison for life, for only having (as my man, whom I sent to the Privy Council to inquire, tells me) been cognisant of the Queen's misconduct (*mauvays gouvernement*) before the King married her, and not having revealed it. The duchess of Norfforq (Norfolk), mother of the said Milort,* has not yet been tried and sentenced, but it is thought that her trial, as well as that of the Queen, will take place before the two Houses of Parliament,† which are to assemble on the 16th of next month. The Queen is still in confinement within the convent mentioned in one of my previous despatches, under the usual guard, and the duke of Norphocq (Norfolk) is already at his house in town, having no doubt received orders from the King not to quit it nor attend Council until the Queen's case be looked into and judicially investigated, as I have already informed Your Lordship, and now repeat here for fear my letter should not have reached its destination.

I have no words to describe to Your Lordship the many praises and commendations uttered by this king on the two occasions he has spoken to me about you, being quite convinced, as he said to me, that not only had my explanation of the reasons Your Lordship had for remaining in Rome after the Emperor's embarkation for his Algiers expedition, satisfied him, but that there was, as he said to me, another, namely, that of Your Lordship not being present at such an inconsiderate and rash enterprise as the African one, which he would bet had been altogether planned and carried into effect without Your Lordship's advice.

Should there be a question as to the political course to be followed in the future, that is to say, were His Imperial Majesty to feel inclined to abandon these people altogether, and prevent them from making alliances elsewhere, I would recommend, as I lately wrote to the Queen Regent, that within a fixed period of time full powers and instructions should be sent, and a personage appointed expressly for carrying out those instructions, that personage being so qualified as to be able to replace me and remain in my room; for, besides that

* Second wife of the second duke of Norfolk.

† *See* above, No. 213, p. 412.

1541.

the air of this country is bad and disagrees with me, living here is exceedingly costly; and since His Imperial Majesty has not been pleased to increase my salary, I ought at least to be paid the arrears thereof, as well as what is due to me on my ecclesiastical pension in Flanders, as His Majesty promised me at Brussels. That alone would have given me more pleasure, and, indeed, rendered me more grateful than if I had received 10,000 *ducats as a gift, and is the reason why, if my petition cannot be granted, I would most humbly beg His Imperial Majesty to do me that favor, or recall me altogether and take me away from this country, where I am daily losing both health and spirits besides honor and reputation, unable as I am to pay my debts or keep up my rank and state as Imperial ambassador.*

As the bishop of Osma* does not reside in his bishopric, and I am obliged to go from him to his receptors, and from his receptors back to him, it naturally follows that whenever I come to touch part of my ecclesiastical pension the amount is so reduced by agency expenses, change of money in Spain—which costs me generally ten per cent.—powers of attorney, and so forth, besides what the bishop himself or his agents deduct at will from the total amount as due on the ecclesiastical subsidy, that really it is as if I had no pension at all. That is why, Monseigneur, I would humbly request Your Lordship to have a letter made out for the said bishop commanding him, in His Imperial Majesty's name, to write to the receptors of Osma not to delay the payments of my pension when due, and not wait every quarter, as they are in the habit of doing, for the usual certificate of life (*certification de ma vie*), since my agents and proctors in Spain, being all men of substance, faith, and probity, are ready to engage to refund the money, in case I should die before the date of payment.

With regard to my pension on the archbishopric of Toledo, there is not the same difficulty. The most reverend archbishop Cardinal,† as the most virtuous and considerate prelate that he is, has sent orders to his receptors and accountants (*auditeurs des comptez*) to pay me regularly the amount of my ecclesiastical pension on his archbishopric, but his officers and paymasters, in order to make their profit out of it, delay as long as they can the payment thereof, on the plea that the certificate of life has not come in time.

As to the bishop of Malaga,‡ a letter for him will also be required, since the same difficulties exist there as in Osma.

In my despatch to the Queen Regent I suggested that the personage who is to come here might bring letters of commendation for these privy councillors. I perfectly understand that there is no question of presenting those letters offhand and at once (du prime sault), *as that might have the effect of*

* Pedro Alvarez Acosta, from 1539 to 1563.
† Still Cardinal Tavera, from 1534 to 1545.
‡ Bernardo Manrique.

1541.

cooling down rather than warming up the feelings of these people if they once saw us pressing them so hard. The letters, however, might afterwards be of use if the negociation took a favorable turn.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To Monseigneur de Granvelle."

French. Holograph. Partly ciphered. pp. 4.*

n. d. **223.** MEMORANDUM and REPORT on French intrigues in England.†

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 232.

The French ambassador, by his master's command, though apparently in his own name, has suggested to the duke of Norfock (Norfolk) the convenience and advantage of a marriage between the duke of Orleans, his son, and the princess of England, daughter of queen Katharine, which proposal the Duke has found good and acceptable, and has accordingly communicated with the King, his master, on the subject. The King also has found the proposal to be both honorable and advantageous for the Princess, his daughter; yet he has declared to the French ambassador, through the Duke, that without his having previously obtained full powers from his master to enter into negociations, it was useless to speak about it or discuss the preliminaries of the contract. If, however, the ambassador exhibited such *plein* powers, he (the King), forgetting the old quarrels between king Francis and himself, would be glad to entertain such a marriage on honorable conditions.

After the French ambassador had written home how his overtures concerning the marriage had been received in England, a letter came from the King, his master, instructing him how to act in the matter. The ambassador was to say that he had communicated officially with the admiral of France (Brion-Chabot), who had informed the King, and that the latter, hearing what had passed between his ambassador and the duke of Norfolk, had approved of the marriage, only that before proceeding further in the matter he wished to be informed respecting two points; firstly, in what quality and under what title the Princess would be given in marriage; and, secondly, what advantages he himself might reap through it, thereby implying the total or partial extinction of all debts and pensions owed by France to the king of England,‡

* There are two copies of this memorandum in the Imperial archives—one of them holograph, the other in the hand of Chapuys' secretary, though signed also by that ambassador. This last, which evidently was intended for the Emperor's inspection, is the more correct, as occasional errors in the ciphering have been corrected.

† Probably drawn up by the secretary or clerk of the French embassy (Jean de Hons), about whom *see* above, pp. 341–2, 367–8, 409, 419, 421.

‡ "A sçavoir en quelle qualite on vouldroit bailler la dite princesse, et quel avantaige on luy vouldroit faire, entendant le dit sieur roy que on debvroit estaindre (eteindre) les pensions que le roy dengleterre a en france."

1541.

begging at the same time that the negociations, if commenced, should be kept a profound secret between the parties.

But when the French ambassador had communicated with the duke of Norfolk respecting the two above-mentioned points, the latter, though he held daily conferences with him, delayed answering for a long time. At last he said that though he had long deliberated on the subject with the King, his master—who, he said, had always been affectionately inclined to the proposed marriage alliance—he (the Duke) could not give a categorical answer to the point relating to the quality of the Princess until the fathers of the contracting parties had first agreed on the other conditions, such as the dower, the marriage portion, and so forth, the duke observing—as if it came from himself, not from his master—that the legitimisation of the Princess would offer no difficulty, as it was evident that it would be insisted upon on the side of France, though in his own private opinion, as long as the prince of Wales and other children this king might have—male or female—lived, they ought to and would be preferred to the Princess for the succession to the Crown, with the one only exception of the daughter of the beheaded queen, Anne Boleyn. And that with regard to the dower and so forth, the King, his master, wished to see, before answering, the King's powers to his ambassador under the Grand Seal of France.

The ambassador has taken upon himself to transmit home the substance of the Duke's answer. Meanwhile, many are the difficulties standing in the way of the said marriage. First of all, on the part of France, that the duke of Orleans (Charles) is too great a lord with respect to England ; and, secondly, on the part of England, that the English will hardly consent to grant the Princess' hand to the duke of Orleans* and appear as if they received a favor with it.

With regard to the Princess' legitimisation, even supposing there was no difficulty about that, it is not probable that, as regards succession and inheritance, the French will ever consent to have her claims postponed to those of all the King's other children, male or female, with the sole exclusion of Anne Boleyn's daughter, especially as far as immovable property and chattels are concerned. Respecting the succession to the Crown, Parliament will not willingly consent to the Princess ever having it, inasmuch as by the statutes passed some time ago it was expressly forbidden to call her mother otherwise than Madame Katharine.

The king of England, on the other hand, wishes to know beforehand how the French intend treating the duke of Orleans. No more has been done since September last, except that the king of France has ordered his ambassador to make inquiries as to what he, of England, thinks of the Cesare

* "Premiers que le duc dorleans est trop grant seigneur pour respect du dit Engleterre, que du coste d'Engleterre on ne vouldroit guerres donner a la dite princesse, mais la payer de faveur."

1541.

Fragoso and Rincon's case, and whether he approves or disapproves of the French King's conduct in that affair, and of his having, in retaliation for their arrest, ordered that of Mons. de Valence.* Without an answer to the above questions, the king of France refuses or apparently declines to treat of the marriage. The king of England at first excused himself from answering by saying that the king of France is better versed in these political affairs than he himself is; but, at last, being pressed to state his opinion on the matter, he has answered that he cannot conceive how Rincon, who is a Spaniard, could possibly have sinned against his master;† and, respecting Fragoso, who, according to the ambassador's statement, was neither the Emperor's subject nor his vassal, he found his apprehension rather strange.

The king of France is spreading the rumour that the Emperor is making this journey of his because he is unable to resist the Turk, and that he knows the towns and fortresses on the frontiers of France to be so well provided and garrisoned that he dares not touch them, and that he (the Emperor) has actually solicited his friendship and alliance, and is now trying to procure an interview, though he (Francis) will not do anything before having first consulted the king of England on the subject.‡

Indorsed: "Advertances des practiques que les franchois mesnent en Engleterre."§

French. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

1542.

10 Jan. **224.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 1.

"Sire,"—Nothing new has occurred here since my last,‖ yet, at all hazards, and that Your Imperial Majesty may be informed of the resolution taken by the queen of Hungary respecting the edict on Navigation, and the departure from Brussels of this King's commissioners, I now enclose copies both of the

* The archbishop of Valencia in Spain, about whom *see* Vol. V., Part 2, pp. 589. His name was George of Austria, a natural son of Maximilian the Emperor, and therefore uncle of Charles. He was appointed to the archbishopric of Valencia in 1539, and upon the resignation of Cornelius van Berghen was promoted to the coadjutorship of Liege.

† "Et pressé de respondre dit quil ne sçavoit comment Rincon qui estoit Espagnart povoit avoir delinque contre son souverain." Rincon was a Navarrese, and had served in Africa under count Pedro Navarro.

‡ "Le dit roy de France fait courir bruyt que lempereur fait son voyaige parcequil ne peult resister au Turq, et quil vuyoit (voit) les places du dit sieur roy si povres (pourvues?) quil ne oise (n'ose) y touscher. Et quil a recharge (recherche) le dit roy damitie et de ceulx (se) entreveoir, mais quil ne vouldroit riens faire sans conseil du dit roy dengleterre."

§ The memorandum is undated, and has no signature, but most likely it was drawn up by the clerk of the French embassy, who was in Chapuys' pay.

‖ Chapuys' last letter to the Emperor is of the 18th December 1541. *See* above No. 215, pp. 419–20.

1542.

Queen's letter to me,* and of my answer to her.—London, 10 January 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To His Imperial Majesty in Spain."

French. Original. p. 1.

10 Jan. **225.** The SAME to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 1–10.

Two days ago Your Majesty's letter of the 29th ulto. came to hand, at the same time as the documents therein enclosed, chiefly those relating to the departure from your court of this king's ambassadors, as well as to the resolution taken by Your Majesty in the business for which they were sent. On this last point, however, I can at present offer no observation whatever until I have communicated with the privy councillors and heard how they take it. Nor can I add anything more to what I have said in my despatches of the 29th and 30th ulto., unless it be for the sake of praising the very prudent and wise words addressed by Your Majesty to the English ambassadors both at their departure and before. Yet I have not failed to remonstrate with these councillors, telling them, in conformity with Your Majesty's orders, that the King, their master, ought not on this present occasion to stop at such affairs as the intercourse of trade and other matters particularly referring to the subjects of both nations and their mutual and amicable relations, inasmuch as they had been established and settled of old, as well as constantly and sincerely observed ever since. To which remonstrances on my part the privy councillors replied, as I remarked in my despatch of the 30th of December last, that it was perfectly true and that I was right, but that, nevertheless, the people of the Low Countries had been the first to make of the accessory point a principal one by amalgamating it with others touching especially on the honor and reputation of their king, such as the allegation contained in Your Majesty's edict that the King, their master, had framed statutes in contravention of the treaties, &c., but I must say that having replied to the councillors' arguments in a suitable manner, nothing more was then said about it.

As to the answer which this king is reported to have made to the French ambassadors when they proposed to him the marriage,† it is quite true that the former declared that before accepting the offer of such marriage and closer friendship, he wished to be sure of the payment of the sums which the French owed him. It is also true that he (Henry) has occasionally lent an ear to the offer of a marriage between his

* That of the 29th of December 1541. Chapuys' answer follows under No. 225.

† That of Magdalen, Francis' daughter, with king Henry.

1542.

daughter, the Princess, and Francis' son—calculating that by that means he might beforehand get back part of the money owed to him by France; whereas the French themselves imagined that they might, through the Princess' dowry, diminish their debt to this king, or at least gain time and obtain a respite for the remainder. Even if the marriages did not take place, the French thought that by pressing them they might counterbalance the importunity with which this king applied for the payment of their debt. This is quite evident from the contents of king Francis' letters to his ambassador here, of which I sent Your Majesty copies, wherein it is proved that in making such offers the idea of the French was merely to deceive this king, and prevent him from joining the Emperor. That such was king Francis' intention is clearly proved by the fact that his ambassador is half in despair about the negociation, and is already preparing to leave. Indeed I hear from the man, who is my confident, that perceiving that he is no longer treated as he was, the ambassador has applied again and again for his recall. Indeed, the man I allude to tells me that in his last audience from this king, the ambassador complained bitterly of the manner in which he was treated at Court, as the King himself had related to me. "Last Sunday (continued my informer) my master, the ambassador, repaired to Court, thinking he might see the King, and speak to him about certain private business concerning a French merchant ship, not about any political affair of his master's, for after that letter, of which I sent a copy, he has received none from home, and yet the King refused to see him, and he could only speak to the councillors."

Respecting the last commission entrusted to this king's ambassadors, and the revocation that ensued, my own impression is that it was called forth by the ill success of the Emperor's expedition against Algiers, and yet with all that, as Your Majesty may have seen by my preceding despatch, neither the King nor his councillors have shown more arrogance (braverie) *in the pending negociations. At any rate, if they were at all influenced by that untoward event, it is quite clear to me that they dissembled, and will still continue to dissemble, until they see and ascertain in what state the Emperor's affairs with France will remain. If they see that there is any appearance of war, I fear that they will raise their heads so high that it will be very difficult to make them enter into a new league and closer alliance against the French, unless it be to their great advantage, for if they have at any time pressed us hard for a league, it was merely out of fear, lest the Emperor and king Francis should adjust their differences together and then fall on their king,*

Ten days ago the ambassadors from Scotland, of whose ~~expected arrival I wrote~~ to Your Majesty, came into London. The chief of the embassy is the bishop of Albardin (Aberdeen), who came here about nine years ago. There is another bishop

1542.

with him, and a scretary named Valentin with a large retinue of followers. They have already visited Court twice, and have been well received, being accompanied on their journey thither and back by the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner), by that of London (Boner), and certain other personages. The ambassadors have since been in frequent communication with the King or his councillors, but nothing is known yet as to what their charge may be, or what they come about. All I know is that the duke of Norfolk has been sent for, that he may be present when the ambassadors make the official communication of their charge, inasmuch as the said duke was some time ago governor in chief of the Northern provinces, and had the appointment of most of the various captains on the borders of Scotland. *Yet I must say that, notwithstanding the good reception made to the Scotch ambassadors, and the many signs of friendship lavished upon them, this king has within the last three days dispatched by post the same master engineer who did some time ago project, and actually began, a line of defence on the borders, that he may attend to his work as soon as possible.*—London, x. January, M^{e}XV^{c}XLI.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To Her Majesty the queen of Hungary."

French. Holograph. pp. 5.

10 Jan. **226.** Mr. de Granvelle to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 1,189. B. M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 121.

This courier goes to Spain, sent by the duke of Florence (Cosmo de' Medici), and as it is not prudent or convenient for me to make a longer stay in a country where, according to information received, my life is not secure from French treachery,* and I intend making as much haste as possible out of it, I shall be brief.

My last letter from Siena (Sena), of which Montepulchano was the bearer, must have informed Your Majesty of late events in that city as well as in Rome. As I suppose that it has already reached Your Majesty's hands, I will not repeat its contents here, and will only add that on the day after Montepulchano's departure, the bishop of Fossombrone (Nicolas Andrighelli) arrived in Siena, and told me what he himself thought about king Francis' pretended readiness and the good disposition of his courtiers towards peace. I must confess that this Bishop's account differs somewhat from that of Montepulchano, and likewise from what the marquis de Aguilar wrote to me at the time on the authority of cardinal Farnese.

* In Vandenesse's Itinerary, English translation by Bradford, I find a paragraph thus worded: "On the 23^{d} Mr. de Granvelle returned [to Spain], having with difficulty escaped from the French galleys, which for the space of several miles had been firing at his."—p. 532.

1542.

I left Siena (Sena) on the 2nd inst., after installing the new Valia (Balia), leaving matters in that city in perfect order, and without any apprehension or fear of disturbances for the future; at least, such is the report which Francesco Sfrondato, whom I left there in command at the request of the Sienese, is daily making me in his letters. Both the "Capitano di Giusticia," Francisco Erasso, senator of Milan, and Cisneros, the captain of the Viceroy's body guard, with his 200 Spaniards, are already in Siena, with full instructions as to how they are to act. The Spaniards had received their pay, and the duke of Malfi (Amalfi) tendered his resignation. He had already sent forward towards Naples his household servants and heavy luggage; his son, as I have already informed Your Majesty, remaining for the present at Siena, with an annual pension of 1,200 ducats paid by the town.

In Florence I found count Ladrian (Landriano) engaged, as the marquis del Gasto had previously informed me, in trying to get money out of duke Cosmo. Though the Count met with some difficulty at first, yet the Duke in the end agreed to pay 16,000 *scutti (crowns) for two months' pay to the infantry, whilst Your Majesty decides upon the whole. That sum the Duke has given very willingly.*

From Florence I went to Lucca, accompanied by Count Landriano, where we both played our cards so well that we got what we wanted from the citizens. The Count went thence to Milan, to tell the marquis del Gasto what had been obtained, in order to prevent the soldiery from taking food from the inhabitants without paying for it (comer á discreccion), *which must be avoided, if possible.*

Respecting the proposed league, we found that it was no longer practicable, because the Pope refuses to join it, and the dukes of Ferrara and Mantua hesitate. As to the people of Lucca, it is almost certain that they will not, having once opposed the proposal at Bologna. We therefore thought that it would rather turn out to Your Majesty's discredit were we to propose measures that could not be accepted.

Whilst at Lucca I received the enclosed letter from the marquis del Gasto, and the copy of another, which Don Diego [de Mendoza] had written to him from Venice. Through them, if not previously informed through other quarters, Your Majesty will learn the loss of Maran, and what has lately transpired respecting the Novara affair. As to the former case, it is in my opinion important to know at whose instigation the deed was perpetrated, that the king of the Romans and the German princes may see at once where a blow struck at a Christian prince—in the midst of peace, and when the whole of Christendom, and Germany above all, is preparing to attack the Infidel—originated.

From France there is nothing new. Mr. Marvol writes to me, and I have no doubt that he has also written to Your Majesty, that since the French know that You are back in

1542.

your Spanish dominions, they are not so fierce as they were before; yet, as they are so fickle and inconstant, it is to be feared that they will not remain long quiet.

Diet of Spires and the king of the Romans—Ambassador Figueroa—Dismissal of the Spaniards and Germans.

Intrigues of the French with the duke of Urbino.*—The negociation, as I hear, is far advanced, if it is not already accomplished. The French, as it appears, after their wont, offer mountains, with the full intention of giving only mole-hills or not keeping their promise at all. There is no one here conversant with the affair who does not accuse the Duke of sheer ingratitude against Your Majesty.—Pietra Sancta, 10 Jan. 1542.

P.S.—I intend, if possible, to go to Genoa by way of Niça (Nizza), to content the Duke [of Savoy] and the warder of the castle (*el castellano de ally*).

Signed; "Perrenot."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

26 Jan. **227.** The EMPEROR to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 5.

"Venerable, chier et feal":—Your despatches of the 10th and 19th of November, 11th and 18th of December last, reporting your conversation with the Lord Privy Seal, as well as with the clerk of the Council, respecting the desire the King, their master, has of again entering into a treaty of closer alliance with Us, have come to hand. That is a subject about which We could hardly say more now than We have done at other times, and especially in Our last instructions, except to recommend you to be very particular in admitting conditionally, and consenting to, any proposals the King or his ministers may make you until you are able to ascertain what he proposes to do for Us, all the time taking good care to persuade him and them of Our good will and intentions, and that they will find no less desire on Our part to enter into such a treaty, provided they show themselves tractable and willing. You will tell them that it seems to Us that, to obtain that object more quickly, they (the King's ministers) should at once declare in plain words what their intentions are. We have no doubt that your experience of affairs, and your knowledge of that king's personal character, will enable you to guess what his real intentions are, and that you will inform Us thereof as soon as possible, sending Us at the same time your own advice on the whole.

With regard to the queen of England and the King's fresh divorce We have nothing to say, except that We thank you

* Guidobaldo della Rovere, who had succeeded his father Francesco Maria in October 1538.

1542.

for the news, and shall be glad to hear what is to become of the Queen, and other events of that country. Tour de Sillas (Tordesillas),* the 26th of January 1542.

P.S.—Respecting the information given to you by the French ambassador's man, namely, that his chief had lately received from France full powers and ample instructions to treat of, and conclude, a marriage between the duke of Orleans and the princess of England (Mary), and that he (the man) knew very well how to prevent the marriage in question, but dared not do it before he got an answer from France to the questions he himself had asked, it is very important and necessary to pay attention to what the man has said, and try to ascertain by flattering and dexterous words what those means are of which he speaks, and at the same time keep the man at Our devotion, making him an advance of money [upon his pension], and assuring him, if necessary, that We keep his services in memory and will attend to his late request. As we are completely ignorant of what those services amount to, and what engagements have been taken with him personally, as secretary Bauer does not recollect, and the letter in which you (Chapuys) mentioned to Us the man's petition was lost at sea and never reached Us, you must in your very first despatch send another copy of the man's memorial, that We may see what can be done for him. You will tell him so, that he may continue to supply you, as hitherto, with information respecting French intrigues in that court.

We have likewise heard that the king of England has shewn some intention and will of retaking the sister of the duke of Clèves (Anne) as his wife, though the thing does not seem likely, to judge from the conversation you had with the clerk of the Council on the subject; yet you must watch the affair, since you know how injurious it would be for Us were the King to effect a reconciliation with her. If it be so, you must try all the means in your power to dissuade the King from it, and, if possible, prevent him from taking her back.

French. Original draft. pp. 3.

29 Jan. **228.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 1.

"Sire,"—A week ago I received all at once Your Imperial Majesty's letters of the 11th and 27th November, as well as those of the 29th ult., before the receipt of which Your Imperial Majesty must have learned by various despatches

* According to Vandenesse's Diary, the Emperor left Toledo for Valladolid on the 1st of January. On the 5th he was at Madrid, on the 26th at Valladolid for the Cortes of Castille assembled there, whose sittings began on the 10th of February. His mother, queen Joanna, was still living at Tordesillas a few leagues from that city. Most probably, though the Diary does not record the fact, Charles had gone to visit her. *See* Bradford Itinerary of Charles V., pp. 531–2.

1542.

of mine, especially by those of the 29th December and 10th inst., not only the general news of this country and the doings of the Privy Council, *but also what we could gather up to that time respecting the inclination, the will, or the intention this king may have towards a closer alliance with Your Imperial Majesty, which alliance he has more or less urgently solicited at various times. On this particular point I can only say that I still adhere strongly to my former opinion. It seems to me as if the chief cause for this king's urgent solicitations is no other than his jealousy of the king of France, and the fear he has of Your Imperial Majesty becoming the latter's friend and ally. That all his efforts have been hitherto, and are still, directed towards sowing discord and mistrust between you two, so that you may never realize that union and alliance of which he is mostly afraid, and that the very moment he discovers any sign of dissension or enmity between you he will assuredlg turn round. Not only will he cut short the present negociation, but he will not listen to it if he sees the least appearance of war. Should this break out between you two, his plan is sure to be to temporize with each of the belligerents, and deceive you both with fine words, until, when you are tired and exhausted by the contest, he may reap greater advantage; for in the first place, by keeping neutral, and not deciding for one or the other of the parties, he will avoid expense—which is what he dislikes most nowadays—and then will play his cards to advantage and profit by the game. As Your Imperial Majesty, whose wisdom and political experience knows no bounds, has no doubt guessed this king's intentions, and perceived much better than I can the fickleness and inconstancy of the English—always prone to profit by time and circumstance—I scarcely need dwell any longer on this subject.*

As to persuading this king to effect his reconciliation with the Pope and the Holy Apostolic See, I see no chance at all of that. Were this the only obstacle to be surmounted for the final conclusion of the treaty of closer alliance with England, it seems to me as if no imputation could possibly fall on Your Imperial Majesty, if the article referring to it were put on one side, since for a long time back Your Majesty's constant though unavailing efforts in that direction are known to all. This king having obstinately refused any proposals of reconciliation with the Holy Apostolic See, he cannot imagine, much less believe, that the proposals I made to him the two last times I had audience from him came from Your Imperial Majesty, inasmuch as when his Lord Privy Seal came to me last November with the King's errand, I had already broached the subject to him, as Your Imperial Majesty can easily see by referring to my preceding despatches, in which my interview with him and the conversation we had on the subject is recounted in such detail as not to need repetition here.

1542.

Since the date of my preceding despatch, though the ambassadors this king had in Flanders about the Queen [of Hungary] have returned [to England], and the Privy Councillors themselves, the last time I was with them, gave me to understand that upon the return of those ambassadors I should be summoned before the Privy Council to talk over and discuss together the affair of the intercourse of trade with the Low Countries and others attached thereto, the answer they had got from the Queen, and so forth, I (Chapuys) have not been summoned or myself gone to Court. *And yet I should very much have liked to ascertain what the King's real intentions are, and what can be the object of the mission of the Bishop whom this king is about to send to Your Imperial Majesty, having resolved to do so immediately after the arrival here from France of the secretary of Mr. de Guenebet. The Bishop will sail from this river in ten or twelve days at the most. As to Master* (sic) *de Guenebet* (*Kennebet*) *he happens to be the same person who was this King's ambassador in France when Your Imperial Majesty passed through it to go to Flanders, and who was suddenly recalled owing to certain haughty words he uttered in king Francis' presence, and which this King has since disowned, alleging that the expressions then and there used by his ambassador were not warranted by his instructions.*

Neither has this French ambassador gone to Court since I myself was there. According to my own private information he has received no letters from France, save one he had two or three days ago, containing news of the King, his master. However, my usual informer tells me that the ambassador has had letters from various personages, his friends, who write from the French court, advising that Mr. Christopher Richer had lately returned from his embassy to Danemark, and that king Francis was delighted with the good success of his negociations there. That the latter had some days before assembled a number of captains to deliberate on the preparations for a future war; and that, following the opinion and advice of marshal Annebaut (*Hannebault*), *it was resolved to collect a sum of money sufficiently large for the support of a well-appointed army during a period of eight months. After that assembly or council another one had been held, which both count St. Pol and the Admiral had attended, though its resolution in the matter had not yet transpired. Meanwhile king Francis had sent to the Grand Turk a certain Commagio and captain Poulain, and that*

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* "Et mesmes sur le depart de levesque de Londres, que le dit sieur Roy a advise depuis la venue de lhomme de Monr Guenebet de envoyer a vostre, majeste pour ambassadeur au lieu du dit maistre Guenebet. Et doibt [levesque] partyr par mer en dedans x ou xii jours. Cest celluy questoit ambassadeur en france du temps que vostre maieste passa par iley (ilecq ?), de ou il fust revocque pour avoir use de quelques propoz haultains au Roy du dt. (de la dite) fraunce veuillant ce dit Roy donner[a] entendre que ce nestoit par sa commission."

1542

marshal Bie (Bies), the governor of Boulogne [sur mer], was incessantly representing that the fortifications being raised by the English at Moutiere, a castle in the immediate neighbourhood of Ardres, should be prevented at any risk. Otherwise, wrote Mr. de Bies, it would have been much better not to have spent so much time and money on the still unfinished fortifications of Ardres, since, hemmed in between Moutiere and Monterron, the town would have been placed in the condition of a quail between two hawks (éperviers).* *That hearing of that governor's report, king Francis had conceived a most wonderful plan, which was to have a strong fortress built and a good harbour constructed besides at a place called Ubyssant (Ouessant), lying half-way between Calais and Boulogne, which, if true, is enough to drive these English to despair.*

A few days ago the assembly of Parliament, or the States of this kingdom, began its sessions. The chief point of the Chancellor's speech relates to the Queen's misdeeds, which that official exaggerated and aggravated without measure. After some four days' discussion, the members, lords, and prelates sitting in the said Parliament have declared the Queen, as well as Mme. de Rochefort, guilty of high treason and *lese* Majesty. As to the dowager duchess of Norfolk and her daughter, they are sentenced to perpetual imprisonment with confiscation of property, on the same plea and for the same reason that milord Vullien (lord William Howard), his wife and the rest of the accomplices, had been condemned. Within two days the said resolution and award will be brought forward before the deputies of the people and Commons.

At this very moment, whilst I am writing these lines, some one comes to tell me that this very morning the Commons have passed a similar resolution on the Queen's, Mme. de Rochefort's, and the two other ladies' cases. It is, therefore, to be apprehended that the Queen will be soon taken to the Tower. She is still in Sion House, making good cheer, fatter and handsomer than ever she was, taking great care of her person, well dressed, and much adorned [with jewels]; more imperious and commanding, and more difficult to please than she ever was when living with the King, her husband.† *Notwithstanding this, she believes that her end will be on the scaffold, for she owns that she has deserved death. Her only*

* As the passage is somewhat obscure I copy it here. "Et que le marechal du Bie (Bies, Biez ?) gouverneur de Boulogne ne cessoit dadvertyr et faire remonstrance quil falloit empescher que le chasteau de la Moutiere aupres de ardres ne sy fortifiast, ou autrement il vauldroit trop mieulx sans comparaison que lon neust consomme tant de temps et argent en la fortification du dit ardres, qui demeureroit entre le dit La Moutiere et Montorre comme une caille entre deux eperviers."

† "La quelle est tousjours a Syon faisant bonne chiere, et plus grasse et belle quelle ne fust oncques, assez soigneuse de soy, bien vestie (*sic*) et accoustree, et plus imperieuse et difficille (*sic*) a servyr que du temps mesme quelle estoit avec le dit sieur Roy."

1542.

prayer is that the execution be secret, and not in public. Perhaps, unless the King wishes to marry again, for which at present he shows no inclination, he may evince some commiseration towards her; perhaps, also, he may find it easy and allowable for himself to have several wives, and afterwards get rid of them by cause of adultery or in some other way, and in that case his late queen's life might be spared. I am told even that the question was already seriously debated by certain doctors in Theology; and although till the present time the King has shown no inclination whatever to a fresh marriage, nor paid attention to any lady of his court, there is no knowing what he may do one of these days. As to his retaking Mme. de Clèves, as far as I can hear, there is no chance whatever for the present, though on New Year's day she presented him with certain pieces of* cramoisy *cloth, which compliment was responded to by some pots and flagons of glass* (pots et flascons).

The Scotch ambassadors are still here. Nothing has yet transpired concerning the object of their mission.

The King, however, has sent an engineer to the Borders for the purpose of inspecting the fortifications of certain towns and castles, and has lately dispatched one of the gentlemen of his Chamber to be captain or governor of Ull (Hull), which town, though far enough from the frontier of Scotland, is still a place of some importance, owing to its situation and its having a good harbour. Such, at least, is the general report; but the measures adopted by king Francis might have originated, not so much from the letter [of the governor of Boulogne], as from a conversation which I (Chapuys) held with the latter respecting his master's intelligence with the duke of Norfolk, for the said harbour of Obyssant (Ouessant) happens to be his own staple for goods and merchandize, and the spot most frequented on that coast by vessels from Flanders.†

I forgot to mention a circumstance which I consider of some importance. Many here fancy that this king will again apply to Parliament for money, which motion is sure to drive his subjects to despair; their apprehensions being founded on the fact that the Chancellor, in his opening speech the other day, alluded most emphatically to the great expenses his master, the King, had been put to by his keeping up an army of 14,000 men for the defence of the fortresses newly built, as well as that of the old ones.

The bishop of London has just sent me a message to say that the King wishes him to see me before his departure, and

* "Et pourroit estre que si le dit sieur Roy navoit envŷè de se remarier, quil vouldroit user de misericorde envers elle, ou sil trouvoit quil fust licite den avoir plusieurs a cause dadultere et en prendre ung (*sic*) autre, et ce que ma este dit la question se desbatoit desja entre des docteurs theologues."

† "Et pourroit estre que le feist aussy esmu des propoz que je lui tins de lintelligence du Roy de france avec le duc [de Norfolc] car le dit port est sa propre estaple, et la ou toutes les navires de flandres coustument daborder."

1542.

therefore that he will come to-morrow to dine with me. Should I hear anything from him worth reporting, I shall not fail to let Your Imperial Majesty know of it.—London, the 29th of January 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Queen of Hungary."

French. Holograph. pp. 6.

29 Jan. **229.** The Same to Monseigneur de Granvelle.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 1.

"Monseigneur,"—Your Lordship will hear by the enclosed letters* to His Imperial Majesty the news of this country. I can only add that this king has lately ordered the arrest and imprisonment of the new Christians who came from Portugal,† and that most likely, however well they may sing, they will not be able to fly away from their cages without leaving part of their feathers behind.

I have no doubt that His Imperial Majesty knows more of French affairs than our confidant and friend, the clerk of the French embassy, yet as a testimony of his good services here I have considered it my duty to forward all the information which he has given me from time to time. Among other particulars he sent me word the other day that the Genevese ambassadors (les ambassadeurs de Gennes?) *now in France were promising great things, and that king Francis, on the recommendation and request of Mr. de Langez,‡ had actually allotted pensions to some people* (genevois) *of that city.*

However that may be, the bishop of London§ is going as ambassador to His Imperial Majesty in the room of Master Guenebet (Kennebet). The Bishop is a good scholar and a man of wit, as Your Lordship will soon find out. In consideration, therefore, for his good qualities, and chiefly for the sake of the King, who sends him, as well as for his own courtesy, and the great affection he shows towards the Emperor, I take the liberty of recommending him to Your Lordship, and accepting the good disposition in which he seems to be, so that he may at least know that I have actually written in his favor and commendation.—London, 29 January 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To Monseigneur de Granvelle, first councillor of State and Garde Sceaulx (Privy Seal) to the Emperor."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

* *See* above, No. 228.

† By "new Christians," the Granadine and other Moors newly converted to Christianity are here meant. In consequence of several attempts at rebellion the Emperor ordered their partial expulsion from Spain, but most of them fled to Portugal, whence they were again expelled.

‡ Langez is for Langeais, or Langeai, that is, Guillaume du Bellay, sieur de Langeay.

§ Edmund Boner, king's chaplain, bishop of London from 1539 to 1549.

1542.

9 Feb. **230.** The SAME to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 19–27.

"Sire,"—My despatch of the 29th ult. must have informed Your Imperial Majesty of the queen's condemnation and sentence, as well as that of the duchess of Norfolk, her daughter, and of Mme. de Rochefort, which Parliament passed on the morning of that day. Until then the King had shown no alacrity or joy, not even when he first heard of his queen's misdemeanour; but since he was informed of the trial and subsequent condemnation on the 29th he has considerably changed, for on the night of that day he gave a grand supper, and invited to it several ladies and gentlemen of his court. There were no less than 26 at his table including the gentlemen, and at another table close by 35.* The lady for whom he showed the greater predilection on the occasion was no other than the sister of Monsieur Coban (Cobham) the same lady whom Master Huyet (Whyatt) did some time ago repudiate on a charge of adultery. She is a pretty young creature, and has sense enough to do as the others have done should she consider it worth her while.† It is also rumoured that the King has taken a fancy for the daughter of Madame Albart, the niece of the grand esquire Master Antoine Brown, and likewise for a daughter by the first marriage of the wife of Monsieur de Lyt, once *debitis* of Calais. This last attachment of the King, as the report goes, is founded on the fact that the above-mentioned official, who for the last two years has been kept a prisoner at the Tower, has all of a sudden obtained his liberty—no one knows how—and goes about London undisturbed; and besides that the King has ordered that the escutcheon of Monsieur de Lyt's arms, which had been removed from the Chapel at Windsor, should be restored to its place among those of other knights.‡

Two days ago the comptroller of the Royal household went to Syon House to break up the establishment of the Queen's household and dismiss all her servants. This being done the King's comptroller is to take the Queen to his own lodgings, that is to say to the Tower, of which he is governor. I am given to understand that no final resolution has yet

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* "Jusques a la quelle condempnation ce roy dois quil sestoit apperçu du [mauvais] gouvernement de la dite royne, navoit monstre allegrie ne joyssance comme yl a faict depuis, et mesmes au dit xxix, quil donnast le soupper et banquet aux dames dont en sa table parmy aucungs sieurs en eut xxvi," et en une autre [table] la auprez xxxv.

† "Elle est belle jeusne fille et a assez experit pour si elle lentrepregnoit faire aussy mal que les autres."

‡ "Lon parle aussy que le dit sieur Roy a fantaisie en la fille de Madame Albart (?), niepce du Grand Escuyer Mᵉ Anthone Brun (Brown) pareillement est yl bruyt dune fille que la femme de Monsʳ. Lyt, jadis Debitis de Callais eust en premieres noupcez, et ce presume lon en partie pour aultant que le dit Debitis que[a] este pres de deux ans en assez estroitte prison dans la Tour, va en sa liberte par leans, et que le dit roy a deu commander que les armes du dit sieur de Lyt, quavoient este hosteez de la chapelle de lordre fussent restitueez et remisez en leur lieu."

1542.

been taken as to what her fate is to be, but that in two or three days the matter will be cleared up, and it will be known what will become of her.

The French ambassador's man informs me that for some time back he has had no letters of importance from the King, his master. The last he has received orders him to persevere as long as he can in the line of political conduct so often recommended to him. The ambassador is to continue the same game, trying by all possible means to cajole and amuse these people in order to prevent their making a league with Your Imperial Majesty, which (the letter says) would be highly inconvenient at this present moment. The ambassador is also to assure and promise that should this king consent to treat with him, he may count upon the Scotch, who are ready to side with him. It appears also that after the receipt of this letter from France the ambassador met some of the privy councillors and transacted business with them, though with so small a success that he left the Council Hall in disgust, and was so angry that on the three following days he could not enjoy his dinner, showing great discontent with the councillors, especially the Lord Privy Seal, whom he abused immensely. Further still, he has sent his own cousin to France expressly to ask for his recall. Nor has his anger subsided since; on the contrary, it has been much increased by the bishop of London's appointment as ambassador to Your Imperial Majesty, for the Bishop is rightly considered an enemy of France, owing to the bad treatment he once experienced in that country.

The bishop of London, as I wrote in my former despatch, came to dine with me, but I could learn no particulars from him respecting his mission. He had not yet received his instructions, which were only delivered to him yesterday. He intends to take his departure to-morrow.

The Scotch ambassadors went away yesterday with a present from this king in silver vessels worth 1,500 ducats. As far as I can gather from report, they have concluded nothing, this king and his privy councillors giving as an excuse that they were so engaged with parliamentary business of all kinds that they could not possibly attend to that brought by them. After the dissolution of this present Parliament, however, the King has promised them that the affairs they brought to England shall be taken into consideration and discussed in the Privy Council.

The French ambassador's man has taken charge of inquiring what may be the object of the Scotch mission; but hitherto he has been unable to learn any particulars, for if he had, he would have called at this embassy. I hear that the negociations, though interrupted or suspended for a time, were secret. Should I learn their purport and object, I shall

1542.

not fail to inform Your Imperial Majesty thereof.—London, 9 February [1542].

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "Received at Valladolid the 5th March 1541 (*sic*)."

French. Holograph, mostly ciphered. pp. 6.

9 Feb. **231.** The SAME to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 11–13.

"Madame, &c.,"—Encloses copy of his despatch to the Emperor, and then adds, "I know not what else to write from this place, save to advise and recommend that this King be gratified as much as possible respecting the two points contained in my preceding despatches, and at the same time that the packet of letters from the King, herein enclosed, be immediately sent to Monseigneur de Grandvelle.—London, 22 February 1542."

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Queen of Hungary."

French. Original. p. 1.

25 Feb. **232.** The SAME to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 28–47.

"Sire,"—Your Imperial Majesty's letter of the 26th ult. has lately come duly to hand. Since then I calculate that mine, and especially that of the 29th of December, have been received, by which Your Imperial Majesty must have had full knowledge of the great care and pains I have hitherto taken to persuade and induce this king and his ministers to enter into a closer friendship and alliance with Your Majesty, as well as the means I have employed to penetrate what their real inclination and will is. This I have explained in my preceding despatches so fully and in such detail that I will take care not to fatigue or trouble Your Imperial Majesty with the repetition of words and ideas already expressed elsewhere as clearly and minutely as was in my power. I will only add one fact to the many already stated, namely, that immediately after the departure of the bishop of London I sent three different messages to the Lord Privy Seal and to the Admiral, asking them for an interview under some pretence or other; but in reality with a view to ascertain, if possible, whether the Bishop's mission had anything to do with the treaty of closer friendship and alliance now in contemplation. The Privy Seal's answer was that both he and the Admiral were ready to do good offices in the affair. I believe them both to be sincere in their professions, as well as the remaining members of the Privy Council, every one of whom

1542.

seems, without exception, desirous of concluding the treaty one way or another. But, as I said in a former despatch, I fear that as long as there is a chance of war between Your Majesty and the king of France this king will make difficulties; for in the first place he dislikes mostly being put to expense, and the moment he thinks that Your Imperial Majesty wants him, his conditions for an alliance against the French will become every day harder and harder. As Your Imperial Majesty can never be sure of the French, it would be necessary, in my humble opinion, to gain over this king and forestall the French, who, according to my usual informer, are now making most brilliant offers, and almost giving these people "carte blanche," *as I wrote in one of my despatches. Possibly my informer may be wrong, or have made a mistake as to that; but I still think that he is in the right, if I am to judge from the context of the King's letter to his ambassador, of which more will be said hereafter, in which allusion is made to the powers sent by him to his ambassador. I will take good care to keep up my acquaintance with the said man, so as to fish out of him what his master, the ambassador, is actually doing. Nothing shall be spared to that end—neither words nor ducats to keep him at our devotion. No later than yesterday I gave him 50 crowns on account of the pension which I pay him annually. A few days ago he sent me word that Morvilliers had returned from Scotland, and was thinking of crossing over to France without calling on this king. He has no more news to communicate for the present, but hopes, on the return of the ambassador's cousin, who is hourly expected back from France, to be able to furnish me with fresh information. To that effect he has made an appointment with one of my own men for this very afternoon. Should I hear of anything important, I shall not fail to communicate my information to Your Imperial Majesty by the next post. The man's petition for money, alluded to in my despatch, shall also go along with it.*

As to this king retaking the duke of Clèves' sister, I see no sign of it at present, for the reasons I have frequently stated. I am the more persuaded that nothing of the sort is intended that two or three days before the Queen was lodged in the Tower the King sent some of his privy councillors to her (Anne) to recover and bring back to him a certain ring, which the Queen (Catharine Howard) had sent to her, whether as a present or on approval (?)† I cannot say; which ring, according to the Duke's ambassador here, is only worth three gold crowns at the utmost, unless it be, as alleged, that the stone in it has some virtue against spasms.*

* "Au regard que ce roy repraigne la sœur du duc de Clèves, je ne vois grande apparence pour ce quen ay escript diverses fois."

† "Pour repeter et retirer certain anneaul, que la dite royne luy avoit deu envoyager ou eu present ou pour enseignees."

1542.

The Duke's ambassador has lately received many letters from German princes, all addressed to the King, persuading him to take back Mme. de Clèves; but I am told that owing to the French ambassador's veto, he of Clèves has not yet presented them to the King, nor will he for some time to come, unless king Francis approves of the measure, and orders his ambassador to back and endorse the request.

My despatch of the xth inst. must have acquainted Your Imperial Majesty with the news of this country, and especially of the Queen's trial and condemnation; but I then forgot to mention how the King, immediately after Parliament had pronounced sentence, wishing to proceed with all moderation and justice in the Queen's case, had sent to her certain privy councillors and members of Parliament to propose that she should, if she wished, defend her own case in that assembly. This the Queen refused, submitting herself entirely to the King's commiseration and will, all the time admitting and owning that she deserved death. Some days after, that is to say on the afternoon of the 10th, the Queen after some difficulty and resistance was conducted to the Tower by the river. The Lord Privy Seal, with a number of privy councillors and a large retinue of servants, went first in a large oared barge; then came a small covered boat with the Queen and four ladies of her suite, besides four sailors to man the boat. Then followed the duke of Suffolk in a big and well-manned barge, with plenty of armed men inside. On their arrival at the Tower stairs the Lord Privy Seal and the duke of Suffolk landed first; then the Queen herself, dressed in black velvet, with the same honors and ceremonies as if she were still reigning. Two days afterwards, on Sunday the 12th inst., towards the evening, she was told to dispose her soul and prepare for death, for she was to be beheaded next day. In the same evening she asked to see the block, pretending that she wanted to know how she was to place her head on it. This was granted, and the block being brought in, she herself tried and placed her head on it by way of experiment. Next morning about seven all the privy councillors save the duke of Suffolk, who was indisposed, and he of Norfolk, were at the Tower, accompanied by various lords and gentlemen, such as the earl of Sorey (Surrey), son of the duke of Norfolk, and cousin of the Queen, who, soon after the arrival of the above-mentioned councillors, lords and gentlemen, was beheaded in the same spot where Anne Boleyn had been executed six years ago. After her body had been covered with a black cloak, the ladies of her suite took it up and put it on one side. Then came Mme. de Rochefort, who had shewn symptoms of madness until the very moment when they announced to her that she must die. Neither the Queen nor Mme. de Rochefort spoke much on the scaffold; all they did was to confess their guilt and pray for the King's welfare and prosperity.

1542.

Since the execution the King has been in better spirits and more joyful than before, and during the three last days of Lent there has been much feasting and banqueting. On Sunday the privy councillors and lords of his court were invited; on Monday the Legal men, and on Tuesday the ladies, all of whom passed the night in the Palace. The King himself did nothing else on the morning of that day than go from one chamber to another to inspect the lodgings prepared for the ladies, all of whom, generally speaking, he received with much gaiety, without, however, showing particular affection for any of them.* Indeed my impression is that unless Parliament entreats him to take another wife, he will not be in a hurry to marry; besides that there are few, if any, ladies at Court now-a-days likely to aspire to the honor of becoming one of the King's wives, or to desire that the choice should fall on them; for a law has just passed in Parliament enjoining that should the King or his successors wish to marry a subject of theirs, the lady chosen will be bound to declare, under pain of death, if any charge of misconduct can be brought against her. All those who know for certain, suspect, or presume anything of the kind are also bound to reveal the same within twenty days, under pain of confiscation of property and imprisonment for life; the same sentence to be passed on those of any condition or rank who, within the period above specified, did not reveal to the King himself, or to a member of his Privy Council, any blameable or reprehensible act on the part of the lady thus chosen to be the King's wife, etc.

I have heard of no other ordinance passed by the present Parliament, unless it be the condemnation and prohibition of the Bible which Cromwell caused to be translated into English and printed, which translation has been found to be falsified in many passages.

After the above was written my man returned from the French embassy, bringing me the enclosed copy of king Francis' letter to his ambassador here. I need not say that it was my usual informer who procured it. It is in cipher, from which I conclude that it was this king who first proposed the interview, though when I happened to speak to him on the subject, he not only denied the fact, but assured me that the idea sprang first from king Francis. As to the King's conversation with the ambassador, as reported in the letter, it must be understood that as the ambassador, to my certain knowledge, has not seen the King since the festivities of last Christmas, the latter cannot have uttered the words attributed

* "Le dimanche fust pour les sieurs de son Conseil et de la Court; le lundy pour les gens de la loy; le mardy pour les dames lesquelles dormirent toutes en court, et luy dans le matin ne feist aultre sinon daller de chambre en chambre pour faire auctentiquement apprester les logis des dites dames avec lesquellez yl feist tres grande et tres jouyeuse chere en general sans monstrer particulicre affection a nulle."

1542.

to him. If really uttered, they must have been by the duke of Norfolk, who occasionally ventures to improve upon his instructions whilst treating with foreigners. According to information coming from the same source, the French ambassador will soon go to France to report on the business in question, and yet he has engaged to meet mine within two or three days, that he may communicate such information as he may be able to collect respecting his master's actual negociations with these people. He will see in the meantime if he can lay his hand on other letters of the French king or his ministers, together with a copy of the deciphering key. I attach faith to what he said to my man. To meet some urgent want of his, he would like to receive beforehand some money; it shall be supplied to him, but I have no time to send his petition by this post, it will go by the next.*

As to myself, the extreme need in which I am is so urgent and pressing that I cannot do otherwise than beg and entreat Your Imperial Majesty to be pleased, for God's sake, to order that I may be paid the remainder of my arrears, as Your Imperial Majesty had the kindness to promise before your departure from Bruges. Otherwise I really do not know how I can live and fitly represent Your Imperial Majesty's person in this country. All the property I had at home is by this time either sold or mortgaged. I have many debts and little or no credit with merchants, to whom I have to pay considerable interest for the sums I have borrowed from them. I again humbly request Your Imperial Majesty to have pity on me, and command the payment of what is owing to me, which, after all, will be spent in Your service.—London, 25 February 1542.—Eustace Chapuys.

The following is the true deciphering of the King's letter to his ambassador:—

"Monsieur Marillac,—The letter of the 5th inst., brought by your cousin, who is also to be the bearer of this one, has been duly received. I hear of the good and honest words spoken to you there respecting the accomplishment of the marriage proposed, as well as respecting the interview to be held between that King and myself. I entirely approve of your suggestion, that before fixing the time and place for the interview, it is but reasonable that all affairs, past or present, between the parties be duly settled, so that at our future meeting there shall remain nothing more to do than confirm and ratify the whole without further discussion, since the conclusion and consummation of the marriage will effectually remove all difficulties, if any should still stand in the way. That there be no cause for dissimulation on the part of the

* "Et quant aux propoz tenus au dit ambassadeur, comme il est mentionne en la dite copie, il est a sçavoir quilz ne luy ont este tenuz de ce roy, auquel il na parle dois les festes de Noel, ne dautre quelconque sinon du duc de Norfolq, que sadventure assez parfois denrrichir les affaires."

1542.

king of England, based upon your not having received proper powers to treat, I have sent you two, that you may make use of them at discretion. Should you at the beginning, and before you enter into the negociation, be asked to exhibit your original powers from me, and leave them in their hands, you will avoid as long as possible to comply with their request, and if hard pressed by them, will deliver the copy, not the original. I nevertheless leave this entirely to your discretion; you will act in the affair as you think best for the good issue of the negociation intrusted to you. You will take care to treat of the marriage before you enter into the discussion of other matters. That once settled and concluded, you will have plenty of opportunities to go into other matters, such as the interview and the consummation of the marriage.

"With regard to the difficulties thrown in the way of the king of Scotland being present at the interview, after saying how glad I am to hear that my brother and ally of England wishes to have an interview with me, and after making him or his ministers understand how desirous I myself am of such an interview with the person for whom I profess the greatest affection in this world, you will tell him that the king of Scotland is so young and well disposed, that he can easily take the trouble of attending the interview with my good brother of England, wherever it may be, without throwing impediments in the way of it. That his presence there, moreover, will not in any way prevent our communicating to each other our views of political matters, and that, in my opinion, there is nothing that will intimidate the Pope so much as the meeting of us three. And I need not tell you that you may repeat the argument, whenever you have the opportunity, that, acting thus, we should be two against all the rest, for the king of Scotland being my son, he will equally be the son of the King my good brother, Yet, should you perceive that the King or his ministers dislike much the presence of king James at the interview, you had better drop the subject altogether, though it seems reasonable that he should be represented there by some noble and great personage of his court; and if after that my brother, the King, should decide to hold another separate interview with king James, I promise to send thither some person of authority and closely connected with me to represent me. Written on the 11th of February."

Such is the letter; it is for Your Imperial Majesty to judge of its contents.—London, 25 February.

French. Holograph. pp. 12.

25 Feb. **233.** The Queen of Hungary to Eustace Chapuys.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 7–8.

"Monsieur l'ambassadeur,"—We have purposely put off answering your letter of the xxxth of December in order to wait for news of the arrival in England of the ambassadors who

1542.

were here, and have now returned home, which you alluded to in your despatch of the 29th of December ult.* We have since then received yours of the 10th and 29th of January, and 9th inst.,† and We cannot do otherwise than thank you most cordially for the good service you are doing by continually informing Us of occurrences in that country.

We have also just received letters from Monseigneur de Grantvelle (*sic*), who, it appears, was obliged again to put up at Gennes (Genoa), as you will see by the copy of a letter of his to the sieur de Maruol, the Emperor's ambassador in France, which We enclose,‡ as well as another one of his, to you.

As to news of these parts and of France, We can give you the following:—The French are intriguing everywhere to take Us by surprise, but We hope that they will not be able to raise as many men in Germany as they imagine. The king of the Romans, Our brother, is still at Spiers (Spires) in order to collect the assistance in money which the States of the Empire did lately grant against the Turk at the diet of Reynspourg (Regensburgh), whither the king of France has sent four ambassadors, who have addressed the assembly. One of them in particular, the chancellor of Alençon, made a long speech to persuade the States that they ought all to join together and march against the Turk, and that the King, his master, was willing and ready to assist them in the defence of Hungary, which he (the Turk) intended to invade and occupy, as well as all the rest of Germany, nay, the whole of Christendom. The orator went on to say that the Turk was by no means an enemy to be despised; he had great power, thousands of followers, and much money, and, therefore, that it behoved them to be well united for the defence of their territory, and not allow themselves to be surrounded and surprised. That the King, his master, had sent to Constantinople Cesare Fragoso and Rincon, with a view to persuade the Turk not to attack Germany; but that those ambassadors of his had been arrested and taken prisoners by the Imperialists (Cesæriens), at a place under the Emperor's rule, and against the truce of Nyze (Nizza), and that they (the German states) should by no means make an offensive war against the Turk, for fear of over-irritating him.

Thus much have the French ambassadors at the Diet done and said in public; secretly they have and are still soliciting the German princes not to grant help and assistance to the Hungarians, trying to persuade them that this year the Turk will make no attempt at all on that side, and offering to mediate between the Infidel and the German states. Mean-

* *See* above, No. 220, p. 429.

† Those of the 10th and 29th January may be found respectively under Nos. 224 and 228, that of the 9th February under 230.

‡ Not in the Archives.

1542.

while Hungary is preparing for defence, the natural and patrimonial vassals of the king of the Romans having met and agreed as to the defence of their territory against the Turk, to which may be added that king Ferdinand's affairs in that country are much smoother and prosperous than ever they were.—Brussels, 25 February 1542.

French. Original draft. pp. 2.

5 March. **234.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 48–58.

My despatch of the 21st February must have acquainted Your Imperial Majesty fully of events in this country, *as likewise of what king Francis had written to the ambassador residing here for him. Since my despatch of the* 27*th and three following days, the said ambassador has been actively attending to the charge and commission given to him by the King, his master, having been in frequent communication with the privy councillors, at the end of which he dispatched a messenger to the King to ask urgently for more ample and special instructions, such as the importance of the affair and the over-scrupulous tendency of these English people required. The powers and instructions which had been sent to him, besides being expressed in general terms, had another great defect, inasmuch as nowhere in them was it stated what sum of money the King, his master, was likely to demand as dower of the Princess besides the extinction of all debts in pensions, loans, etc., due to this king. The ambassador further said in his message that in his opinion it would be very difficult, if not altogether impossible, to induce these people to consent to the total extinction of the debt by way of a dowry, inasmuch as the arrears of pension alone amount to nearly one million of gold.*

In short the ambassador has sent to ask for fuller instructions as to the dowry or revenue which the King, his master, is willing to settle on the Princess, adding that in his opinion the English would much prefer that the dowry was consigned on the duchy of Milan, which, according to all accounts (the ambassador says), is to be shortly in the hands of Monsieur d'Orleans (Charles). *If the Dauphin* [Henri], *after duly renouncing that State and passing it over to his brother, the duke of Orleans, would also engage himself to help and assist in the conquest of that duchy whenever requested* by his brother (says the ambassador in his letter to the King), the*

* "En oultre le dit ambassadeur a escript instanment (*sic*) destre adverty et instruit sur quoy lon vouldroit assigner le douaire de la princesse, disant que a son advis les Anglois pourroient asseoir plus dassurance sur ce estat de Milan que le roy son maistre baille en appenaige a Mons. dorleans, si Mons. le Daulphin apres avoir renunce au dit estat, et le tout cede et quicte au prouffit du dit sieur dorleans, son frere, et se obligeroit aussi de layder et secourir de tout son pouvoir a la conqueste du dit estat toutes et quantes fois quil en seroit requis."

1542.

affair might be settled at once to the satisfaction of the parties concerned. Such, I am told, is the substance of the ambassador's message to king Francis respecting the marriage in question, the negociation of which he fully expects to be able to promote efficiently within three or four days after his receiving from home a categorical answer to his questions, as well as fresh instructions on the whole.

That is not all; the ambassador in his letter applies urgently for a copy of the treaty of the year 1527, *which these people keep quoting continually.**

If I am to tell Your Imperial Majesty my opinion on the matter, I must say that notwithstanding the above plans and intrigues, and the means both parties are employing to gain their individual aim, I still hold the same view, that the marriage spoken of will never take place. I think, nevertheless, that it would be wise and convenient at all hazards to remove beforehand any chance there may be of these people ever falling in with the French, for if ever they see themselves despised or neglected by Your Imperial Majesty, and perceive or suspect that you care not to treat with them, they may half in despair and spite do many things to Your Majesty's prejudice, and listen to the gallant and enticing promises of the French.†

Your Imperial Majesty, with your great wisdom and political experience, will know best what to do. I really believe, however, that for the last forty-eight hours more business has been transacted between the King's privy councillors and the French ambassador than in the last four months, but I know also, nay, I am certain, that there is nothing at the bottom of it, especially on the part of the English, than an attempt to render Your Imperial Majesty jealous. I am the more convinced of that, that a certain doctor, whom the privy councillors employ as a spy upon me and the French ambassador at the same time, has this very morning called on me and related, without my asking him any questions, that the French ambassador was almost every day closeted with the members of the Privy Council, and boasted of being on the point of achieving great things.‡

During his conference with the ambassador the duke of Norfolk begged him to transmit his commendations to Mme. d'Allebrecht, *whom the Duke calls his mistress* (maitraisse), *and tell her in his name that he would at any time furnish*

* "Que ceulx luy reluy remestoient cop sur cop au devant."

† "Mesmes prestant les oreilles a si caulx et si rusez galans que les françois."

‡ "Je crois bien que doies ung ou deux jours ceulx-cy eussent peu auctant exploicter avec le dit ambassadeur quilz ont faict en quatre mois, et quilz lont faict pour donner jalousie a vostre maieste et nont failly me faire advertir par tierce main dung medecin dont ilz se servent despie envers le dit ambassadeur et moy, comme le dit ambassadeur avoit este si souvent et si longuement aux dites communications, et quil debvoit traicter de grandes choses."

1542.

10,000 *crs., and, if necessary, borrow* 10,000 *more, if he knew where—the whole to be spent and employed, besides his own person, in the acquisition of the kingdom of Navarre. Such is the message which the Duke begs the French ambassador to convey to Mme. d'Allebrecht, but I* (*Chapuys*) *do not believe a word of it, and whatever promises the Duke may have made, I am sure, that he will not spend one single* tournois *out of his own pocket in a similar enterprise.**

The above information comes to me from the ambassador's man, who would very much wish to have a pension on the receipt (*recepte*) of Artois for his mother. *In addition to that he has lately applied to me, through a third person, for a larger sum of money, though it must be said that he has done this with great humility and moderation, asking for it by way of a loan. I have not hesitated to supply the man's wants, because I think his information is more important than ever for Your Imperial Majesty's service.* As to myself, I again pray as humbly as I can that my own case be looked into, and Your Imperial Majesty's frequent orders be promptly obeyed concerning the payment of my arrears, for, as I have frequently stated, I am over head and ears in debt, and unless the Treasury of Flanders come soon to my aid, I shall be quite unable to represent as I ought, and wish to do, Your Imperial Majesty's person in this country.—London, 5 March 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph. pp. 10.

5 March. **235.** The Same to the Queen of Hungary.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 238, f. 15.

"Madame,"—This morning the privy councillors sent me a message to this effect. A few days ago Master Vualopt (Wallop), the governor of Guiez (Guisnes), caused a horse to be bought for his use in Flanders; but it appears that in attempting to cross the frontier, the bailli of Dunkerke had the horse seized and detained at the frontier, though the license and permission of Your Majesty was exhibited at the time. The permission, it is true, is not in the name of Master Vualopt, but in that of Dr. Carne, who transferred it to the former. The privy councillors are much interested in the release of the horse, and as Master Vualopt has always shown attachment to the Emperor, and has moreover done all he

* "Le duc de Norphocq durant les dites communications pria le dit ambassadeur de ses recommendacions a madame dallebrecht, la quelle le dit duc appelle sa maistresse, et que icellui ambassadeur la voulsist advertir quil fourniroit tousiours de dix mille escuz et si sçavoit ou il en trouveroit autres dix mille pour les employer oultre sa personne au recouvrement de son royaulme de Navarre; mais quoiquil en dye (dise) je ne pense quil y vouldroit employer ung tornoy."

1542.

could in Your Majesty's favour, I do not hesitate to recommend his case.—London, 5 March 1542. Eustace Chapuys.

P.S.—After dating and signing the above, and being on the point of sealing and closing it, Your Majesty's letter of the 25th ult. came to hand. I will answer it by the first courier, and add only that it has come very opportunely.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Queen of Hungary."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

10 March. **236.** The SAME to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 238, f. 59.

Incloses copy of the letter to the Queen Regent,* and then adds by way of postscriptum: "And since then nothing new has occurred worth mentioning.—London, 10 March 1542."

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original. pp. 3.

14 March. **237.** The EMPEROR to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 12–8.

"Venerable chier et feal,"—We have received your letter of the 30th of December [1541] and 11 of February [1542], together with copies of your despatches of the same date, addressed to the dowager queen of Hungary, Our good sister, by which letters and despatches We see plainly how dexterously you are conducting the negociation with the king of England and his privy councillors. We are glad to hear of the good will and affection which that King is manifesting towards Us and Our personal affairs, for which you will thank him most cordially in Our name, as well as of his having informed you of king Francis' intrigues with the duke of Clèves and other German princes. You will equally thank him in Our name for the regret and sorrow he has manifested at the ill-success of Our late expedition against Algiers. We are above all very grateful to him for the good will and readiness he shows to treat of a closer friendship and alliance with Us, which We equally desire greatly. We should have sent you long before both instructions and powers how to act, but considering the small security there is on the side of France, and fearing lest the courier bearer of them should be stopped at his passage through that country and his papers seized, We have preferred to wait a little longer and send them by sea and by way of Guisnes through a discreet and trusty personage, with particular orders from Us that should he be in danger of being taken prisoner he is to cast all the papers

* Probably that of the 5th, which is the last, unless there be an earlier one of February missing.

1542.

into the sea, so that they should not fall into the enemy's hands. On his safe arrival at Guisnes, as We hope will be the case, the gentleman We allude to has orders to direct the said instructions and powers to the Dowager Queen, Our sister, that she may immediately forward them to you. And although this route is far longer than that of France, yet We have considered it the safest and most expedient under present circumstances.

Though We have no doubt that the powers and instructions to which We allude will be in your hands shortly after the receipt of this, yet that no time be lost, and that you may begin to treat and negociate almost immediately, should such be that King's pleasure, We write by this post to Our sister to send you her powers, as governess and Regent of the Low Countries in Our name, to begin in the meantime, and whilst Our own are on the way, promising and assuring that We will confirm and ratify everything you (Chapuys) may do in virtue of the said powers and instructions from Us as if they were Our own.

As soon as you have received Our sister's powers you will take care to inform the King, or his privy councillors, thereof, as you may think best, and solicit them to enter into communication with you at once, and according as you see the King's ministers more or less disposed to begin the negociations, and are able to guess what their intentions are, and what they mean, you will proceed to business, and let Us know as often as possible the progress made.—Valladolid, 14 March 1541 (1542).

Indorsed: "From the Emperor and King to his ambassador in London."

French. Original draft. pp. 6.

14 March. **238.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 9–11.

"Venerable, chier et feal,"—You will see by the other letter of the same date, herein enclosed, what We have deemed fit to answer to your despatches of the 30th of December [1541] * and 11th of March [1542],† which answer, as you may easily conceive, was drawn up on purpose that, if necessary, you might show it to the King or to his privy councillors, as you may think best, taking good care, however, not to let Our said letter out of your hands, nor give a copy of it to any one, for fear of the English turning it to their profit with the French, or king Francis saying hereafter that We were the first to break the truce and contravene the treaties between him and Us; the more so that you, yourself, have never been able to ascertain or prove in a positive way that the French ambassador in England had really and truly received powers and instructions from his master to treat with king Henry, but

* No. 221, pp. 430–50.

† *See* above, No. 236, though it is dated the 10th, not the 11th.

1542.

that on the contrary, as appears from your own despatches, you had reason to suppose, from the King's own assertion, that nothing of the kind had yet taken place between the French ambassador and the English king.

And whereas Monseigneur de Granvelle has not yet returned from his mission—though We have no doubt that he must by this time have informed you how on his return home he had been obliged, through the alarm caused by the French galleys off Marseilles, to touch at the island Dieres (d'Hières), and thence go back to Genoa—We, being unwilling to send through France the powers and instructions which We now transmit to you, have directed them by sea to Genoa, that they may from thence be forwarded by way of Germany to Our sister, the Queen Regent in Flanders. All this has been done, as you well know, and Our sister has been requested to send you the said powers and instructions by the surest possible route and trustiest messenger. We have besides written to Our sister that, in order to save time, she may, if necessary, send you similar powers and instructions in Our name, as governess and Regent, as she is, of the Low Countries, to commence negociations and go on with them as far as the king of England or his ministers wish it, with a most solemn promise to them to have the whole confirmed and ratified by Us. In this manner much time may be gained, and the negociation can begin at once. On the receipt of this letter you (Chapuys) will call on the King and tell him that you have had an answer from Us, and beg him to accept Our excuses for not having sent sooner the powers and instructions, adding to or retrenching from the above explanation of Our motives whatever you think proper, according to the inclination to treat which that king shows, and the present state of his relations with France.

Meanwhile, as above said, you will, on the receipt of the powers and instructions from Our sister, the Regent, try to enter at once into negociations, so as to ascertain as far as you possibly can what the King's real intentions are, since you know well, and better than any one else does, the state of Our relations with him at present and at other times, and how convenient it is for Us to establish a true and perfect amity and alliance between Our respective kingdoms and dominions. To this purpose you are, of course, to aid yourself with the old treaties between the two nations, confirming, adding to, or retrenching from, them, as you may deem fit, for the better binding and knitting together of Our mutual ties, and the benefit of Our kingdoms and subjects in general, and particularly those of the Low Countries, endeavouring to ascertain, above all, what the King's real intentions are, whether he is in earnest or only feigns to be so, and what he is now aiming at. Having done so, you will go on negociating with the King's ministers, as well as trying to defeat the intrigues of the French by all means in your power, until you see that the treaty is progressing and in a

1542.

fair way of being concluded, and you will not forget as often as possible to inform Us and Our sister, the Regent, of every incident in the negociation, that We may, at all events, instruct you how to act. For that very reason we have resolved that Mr. de Courrières, who had asked Us leave to return home through France, do remain here (at Valladolid) until We hear how the negociation there entrusted to you goes on. If well, as We have reason to think likely, he may, if need be, and such is your advice, be sent straight to England by sea with letters of credence for the King and his Privy Council.—Valladolid, 14 March 1542.

P.S.—After the above was written, and just as this present courier was about to start, your despatch of the 9th of February, referring to a previous one of the 29th of January, came to hand. This last, however, has not reached Us; We presume that it may have been sent through Italy, to the care of Monseigneur de Granvelle, who will no doubt send it on by the first courier. However that may be, let the contents of the above be an answer to your despatch of the 9th.* That is all We can say to you for the present, and will only add that your report of the French ambassador's discontent with that king's ministers is pleasing news for Us, as it will admirably serve Our purpose under present circumstances. We, therefore, again recommend you to enter at once into negociations with that King, and keep him and his privy councillors at Our devotion as long as possible. We hope that your first despatch will inform Us of the particular mission which the bishop of London is now bringing Us, for certainly We should like, if possible, to know something about it before his arrival.

As to the Queen's condemnation, We have nothing to observe, except that you will do Us service by ascertaining as far as possible whether king Henry is, or is not, inclined to marry again, and in what direction his fantastic tendencies drive him nowadays. You are by all means to try and prevent his retaking Anne of Clèves as his wife, for under present circumstances, as you well know, it would be exceedingly inconvenient were he to effect a reconciliation with her.—Valladolid,† 14 March 1542.

Indorsed: "Deciphering of the Emperor's letter to his ambassador in England. 14 March 1541, before Easter."

French. Original draft.

* Both on the 29th and 30th of December Chapuys wrote to the queen of Hungary. *See* above, Nos. 220–1. On the 30th he also wrote to Granvelle (No. 222), but no letter of his to the Emperor has come from Vienna; it was most likely intercepted. As to that of the 9th of February 1542, it will be found at p. 468, under No. 230.

† The Emperor was at Valladolid from the 26th of January till the 27th May, when he reached Burgos. On the 12th of April the bishop of London (Edmund Boner) had audience from the Emperor at Valladolid, having arrived there on the 26th of March.

1542.

25 March. **239.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 61-2.

Since my last of the 5th the French ambassador, in consequence of a letter from his master, the King, has called twice at the Privy Council and communicated with its members, and once more with the duke of Norfolk alone. Until now I have been unable to learn what the ambassador is about, *nor did my informer from the French embassy send me any message; but just as I was writing these lines I received from him a number of papers and letters in cipher, and among them one from the ambassador himself to the King, his master, and other documents, none of which I have yet had time to examine owing to the hasty departure of this courier, but intend to decipher and read afterwards. This being done, though I do not believe them to be of much importance, the papers in question will be forwarded by the next post to the queen of Hungary in Flanders, that she may, if necessary, send them on wherever Your Imperial Majesty may be.*

With regard to other news of this country I can only say that the States of this kingdom here assembled are to be dismissed (*licenties*) or prorogued in two or three days till All Souls' Day, when they are to meet together again. As I hear from a good quarter nothing has yet been made public concerning their deliberations, although according to most reliable information they are about to raise the value of coin, as has been done in France.

The Princess has been lately somewhat indisposed, but thanks to God she is now better. The King, her father, has done her the favor of sending people to visit her in his name, and inquire after her health, and ordered his physicians to attend, as he has done with Mme. Anne de Clèves, who is ill at Richmond with tertian fever.* The wife of milort Vullien and two other damsels, who were sentenced to imprisonment for life in the late Queen's case, were set free soon after her execution, and if it be true, as reported, that the King has given most gracious audience to lady Vullien, there is every reason to think that he himself and the duchess of Norfolk, his mother, will soon recover their liberty.

About a week ago count Glaude (Claude) Rangone, and another young count with him, and a captain named Camille arrived in this town. They must have left France in a rather discontented mood, for they have not called on the ambassador of that country, and intend returning to Italy through Flanders and Germany. *I hear that in order to make themselves more acceptable to this king, they have given him to understand that they are not on good terms with the Pope, but I believe*

* "Le roy son pere luy a faicte ceste faveur que de lenvoyer visiter et luy mander sez medecins comme aussy yl la faict a dame Anne de Clevez quest malade a Richemont de la fievre tierce."

1542.

*that their enmity to His Holiness will not profit them much here, nor will they get much money out of this king, unless they offer to murder cardinal Pole.**—London, 25 March 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England on the 25th of March—Received at Valladolid on the 12th of April."

French. Holograph. pp. 2.

27 March. **240.** The SAME to the QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 16.

"Madame,"—Your Majesty will see by the enclosed copy of my despatch to the Emperor, in date of the 5th of March, the late occurrences in this country, as well as the information I have been able to obtain of the secret doings of the French.—London, 27 March 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

31 March. **241.** The QUEEN OF HUNGARY to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 14-8.

"Monsieur l'ambassadeur,"—We have just received letters from the Emperor, Our lord and brother, and along with them two more for you,† which We enclose that you may read them attentively and act accordingly. As the Emperor orders Us to send you powers and instructions, whilst those he is sending you by sea by way of Italy are on the road, that you may at once commence negociations, and find out whether there are means of contracting a closer alliance with the king of England, We now send you full powers in Our name, as regent of these Low Countries for the Emperor, Our brother, that you may at once enter into negociation with that king's ministers. You may exhibit them whenever you deem it opportune or expedient, but not give a copy of them unless you receive orders to that effect from His Imperial Majesty. Instead of instructions We send you credentials for the King. Indeed, We could not, if We desired, give you any more ample and fuller ones than those contained in the Emperor's second letter to you,‡ to which We refer you entirely, having no doubt that you will know how to make good use of them, in order to gain time and ascertain what king Henry's real intentions are. You may assure the King, in Our name, that We have always desired to keep, observe, and if possible increase, the

* "Et croys que pour estre les mieulx venus a ce roy ilz ont deu donner a entendre quilz ne sont bien avec le pape, mais pour cela non rapporteroient ilz grand loyer si ce nestoit quilz offrissent de occire le cardinal Pole."

† Of the same date (14th March). *See* above, Nos. 237 and 238.

‡ That of No. 238. *See* p. 481.

1542.

good friendship which has at all times existed between His Imperial Majesty and the king of England, and his predecessors on the throne; which friendship ought to be considered firmer and closer than any other, inasmuch as it was never so subject to quarrel and dispute as others are and have been, nor has the Emperor ever attempted anything directly against England, as some of her neighbours occasionally have. To which may be added that the kings of England have reciprocated by observing the very same conduct towards the Low Countries, and keeping up friendly relations with them. That is why it is imperative for the Emperor, as well as for the king of England—now more than ever, when Christendom is so disturbed—mutually to confirm that very friendship and closer understanding, that they may remedy the present evils and save their own subjects from destruction and ruin. Towards this desirable end His Imperial Majesty is willing enough to contribute with all his power, and listen also to all reasonable means the king of England may propose or suggest; whilst We Ourselves will confirm and ratify, or have confirmed and ratified by the Emperor, all and every agreement which you (Chapuys) may enter into in Our name, in pursuance of the above-mentioned powers and instructions. Should the king of England resent the objections lately raised respecting the free intercourse of trade between these Low Countries and his own subjects—from which measure, however, Our own merchants suffer and might complain more than the English—you will tell him or his ministers, that in order to put a stop to any future alterations We propose to make a fresh treaty of commerce with England, by means of which the English merchants frequenting the ports of the Low Countries will be much better treated, and will obtain more favor here than We ever thought of claiming for Ours in England, as We have signified to you (Chapuys) more than once, as well as to the King's ambassadors, who were last with Us. Should the King mention, or allude to, the confirmation of the old treaties between the Low Countries and England, you will first inquire which treaties he means, in order to let Us know, assuring him that We shall have no objection to confirm any of them, provided it be not that of the year 1506, which cannot possibly be confirmed and ratified without bringing utter ruin on Flanders and the Low Countries, that being the sole reason for its not having been accepted. As to the other treaties, and principally that of the year 1520, they might be observed for a length of time if the alliance which the King now proposes to make with Us should turn out profitable, and the King's ministers relent in their constant and almost daily attacks upon that treaty; for after all that of the year 1520 must not be considered as distinct from the previous ones, but only as a confirmation of the others. We have entered into these details that you

1542.

(Chapuys) may take full cognizance of the whole affair, and to help you to defeat the arguments of the King's privy councillors, who have always considered, and do still, consider the said treaty of 1520 as good and in operation as long as that of 1506 is not confirmed and ratified.—Brussels, on the last day of March 1541, before Easter [1542].

French. Original draft. pp. 6.

1 April. **242.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 19–20.

"Monseigneur l'ambassadeur,"—We send you herein enclosed a letter just received from the Emperor, Our lord, together with another of the 28th ult. As you will see by the enclosed abstract of his letter, the Emperor devolves upon Us the care of making the declaration against the Scotch, or else temporizing with them in case We find that the delay is not injurious to the projected undertaking against France, and that these Low Countries will not suffer through it. Our answer to the Emperor has been that which you (Chapuys) will see by the enclosed abstract. We cannot exactly understand what harm the delay of the declaration against Scotland can do to the enterprise against France, and therefore We inform him that We have applied to you to decide whether the said declaration is to be made at once, or whether it is more prudent to temporize with the king of Scotland. To that effect We have ordered the enclosed draft of answer to be made to the Emperor, which you can, if you choose, show to those privy councillors, and then inform Us by return of post which plan seems to them and to you the more advisable under the circumstances—whether to issue at once the aforesaid declaration, or temporize with the Scotch; it being well understood that if for the advancement of the affair, and not to lose the opportunity of an invasion of France, you and the King's privy councillors should find it convenient to issue the declaration at once, you may have it published, first stipulating for security that within the next two months the king of England himself shall declare against the duke of Holstein, unless the latter's deputies now at Spa do not, before the Emperor's departure from that town, come to some arrangement with him. No more delay to be granted in either case than that which may be deemed absolutely necessary for the subjects of both parties to withdraw elsewhere with their goods and chattels.*

As to the interest which these Low Countries may have in the declaration, it is so incalculably great and patent that

* "Debvez prendre asseurance que en dedans deux mois prochains le dit sieur roy se declairera contre le duc de Holstein si avant que ses deputes naccordent presentement avecq sa ma^te^. devant partir de Spa. Sans plus delayer soubz umbre des interetz que ses subiectz en averoient (*sic* auroient?), que cependant pourront retirer leur biens."

1542.

We deem it quite unnecessary to allude to it here, having already done so in Our last letter to you; for should We alone be at war with the duke of Holstein, We should lose the entire navigation of the Northern seas, with incalculable loss and damage to the Emperor's subjects in those parts, who could not bear it unless the king of England declared also against the Duke. This is in Our opinion the only true means of making him come to terms, as We once wrote to you.* However this may be, We think that the English will not insist too much on the declaration against the Scotch for the reasons We have pointed out to the Emperor, and chiefly because having lately ordered the immediate arrest of no less than one hundred and fifty Scotchmen—most of them poor sailors without a farthing—our officers, naturally enough, lest the prisoners should die of hunger, applied to the English ambassador here resident for money and provisions to support them. This the ambassador readily granted, on condition that some merchants of that nation should also be arrested, which was done. Two of these, however, are soon to be released "on parole"—the others being answerable for them—and sent home for the purpose of soliciting the release of the whole set; and We have besides stated to the ambassador, that should he think We can still do more for the indemnity of the English, We will meet his views in every respect.† This you will say to the King's ministers whenever you find an opportunity.

Whilst this letter was being written yours of the 16th inst. came to hand, as well as the duplicate of the Emperor's letter to you of the same date. We have no doubt that since then you have received the letters-patent for the safe conducts, as well as the declaration of war against Holstein, sent on the 6th.

The English deputies have communicated with lord Buren,‡ and requested him to raise 2,000 infantry, at the rate of four "*carolins*" monthly for each man, which request, however, the latter has refused to comply with, since it is not customary in this country to pay a soldier less than four "*philippi*," or five "*carolins*," or, rather, four gold florins of 15 *baegs* each. The deputies have agreed to write home about it.

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* *See* above, p. 62.

† "Et avons presentement arrestez plus de cent et cinquante Escossois, dont une partie est de matelots que nont maille ne denier pour vivre et les [necessaires] comment les nourrir. Nous avons tenu propoz a lambassadeur dengleterre cy resident de nous defaire de la nourriture des dits pauvres matelots sur les quels on ne sçauroit riens recouvrer. Il a en ce consenty moyennant que les marchans soyent retenus, des quelz toutesfois on renvoyera deux pour solliciter la delivrance de la naviere (?) engloise prinse a condition que les autres prisoniers respondront pour ceulx, et pour complement du dit ambassadeur dengleterre luy avons offert, si lui semble que debvons faire davantaige pour lindemnite des englois, que tres volontiers ferons tout ce dont [on] nous pourra requerir."

‡ This sieur de Buren, whose name was Floris d'Egmont, had been commander-in-chief in Flanders and the Low Countries since 1524.

1542.

The English resident ambassador has shown us a written statement of the horses and chariots which his master, the King, wishes Us to furnish for his army, namely, 2,566 horses for the King's ordnance, 2,560 chariots of 4 horses each for the ammunition, making in all 11,516 horses, a number which seems to Us excessive and not easy to find.* We have, however, ordered a requisition of all the horses that can be procured, in order to satisfy as much as possible the demands of Our ally, always taking care to reserve for the Emperor's army those that may be wanted, besides the force of 2,000 horse and 2,000 foot which we are bound to contribute to the King's army.—1 April 1542.

Indorsed: "From the Queen Regent to the Imperial ambassador in England; 1st of April, before Easter."

French. Original draft. pp. 4.

6 April. **243.** The Emperor to Eustace Chapuys.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 21.

"Venerable, chier et feal"—Supposing that you have received Our last letter sent by way of Flanders, this one will be to announce the arrival at this court of the bishop of London, to meet whom We sent the bishop of Plasencia a good way into the country. On his arrival at the gates of this town (Valladolid) We sent a gentleman of Our chamber, Laurenz Manuel† by name, to receive him with due honors, and in the afternoon of the same day We ordered secretary Bave to go to his lodgings and visit him in the name of High Commander Covos. Secretary Bave was to inform him, as he actually did, that being at the time much troubled by gout We could not see him immediately, but that, however, if his mission required a hasty answer, We would do Our best to give him audience. The Bishop having answered that though he had a great desire of paying Us his respects, yet he was not in such haste as not to be able to wait for some days, We waited until yesterday, which was Easter Sunday,‡ and had him come to Us, well accompanied by gentlemen of Our chamber and officers of this Palace, though We were still delicate, and had some difficulty in reaching the hall, where the interview was to take place. After offering Us the most cordial commendations in his master's name, the Bishop presented his credentials and began, by way of a preamble, to say how sad and sorrowful the King, his

* The passage is rather obscure. It stands thus in the transcript I have before me: "Lambassadeur dengleterre nous monstre un billet des chevaulx et chariotz, que le roy demande estre furnis par decha pour son armee, et demande IIm Vc LXVI chevaulx lymoniers pour servir a lartillerie du roy, et IIm Vc LX chariotz a IIII chevaulx pour mener munitions et bagage, qui sont XIm Vc XVI (*sic*) chevaulx [nombre] que me semble excessif et non recouvrable." The account is evidently wrong.

† Don Lorenzo Manuel, a descendant of the Infante Don Juan Manuel.

‡ Dimanche de Pasques flories.

1542.

master, had been when he heard the loss We had sustained in Our last expedition against Algiers, and his pleasure and joy at hearing of Our safe arrival in this kingdom of Ours, and that the loss actually sustained had not been so great as was at first announced. The Bishop did not fail to embellish his speech with phrases and words all tending to show the great amount of friendship and affection which the king of England entertains for Our person.

After this preamble the Bishop went on to say that the King, his master, recollecting well what had passed at Regensburg between Us and the bishop of Winchester, then English ambassador, and what We had mutually promised to each other, as you (Chapuys) cannot fail to have heard, had resolved to send him (the bishop of London) in order to show what affectionate desire the King had of fulfilling the promise once made, and arriving at a closer confederacy and alliance with Us; having no doubt that We on Our side would reciprocate the very same sentiments and be ready to fulfil Our promise. This the Bishop said, mixing as it were the sweet with the bitter by alluding occasionally to the late differences between the queen of Hungary and the English deputies on matters of trade and navigation, and the losses which his master, the King, had sustained through them. The Bishop added that notwithstanding his master's most reasonable demands the revocation of the edict promulgated in the Low Countries forbidding English ships to lade in the ports of Flanders had never been obtained. The better to establish and ground his complaint (*querelle*) the Bishop then drew out of his pocket a memorandum couched in Latin, of which We enclose you a copy, and prosecuted his speech as follows: He said that his master, the King, wishing to employ elsewhere his ambassador residing at this court of Ours, had commanded him to return home, replace the other, and do good offices in all matters. Upon which We thanked him for the good will which his master showed, the affectionate regret he had experienced at the ill success of Our African expedition, and the pleasure and joy he had felt at Our safe arrival in Our Spanish dominions, all the time assuring the ambassador that We reciprocated entirely the same sentiments of good will and perfect friendship. That with regard to the mutual promise of which he, the ambassador, had spoken, and the fulfilment of which he so vehemently asked for, We could not for the moment give him a categorical answer, that being a subject which had only been treated between the bishop of Winchester and Mr. de Granvelle. As the latter had lately arrived at Barcelona, and would shortly come to Court, We thought that it would be better to postpone that question until his arrival, since We should then be in a better condition to meet any proposals he (the ambassador) might make as to that, and likewise on the much debated affair of the intercourse of trade. That in Our opinion he (the am-

1542.

bassador) might at once write to his master, without waiting for the arrival of Mr. de Granvelle, and assure him that We sincerely wish to respond to his call, and meet him in every way, making use of all the sweet and pretty words generally used on such occasions for the greater content and satisfaction of the Bishop, who was apparently very much pleased, and promised to write to his master accordingly.

As to the other ambassador's return home, you (Chapuys) will see what We ourselves write to the King about it. We enclose a copy of Our letter to him, that in conformity with it you may speak to him or to his privy councillors, if you think best, always vouching for the honesty and good offices of the said ambassador during his residence at this court, and how pleased We were with him, adding whatever else you may think proper and conducive to Our purpose, which is to keep the King in good humour and contented.—From Valladoly (Valladolid), 6 April 1542.*

Indorsed: "L'Empereur et Roi à son ambassadeur en Engleterre."

French. Original draft. Partly ciphered. pp. 4.

16 April. **244.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 63-4.

On the receipt, on Easter Eve, of Your Imperial Majesty's letter of the 14th ult., I immediately sent to apprize the King, who, owing to the approaching Easter festivals, and also to his intending to partake of the Communion on the occasion, delayed giving me audience until the ensuing Monday. On that day I repaired to Court, where, after the usual kind reception, I proceeded to recite to the King the contents of the first letter received from Your Imperial Majesty, the same which I afterwards placed in his Royal hands, that he might better verify its text and compare it with what I had just told him verbally. The King seemed very much pleased at the kind and honest words of that letter, which he read attentively. I then told him that I had still another one in my possession, also addressed to me as the other, which letter was later by one day, and written in answer to another and fuller one of mine. Having said this, I took the opportunity of amplifying the contents of the first and second letter as I thought fit for the better issue of the negociation in hand. *So as the King had once said to me that he wondered much why, since Your Imperial Majesty's departure from Italy, I (Chapuys) had heard no news whatever of the end of the conferences between Monseigneur de Grandvelle and the bishop of Winchester (Stephen Gardiner), I answered that besides the most legitimate and justifiable excuses on the part of Your Imperial Majesty, such as the Algiers expedition and the assembly of the States (Cortes) of Castille, the daily work required for the government and administration of so many kingdoms, and*

* Two drafts of this letter of the Emperor to Chapuys are in the same bundle, though one is dated the 5th and the other the 6th.

1542.

last, not least, the non-arrival, when expected, of Monseigneur de Grandvelle, were the true causes of his (the King) not having been informed in time of the result of those conferences. As Grandvelle, the only man who had knowledge of those affairs, and had already communicated with the bishop of Winchester, was still absent, neither Your Imperial Majesty nor your ministers knew enough of the affair to write to me on the subject; besides which, until the receipt of my despatch, stating this King's wonder and complaint, Your Imperial Majesty was, and had been, under the impression that Master Guenebet, who had been the Bishop's colleague, would have had commission and mandate to report home on the issue of the conferences.*

These excuses of mine seemed to satisfy the King for a while, though I must say that he observed that there was no need of instructing Monseigneur de Granvelle to speak to the Pope in his favor; he (the King) had nothing to do with him or his suite (sequelle). *Monseigneur (he said) had treated at Rome of many things which were disagreeable enough to him; and on my interrupting and saying that I was sure that minister had said or done nothing to his disadvantage, he replied to me: "I am not aware that he has, for otherwise I should already have resented the affront one way or other."*

After some conversation on trifling subjects, the King said to me abruptly enough that he suspected there was some sort of stratagem or deceit in my saying that Your Imperial Majesty had sent to the queen of Hungary the instructions and powers to treat of his marriage by the Mediterranean instead of this sea, and that he was sure that had been done on purpose to delay the delivery of the powers, for certainly the voyage to the Low Countries was shorter and more open this way than the other. That in addition to that the powers to the Queen Regent had been framed, no doubt, with a view to watch and spy out which way his own intention and fancy would drive him. He had already been deceived many a time both by Your Imperial Majesty and by the French, and he was not a prince to go on bargaining like a merchant with one or the other to be finally cheated; on the contrary, all those who treated with him must proceed openly and without dissimulation. I failed not to observe that the voyage by the Levant was more propitious than the other, in order that Monseigneur de Grandvelle, then in Italy, through whose hands all foreign affairs did pass, might see whether there was anything to change in or add to the instructions, which instructions had also to pass through Flanders, where the Queen Regent and the members of her Council had necessarily to inspect them, since most of the articles referred to the Low Countries. That the voyage of the Mediterranean is even shorter in this season than that of the Ocean, inasmuch as brigantines and other light vessels may use either sails or oars, as may be expedient. As to his suspicions about the Queen Regent I assured him

* Kennebet, or Knibet, as above. *See* pp. 464 and 467.

1542.

that they were utterly unfounded; he (the King) had no reason whatever to complain of her. I ended by telling him that at no time had Your Imperial Majesty proceeded more straightforwardly or sincerely than at present, especially after my having informed you that he (the King) was equally well-inclined. This being the fit time and opportunity to speak frankly and without dissimulation—the cause for mutual mistrust on account of the close intelligence with France having already disappeared—I begged and entreated him to speak to me confidentially, as if I were his subject and servant, solemnly promising to him that whatever he should declare or communicate to me, I would make a point not to reveal to any living person without express permission from him, and that if his declaration was concerning political affairs, I undertook to write home as if the idea originally sprang from myself, without mentioning him in the least. Should he find at any time that I had betrayed his confidence, I should be willing to renounce the privileges of ambassador, and to be well punished for my want of faith. This last sentence produced visible effect on the King; I saw his face expand and his eyes glitter. Then I added that if he felt at all inclined to go directly to work and proceed to business, there was no need of waiting for further powers or instructions, for he, being so virtuous, learned and reasonable a prince, I was sure that he would not ask, demand or put forward anything that I myself could not at once accept and approve of, even without powers, nay, cause it to be at once accepted and ratified by Your Imperial Majesty. At last I begged and entreated him by all he owed to God, to his honor and reputation, as well as to the welfare and tranquillity of the Christian commonwealth, and the repose of his own subjects, to take the affair in hand, and, putting aside all private affections and concerns, act as mediator and arbiter in the contest.

Hearing the above complimentary words the King was evidently well-pleased, for I had addressed him in the flattering terms recommended by the Lord Privy Seal, who knows his nature and temper better than any man in England, and who is certainly showing great attachment to Your Imperial Majesty, though I must say that, as the cautious and prudent man that he is, he dares not declare himself openly and in public, and avoids as much as possible talking to me whilst at Court. This Lord Privy Seal and Secretary Waist, who certainly does not show less attachment than the former to Your Imperial Majesty, are the two people who enjoy nowadays most authority and have the most influence and credit with the King. Both tell me that it will not be a difficult task, nor a very laborious one, in the present state of the King's mind to persuade him to take the affair in hand, and*

* Thus in the original deciphering; but I take it to be a mistake of the clerk for Vristly, as Chapuys was in the habit of writing Secretary Wriothesley's name.

1542.

have it settled to the satisfaction of Your Imperial Majesty, and that the King had already half decided to do so, when he dispatched the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner) as ambassador to you.

The King at first did not answer my peroration; he remained thoughtful and silent for a few seconds, sighing frequently, as he had done during my speech. At last he began to say that he wondered much why there were no news from Spain, or about the Cortes of Castille, and upon my telling him that my correspondents wrote that the Cortes had granted Your Imperial Majesty a considerable service in money, he smiled gently, remained a few seconds thoughtful, and then observed: "I dare say that the service granted by the Cortes of Castille to the Emperor is not so considerable as was at first thought. Indeed, I hear that, such as it is, the grant has been voted only conditionally, — provided the Emperor does not move from Spain, and engages to reside therein, and will marry again, which last condition he is, I hear, about to fulfil, since he is already treating of a marriage with a princess of Portugal, the daughter of the queen of France (Eleanor)." My reply was that really and truly the Cortes had petitioned Your Imperial Majesty not to absent yourself from Spain, and also to take a wife; but that in the opening address you had positively refused the first, and as to the second, I firmly believed, if ever it was made, that Your Imperial Majesty would never have granted it. What Your Majesty wanted from your own subjects, as well as from the rest of the princes in Christendom, was merely help and assistance against the Turk. To marry again at this juncture would have been unwise; for it is well known that ladies in general, and particularly queens, are adverse to warlike expeditions in distant countries, and always try by their words and their tears to dissuade princes from such undertakings, especially when led and commanded by their husbands. If they do not obtain their object, they never cease with their cries and lamentations, as well as complaints, to ask for their return. In addition to which (said I to the King) it was not allowable for a husband, according to the Scripture, to remain too long away from his wife. Hearing this the King remarked that had Your Imperial Majesty wished to fight the Turk, you might have done so more commodiously and to greater advantage, as well as with higher reputation to yourself, last year; that Your Majesty had been early enough advised and warned by the English ambassador of the warlike preparations and near approach of the Infidel; and that had you then marched against him, you would undoubtedly have defeated his army and taken him prisoner, thus gaining immortal glory and incalculable profit. To this reasoning of the King my answer was, that there were great obstacles then in the way of raising and collecting a force such as was wanted, owing to the prevailing plague that had depopulated whole towns and villages,

1542.

and consequently made it impossible to store provisions for the men. Besides that Your Imperial Majesty had very prudently considered, as one who knew best the nature and condition of the Turks and their mode of warfare, that they would soon withdraw from the field, as they had done at Vienna on a former occasion, and last year again, without waiting for Your Imperial Majesty's arrival. To follow the enemy into his own country would have required a greater force than Your Imperial Majesty had under your command, and besides that it was needful to re-settle first the affairs of Germany, and as that could not be done without the Pope's help and assistance, to call upon him at Rome. It was also important before undertaking such a long journey that Your Imperial Majesty should beforehand attend to the government and administration of your various kingdoms, and especially to that of Spain, in order to ensure it against an invasion of the Moors, since Spain was of all Your Imperial Majesty's dominions that from which you expected to draw the most money and men. I went on expatiating at length on this theme, because I saw that the King's intention was to throw the blame on Your Imperial Majesty.

After this the King asked me what other news I had; upon which I related to him some that had lately come from Italy, adding on my own account, in order to draw him out and ascertain how far he was leaning to the French side—a most important subject, which had not yet been touched upon in our conversation—that I had in my possession letters from Milan, stating that the people of that city were living on good and friendly terms with the French of Piedmont, who boasted and bragged that he (the king of England) was offering to them the hand of the Princess, his daughter, and also requesting king Francis for an interview; but that they (the French) did not care a fig for either the marriage or the interview. Hearing this the King started and said: "Those who speak thus are very much mistaken or badly informed; it is the king of France who is urging me on to marry his daughter, and who offers to come to Calais to see me after the marriage contract has been concluded and settled." My reply was that no doubt the king of France would on the occasion make most brilliant offers, and promise anything he (Henry) would wish for; but that I believed that not only would king Francis hasten to Calais, but he would go thither in great force in order to get possession of it if he could.† "Your Highness (said I) cannot have forgotten the words uttered by the bishop of Tarbes [Castelnau] in the*

* "Que lon mescripvoit de Milan que avec les françois du Piedmont ils avoijent (*sic* avoient) toute bonne amytie conversation et hantise, et que les dits françois se vantoyent et braguoient de par de là que le dit sieur roy leur presentoit et offroit la princesse, et les requeroit tres instantment pour une entrevue, mais quilz ne se soucyoient de lung ni de lautre."

† "Et que croyois que non seulement vouldroit il venir a Calaix, mais aussi bien entendu, que a grosse puissance et pour len chasser."

1542.

Privy Council, and in my very presence, namely, that never, on any occasion, had the house of France sought to be allied by marriage to that of Savoy, except for the sake of incorporating that duchy with the French Crown." That as to me I thought it impossible, on numberless considerations, that he (the King) should agree to the marriage proposed. "There are certainly many objections to such a marriage (replied the King), but it cannot be held as impossible altogether."*

Then the conversation fell on the diet of Spires. On this subject I gave him to understand that I had lately received a letter from the king of the Romans, charging me to present his most cordial commendations, and to say in his name that he did not doubt that for so holy an enterprise as the one against the enemy of God and the Faith, he (the King), as a Christian, would give help and assistance such as befitted a prince so powerful and virtuous, who was besides the friend and ally of Your Imperial Majesty. To this the King made no answer, rather assenting than otherwise to my words, to judge from his countenance, and making no observation whatever on the subject, except that he had heard that at the Diet the Lutheran members had made a motion which, if carried, would be to the disadvantage of the king of the Romans.

After a long conversation, which lasted about one hour and a half, the King said to me that he had been told that Your Imperial Majesty was now, through the Pope's mediation, soliciting king Francis' friendship. My answer to that was that I knew nothing of that, and moreover did not believe it. "Even if that were true (said I) the best thing to do would be to make haste and begin at once treating here in London." "Very well (said the King), I shall now read the letters you have brought me from the Queen Regent, and after having them inspected in the Privy Council, you shall get an answer." The letters were mere credentials in my favor to convey to this king the expression of her friendly sentiments towards him, as well as the Queen's great anxiety for the keeping up and increasing of the friendship between Your Imperial Majesty and this king, which letter had been sent to me instead of instructions, as I have no doubt Your Imperial Majesty knows already.

Soon after leaving the Royal presence I received a message from the King, begging me to communicate to his privy-councillors the substance of all I had said to him at the audience; I therefore went straight to the room of the Palace destined for the meeting of the Privy Council, where I began to recite the substance of what I had declared and proposed to the King, their master, improving much on the desire I felt that the plans and ideas of which I had spoken should

* "Que jamais la maison de France ne sestoit alliee pour (par) marriage a celle de Savoye sinon pour enjamber en lestat du dit Savoye."

1542.

be carried into execution, laying much stress on the good offices which I purposed to make, and offering, as often as the urgency of the affairs required it, to send an express messenger to Your Imperial Majesty, or go myself, if necessary; begging and entreating them to exert their influence with the King, and persuade him to take the affair in hand. This the privy-councillors willingly promised to do, shewing great satisfaction at the turn the affairs seemed to be taking. This done, I took leave of them and returned to London.

Next day, which was Tuesday, the privy councillors sent to invite me to dinner for the ensuing day, telling me to take my powers with me, and any other paper I might want to exhibit. I was therefore at Greenwich again on Wednesday, and when in the Privy Council I was about to exhibit, as requested, Your Imperial Majesty's power, I found to my great dismay that my secretary had made a mistake, and that instead of the document required for the occasion, had taken another one nearly resembling it. No objection however was made, the privy councillors contenting themselves with the explanation I gave them of the substance of the document. Nor did the King take notice of it or make any remark, though both the Lord Privy Seal and secretary Wristly (Wriothesley) had deemed it necessary to tell him. After this I was asked to declare formally what my charge was and to make overtures accordingly, if so authorized by my instructions. I then said that they knew, better than I myself did, that it was customary in such cases as the present to enter into communication with one or two members of the Council deputed for that effect and sufficiently empowered, and that if the King were pleased to appoint one to treat with me, we might at once set to work, as I was fully prepared for it. This request of mine seeming to them just and reasonable, two of the privy councillors, namely, the Lord Privy Seal and secretary Wriothesley went into the King's Chamber, and returned saying that the King, their master, found my demand of the deputies quite reasonable; but that as, in his opinion, matters of this sort were not quickly dispatched unless certain tedious preliminaries were disposed of beforehand, he had not deemed it necessary to have his own powers to them drawn out. Had not the duke of Suffolk, the Lord Privy Seal, the bishop of Winchester, and secretary Wriothesley been much engaged at the time upon business of great importance, he would at once have deputed them to communicate with me; instead of those he now named the Admiral, the bishops of Durem (Durham) and Wamester (Westminster), with secretary Sadeler (Saddler), Wriothesley's colleague, who would call and dine with me on the following Thursday. And so they did, and after dinner I exhibited my*

* "Lesquelz deputez vindrent (viendroient?) le jour ensuyvant que fust jeudi, disner avec moy."

1542.

powers to them, and said that with regard to the overtures they wanted me to make first, and their question whether I had or had not anything to demand from their master, I had no new declaration to make, having already opened my mind to the King on both subjects. The King (said I to them) must by this time have sufficiently thought over the proposed closer friendship and alliance when he dispatched the bishop of Winchester for that very purpose. That in this state of things it was unnecessary to stick at trifles, and dispute as to who was to speak first. That immediately on the receipt of instructions from Your Imperial Majesty, I would speak out openly and frankly, and that if in the meantime the King wished to treat shortly and without delay, as the nature of the affair required, it was but just that he should make part of his intentions known first; otherwise Your Imperial Majesty could not know what instructions to give, nor what commands to send to me, his ambassador. Neither could Your Imperial Majesty have those instructions shaped so as to meet the wishes and intentions of the King, their master, since he was ignorant of what those wishes and intentions were. That was the reason the instructions had been, as it were, framed at random, without knowing whether they would or would not meet the King's wishes, merely in order to gain time and avoid delay, since Your Imperial Majesty was far away from this country. I therefore proposed that instead of my making new overtures, they (the deputies) should declare first what their master's intentions and wishes are on the whole. For my part I could only say that without fresh instructions it was impossible for me to proceed further in this affair, unless by referring them to the first four articles that were once made the foundation of the treaty, and had remained unsettled after a long discussion. The two first, that concerning the King's reconciliation with the Holy Apostolic See and the Princess' legitimisation, may remain as they are. I could not say more about them than I have said at other times, unless I received fresh mandate from home. As to the third article, referring to the help and assistance against the Turk, this (I said) was, in my opinion, the fittest opportunity for discussing it, since this King was willing, as he said, for the service of God to help and assist not only Your Imperial Majesty and Your brother, the king of the Romans, but likewise the whole of threatened Christendom. And with regard to the fourth, relating to the French, circumstances had since materially changed, for Your Imperial Majesty had made with them a truce, during which it was not proper or decent to invade their country.*

* "Et quant a moy je ne sçauroye sinon reprendre les bases des quatre articles que furent desja mis en avant et sur le bureau."

1542.

The deputies having then asked me how long that truce was to last, I answered that, in my opinion, Your Imperial Majesty might well, if you liked, bring on a rupture at once, for the truce will not henceforwards last longer than the French themselves wish, for they will break it as soon as they find it for their own convenience to do so.

After some more conversation of this kind, the King's deputies took their leave and went away, saying that they would make their report to the King and let me know what his resolution was.

Yesterday, on Saturday the 15th, the King's deputies came again to this embassy, bringing me Your Imperial Majesty's letter of the 5th inst., which at their request I perused before entering in conversation with them. Then having informed them of part of its contents, I laid stress on the great honesty and worth of Master Guennebet as commended in the letter, as well as the good esteem and reputation he left behind at Your Imperial Court, in order that they (the deputies) might, if they chose, report the same to their master, who, I fear, is not much pleased with the said Guennebet just now, for what reason I cannot exactly say.

After that they went on saying that the King, their master, thanked me for the affection and good will which I had shown for his service, and that, although I had no powers from Your Imperial Majesty as full and special as they ought to be, yet the King was unwilling to suspend the negociations, and had therefore sent them back to make the following statement in his name:—1stly, as to the confirmation of past treaties, which seemed to be the basis of my powers, there was (the King said) no need at all of such confirmation. Neither did their master consider those old treaties as valid, since all the time that they had been scrupulously kept on his side, Your Imperial Majesty had wilfully violated and broken them through the edict promulgated in Flanders forbidding English vessels to lade goods, which edict he (the King) maintained was an infraction of all former treaties of friendship and intercourse of trade between England and those Low Countries; the deputies adding to their statement on the matter all the violent and much exaggerated expressions contained in the note once presented to Your Imperial Majesty by the bishop of London, when he went to remonstrate against the edict, and saying also that it was a great proof of the iniquitous tendencies of that edict that no similar measures had been dictated in Spain, where no change whatever had been introduced in the navigation laws, and therefore what had been done in Flanders could not proceed from Your Imperial Majesty, but from some of the councillors in Flanders disinclined to the preservation of the friendship between Your Imperial Majesty and himself. The deputies then begged me, in their master's name, to try my best for the revocation of the said edict. After which, coming to the

1542.

principal point, they maintained that since the confirmation of the old treaties was no longer needed, for the reasons above alleged, it was now time to think seriously of the means of cementing and fostering—nay, increasing that friendship and confederacy of which Monseigneur de Granvelle and the bishop of Winchester had treated some time ago. "That is the point (added the deputies) on which the King, our master, would wish to hear some overtures from your mouth, provided the duties of your charge allow you to do so." The deputies went on saying that the King, their master, recollected very well what had been said and debated on both sides on the subject of the four articles above alluded to by me, and that I had acted wisely in not dwelling too long on the two first for fear of losing the game, for, as far as the Pope was concerned, Your Imperial Majesty would find ere long that it was much easier to come to terms with him and follow his ways than follow those of His Holiness, and that with regard to his daughter, the Princess, no one was, or could be, more concerned about her than he himself was. He would dispose of her hand as he pleased. As to the two last points or articles, the King said we might discuss them as long as we liked, provided that it was previously settled and recognised that he, the King, is now on friendly terms with every reigning sovereign, and especially with king Francis and the king of Scotland; and that should he enter into a treaty of alliance against the former, he would naturally be obliged to look out for an indemnity for the loss of the annual pensions owed by the French, who, of course, in case of war would not think of paying him. As to the other point, that is, the Turk, it is not the King's intention to touch on it for the present, unless the principal one be first settled, the former being only an accessory, which can easily be disposed of whenever the chief and more important ones are settled.*

After thanking the King for the good opinion he had of me, and for his having condescended to take in good part my small offers of service, I undertook to answer the deputies' arguments as follows: I told them in substance that neither the King nor his Privy Council were justified in again urging Your Imperial Majesty with such importunity to have the said edict revoked, inasmuch as the case had been entirely referred to the members of the Council of Flanders, who were well acquainted with the nature, validity, quality, and importance of the matter about to be discussed, principally as they (the deputies) knew very well that the King's privy councillors had been unable last summer to

* "Et que faisoye bien et prudentment pour non rieus gaster de non inster sur les deux premiers, car quant a ce qui concernoit le Pape il pensoit que devant peu de temps vostre maieste seroit trop plus aise de se convertir a loppinion de lui quau contraire, et que de sa fille il nen debuoit avoir tus grand soing que luy, et quil en useroit comme tel prince quil estoit."

1542.

refute the arguments that I myself had brought to bear on the subject. The better to convince them of their error and give them an opportunity to answer me, I (Chapuys) had then and there given them in writing the substance of my allegation, and yet, up to the present time, no reply from the Privy Council had come to hand. On the contrary, perceiving that they were unable to defeat my arguments in a satisfactory manner, they had turned to Your Imperial Majesty, importuning you with their imaginary and unjustifiable complaints.

In this manner did I proceed for some time, reproducing one part only of my oft-repeated arguments on the subject, denouncing certain articles of their last statute as contrary to the treaties existing between Your Imperial Majesty and this King, and their having through that measure obliged many of your subjects to quit England, and the few who still remain to take out letters of naturalisation at a most tremendous expence, besides compelling them to take a most strange and singular oath of fealty to the king of England. Another measure contrary to the existing treaties (I said) was that of forbidding almost every commodity to be exported from this country, and as to their alleging that all the time, and notwithstanding the edict promulgated in Flanders, their navigation to Spain had not been prohibited, but had remained such as it was of old, I told them that they ought to be very grateful to Your Imperial Majesty—then absent from your Spanish kingdom—for not having then issued the prohibitory warrant; for otherwise, had you been within the Peninsula, your subjects would not have failed to importune and beg that a similar retaliatory measure should be adopted, and the old warrants (pragmatiques) *on navigation enforced, prescribing that no foreign vessel be allowed to lade goods or merchandize for exportation as long as there are any in the ports and harbours of Spain capable and fit for such navigation. Had the said warrants been revived, it stands to reason that besides the towns on the coasts of Spain being considerably enriched, for each vessel now in port there would be ten within six years, and likewise more sailors and mariners than one would wish for. I ended by telling them that even if there were no other consideration than the welfare of your Spanish subjects, I firmly believed that Your Imperial Majesty would be in the end obliged to retaliate, were it for no other purpose than to increase the national navy, and repair the losses sustained at Algiers.*

This reasoning of mine had the effect of amazing and stupifying the King's deputies, who for the time had nothing to say and kept silence. Indeed, had I not convinced them with such arguments and threats, the deputies might have gone on defending the arbitrary measures of their statutes.

With regard to the French affair, I explained to the King's deputies that as there had been no talk of an offensive league

1542.

against France, I did not see the necessity of bringing forward the loss which the King, their master, might sustain by the non-payment of the pensions owed by Francis, for without that, by the treaty of Cambray, their master was obliged, in case of a defensive war, to assist Your Imperial Majesty with vessels and men, though at your own cost. Even if there was a question of an offensive league against France, there was no occasion for the King, their master, to bring forward the French debt, as if Your Imperial Majesty were responsible for it, and as if you had to indemnify this one for his losses, since he, the King, knows very well that the French will never pay the million of gold they owe him. "But supposing there was a treaty, offensive league, and a war against France (said I), and that the king of England were to lose through it the sums of money which France owes him, I should say, though I have no mandate to that effect, that His Imperial Majesty would not object to take to his account the said indemnity, provided and on condition that nothing remained to be paid by way of arrears, which, by the way, will never be the case; and considering also that the King was bound in conscience years ago to assist Your Imperial Majesty, since the French were actually making war upon you with money borrowed from England, and that he then made no efforts to recover the amount of this French debt." Had the King found the means of being paid, France would have been so low and so impoverished that for some time to come they would have left the world at peace.*

At last, considering that these people's relations with France are not very warm just now—though the King's deputies assured me of the contrary, and that they are now soliciting their master and making great offers—I have deemed it my duty not to push on matters so briskly, but talk to the deputies in colder terms than I did at the beginning of our conference, lest they should, according to their temper and usual habits, take occasion to assume greater coldness; and I told them, by way of a finish, that if they wished to learn more from me as to Your Imperial Majesty's intentions and wishes, they must wait until I got fresh instructions from home; that I doubted much whether Monseigneur de Granvelle would be able to dispatch as soon as expected the business

* "Et en cas quil fut question de parler de lighe offensive, encores ne deburoit requerir le dit sieur Roy vostre maieste de la dite indempnite puisquil voit et cognoit bien que ainsi comme ainsi les dite françois ne sont en deliberation du monde de jamais riens payer. Mais synon que je nen eusse nulle charge du monde si me oseroye—je bien hazarder de promettre que venant a traicter de lighe offensive si laventure se adonnast de ce faire que vostre maieste prendroit des lors la charge de la dite indempnite, pourveu toutesfois, et en condition quil ne reste rien dheu au dit sieur Roy des arreraiges, ce que nadviendra jamais et que si je lousoye (*sic*) bien dire, le dit sieur roy estoit bien tenu ces annees passees selon conscience [d'] assister vostre maieste, veu que les françois faisoient la guerre de (avec que) largent du dit roy qui navoit daigne recovoir son dheu."

1542.

of the instructions, for he was on the road to Your Imperial Majesty's Court when I applied for them. There was, however, no great harm in that (said I), for I learned by a letter from Your Majesty that the bishop of London had also a mandate from the King, their master, to treat of this same affair, and that immediately after the arrival of Monseigneur de Grandvelle, which would take place in a few days, the conferences would commence. If, however, it pleased the King, their master, to send me his commands, he would always find me ready to do him service. Upon which the deputies took leave of me and went away, promising to report to the King all they had heard from me.

Having said thus much I think, all things considered, as I have had occasion to say many a time before, that it will be rather a difficult task for Your Imperial Majesty to make any profitable arrangement with this king, and induce him to consent to a treaty, unless under very advantageous terms to himself. Even then I doubt whether the harm he would cause us by signing the treaty would not be greater still than the profit he is likely to derive from it. I believe, after all, that the French themselves could not profit much by it, and that this King will ultimately keep to neutrality. As to Monsr. de Courrieres, I do not know whether his mission here will do any good before the affair here is in good trim; I should say not, and that it will do more harm than good, though Your Imperial Majesty may perhaps think otherwise. At all events I have written to Secretary Bave, and sent him the names of those privy councillors here to whom letters ought to be addressed by the Queen Regent.*

Since the date of your last letters several despatches of mine must have reached Your Imperial Majesty, relating how the French ambassador had received two different sets of powers from his master, the King, to treat with these people, and had held frequent communications with the privy councillors. He has not rested since the date of my last despatch. On Tuesday last, he called on the Lord Privy Seal, and the day after on the King himself, from whom he had a pretty long audience. This happened precisely at the time when, owing to the delay of the instructions applied for, even the most partial among the privy councillors, who seemed to be friendly to Your Imperial Majesty, kept murmuring at not hearing news from your court, imputing it either to Your Imperial Majesty not caring at all for their master, or that I myself wished to finesse and show my contempt for them by not communicating the answer I ought to have received from you. The French ambassador had made up his mind to go to Court on Easter Monday, but he put it off, knowing that I myself was to go

* "Bien croyrois-je que aussi peu sen aideroient les françois et quil vouldra demeurer neutre, et denvoyer Monsr. de Courrieres par deça, avant que les affaires fussent avancees et en bon train je ne sçay sil y dommageroit plus que proufitteroit, toutesfois il sembl[er]oit aultrement a vostre maieste."

1542.

thither, and the next day hearing that the Lord Privy Seal and two or three more councillors had come to town, he called upon them, and on his return home set himself to write a despatch, wherein, according to the information brought to me this morning by his man, he informed the King, his master, of the good cheer and kind reception this king had made me, and that most likely I had gone to Court on business touching Flanders, and most particularly relating to the late prohibition, as I had purposely spread the rumour and given it to be understood to a man whom the French ambassador employs as a spy upon my person. I have also heard from my informer that the said ambassador had written home that never in his life had he seen people so odd and strange as these were, for at one time they pushed on their political affairs with the greatest warmth, and then all of a sudden cooled down and languished; but that they had found their match in him, for if they affected coldness they would meet with frost on his side. His commission, it appears, consists in demanding for the Princess a dower of V^c^M. (500,000) ducats, and besides that the extinction of all pensions payable to England; but not to over-irritate these people, which he (the ambassador) has been particularly recommended to avoid doing, he has not yet dared to make his demand "It is very provoking (says the ambassador in his despatch) that the duke of Norfolk has just now retired to his estate in the country, with very little hope of his returning to Court soon, unless Parliament meets again," for he (the ambassador) will be obliged to negociate with the Lord Privy Seal, Feu Vullien (Fitz William), whom the ambassador jokingly calls Faulx Villain. Indeed he has circulated among his friends a report that, with reference to the said Lord Privy Seal, the duke of Norfolk had said: "Look at that little villain; he wants already to compass all the power in the kingdom and imitate Cromwell, but in the end he will pay for all."†*

With regard to my preventing the marriage and reconciliation of this king with Mme. de Clèves, I shall take all possible care that it does not take place. Up to the present I see no appearance at all of that; neither is there any rumour, however vague, of the King having such an intention, or thinking of marrying again. Indeed, were it not that for the sake of mirth and pleasure he occasionally

* "Et davantaige ma envoye dire le dit homme que le dit ambassadeur[a] nagueres deu dire que ceulx-cy estoient les plus estranges gens du monde, car ilz mettoient avec grande ardeur les affaires en avant et puis quilz se monstroient froids, mais quilz avoyent bien trouve en luy leur marchant, silz luy faisoient du froid, il leur feroit du gelle."

† "Il est bien desplaisant que le duc de Norphocq est retire en sa maison a la campaigne sans grant espoir de retourner en la court, sil ny a rassemblee de parlement, et est bien grief au dit ambassadeur de negocier avec le dit privessel lequel de son nom sappelle feu Vuillem, et lambassadeur-[so]briquesant (?) au dit nom lappelle Faulx Villain, a dheu rapporter entre ses amys que le duc de Norphoc parlant du privessel avoit dheu dire: regardez ce petit villain, il veult desia tout embrasser et contrefaire Cromwel, mais que a la fin payeroit le tout."

1542.

frequents the company of ladies as a man who has, as it were, been nurtured among them, I should say that he is not likely to think of a new marriage. Ever since he heard of his late Queen's misconduct he has become sad and mournful, and I have scarcely spoken to him once without finding him low-spirited and dejected, sighing continually. Mme. de Clèves has recovered from her tertian fever, but the Princess suffers still from palpitations of the heart, which trouble her considerably.

It seems that it has been mooted in this Parliament for lords and other rich gentlemen, exclusive of ecclesiastics, to keep horses, each according to his means. I know of no other motion of importance, for as I once wrote to Your Imperial Majesty, though by the one made in Parliament some time ago it seemed as if this king wished to get another service in money from his subjects, he has now desisted from it owing to the discontent produced by the mere announcement of the measure. It appears now that another expedient has been found, which consists in making a loan from rich people, which loan will amount to an inestimable sum of money. The first on the list are the two dukes [of Norfolk and Suffolk], each of them for six thousand ducats, though both are known to be in penurious circumstances; the Chancellor and the Lord Privy Seal come next for 4,000*l.* each; the Lord High Admiral for 3,050*l.*; and all the others respectively, only that ecclesiastics will be taxed in greater proportions, the whole to be collected by next Michaelmas. The officer who has been appointed collector pretends that the loan is for the sake of helping and assisting Your Imperial Majesty in a crusade against the Turk, which may be very far from this king's intention, for I take it that if such were his intention, he would have preferred being formally and officially requested to do so by the Imperial Diet in general. I shall not fail to apprize the king of the Romans by the next post of this fact.

Count Louys (Claude?) Rangone has been presented by this king with a large gilt cup and 400 *ducats. As some who have spoken to him imagine, he has come to London for the sole purpose of seeing the country, and also with the hope of being introduced to this king. I should rather say that the object of his visit has been to complain of His Holiness, who has lately deprived him of some castles he had in the Parmigiano,* belonging to his late wife.*—London, 16 April 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original, mostly in cipher. pp. 11.

* "Le conte Louis Rangon a eu present de ce sieur roy une grande couppe doree et quatre cent ducatz dedens (dedans), et estiment aulcuns quont devise avec luy que le desir de voir le pais et lespoir destre presente au dit sieur roy lont plus induyt a venir de par deça que de se douloir du pape, comme yl a faict pour lavoir depossessionne de certains chasteaux quil avoit sur le parmessan, procedant des biens de la femme quil eust."

1542.

16 April. **245.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to MR. DE GRANVELLE.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 2.

. . . . . I am at present engaged in returning thanks to God for Your Lordship's prosperous voyage to Spain.*

Regarding the news from this country, I have only to refer Your Lordship to my despatch to the Emperor, begging and entreating you to have pity on my miserable condition, and urge the treasurers to pay me my arrears. Indeed, had I had money to despatch an express messenger to Spain, I would not have hesitated to send him on such an errand; but I must declare to you that I have resided here nearly twenty years, and I am as poor now as when I first came, having besides mortgaged a good portion of my own personal property. Unless I get assistance from Spain I cannot possibly redeem my pledges. As to the ecclesiastical pensions, whenever they come they are so curtailed and diminished that it is hardly worth having them.—London, 16 April 1542.

French. Holograph. p. 1.

22 April. **246.** The SAME to the QUEEN of HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 24.

Madame, &c.,—I return Your Majesty's letter to this King on the Brabant affair, which is no longer wanted, as Your Majesty will hear from the President (Schore).

Respecting other news from this country, I (Chapuys) have nothing to report upon save the very great efforts that have been made since the date of my last to get in the loan of money from the people, which loan, instead of being limited to the lords and the Clergy, as was at first intended, has now been extended to other classes of society supposed to have property of some sort.† It is calculated that the King will derive great profit, nay, an immense sum of money, from that source, though he will have to return it in two years' time as stipulated. The English in general seem willing and ready to lend their money to the King on this occasion, persuaded as they are that it will be employed against the Turk and his adherents [the French] should they make a stir.

The Princess has not improved in health of late; on the contrary, she has occasionally been in danger of her life. I pray and beseech God to grant her more consolation and pleasure than she has hitherto enjoyed.‡—London, 22 April 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Queen regent of the Low Countries."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

* Granvelle's arrival [at Toledo ?] is recorded by Vandenesse, in his Itinerary of Charles V., on the 23d of April (*see* Bradford, p. 532), and, therefore, Chapuys' letter to him must have been written before knowing his arrival at the Imperial court. The letter itself is only a fragment, or else the beginning of it must have been the same as in the preceding of the 16th to the Emperor.

† "Le quel lon ne pouvoit debvoir sextendre plus avant que aux sieurs et prelatz mais tous aultrez ayant de quoy entrent en la dance."

‡ One paragraph has here been omitted, wherein Chapuys, as usual, begs for a fresh supply of money to pay his debts, &c.

1542.

— April. **247.** The Same to the Same.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 17–8.

Owing to the pressing departure of this courier, which does not allow me either time or leisure to write more fully, I shall only acknowledge the receipt of Your Majesty's letter of the last day of March, together with the powers and papers therein referred to. The letter itself was thankfully received, and came very *à propos*, inasmuch as some of the privy councillors—I mean those who habitually favor the Emperor's affairs in this country—began already to grumble and complain, seeing that the period of ten months previously agreed upon had already passed, that nothing was known of His Imperial Majesty, and no answer had come in an affair which concerns the Emperor and them so closely, and one respecting which Your Majesty had received so solemn an embassy from this King. I was the more pleased to receive the papers that the privy councillors began also to suspect that either I had kept back Your Majesty's letters, or had not done my duty nor fulfilled my promise of letting the Emperor know. There was still another cause besides the councillors' continual grumblings, which made me very uneasy, namely, their frequent and oft-repeated conferences with the French ambassador, as late even as Tuesday and Wednesday last. Indeed, I hear that on the last-mentioned day the ambassador had a long audience from the King. I dare say that had the powers and instructions arrived in time, nothing that the French ambassador could have said or done on the occasion to impede and thwart the treaty of closer friendship, now being negociated between His Imperial Majesty and this king, could have had any effect, and yet I fancy that the powers which Your Majesty has been pleased to send me will give little or no satisfaction at all. On the contrary, suspicious as these people are, they will interpret their contents in a manner contrary to our wishes. They will think that the powers, as they are conceived, are only intended to spy out their intentions and beguile them with fair words, since the document itself is so deficient as regards instructions, and so unprovided with overtures to be made on our part, that in my opinion they will be almost useless for the purpose. That is why I would beg Your Majesty to forward me another set of secret instructions, pointing out the conduct I am to observe in the present negociation, which, in my opinion, is one which requires much prudence and wisdom, as well as a most vigilant eye, not to be cheated or taken unawares. Waiting for a speedy answer to this request of mine, I will, in the mean time, do my best to dispose matters so that if I cannot direct them to the Emperor's advantage, we may at any rate not lose ground. As on my return from Court, where I intend dining to-morrow, I shall not fail to inform Your Majesty of whatever I may hear, I will put an end to this present despatch,

1542.

especially as the courier cannot possibly wait.—London, Easter-day of the year 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. pp. 2.

28 April. **248.** KING FRANCIS to MR. MARILLAC.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 65.

"Monsieur Marillac,"—I am in receipt of your letter of the 22nd inst., by which you inform me of the extreme danger in which Mme. Marie lies owing to her illness, which news has been, and is, for me a source of great anxiety and regret. I have also heard that the prince of Wales was ill, though, as you tell me, not so dangerously as his sister. I hope that God will place all matters in a better condition, as I sincerely wish, for the sake of the complete and indissoluble alliance between my good brother, the king of England, and myself, that the affair brought forward may be concluded to the common satisfaction of us two, and of our respective kingdoms and subjects. By this time Receptor Chasteauneuf, bearer of this letter, must be in England; you will verbally hear from him what my intentions are concerning the said affairs.

I have read what you say about the King's projected journey to Dover to inspect the walls and fortifications lately erected there by the sea, as likewise that there is a rumour that he intends crossing over to Calais for the same purpose. As to your enquiry whether, in case of the King going to Dover, as appears to be decided, you are to accompany him thither or remain in London, my wish is that you repair to Dover, and in case he (the King) should resolve to cross over to Calais, that you ask him what his pleasure is, whether for you to come along with him, or else to remain behind.

Begging you will send me news of the King's movements, as well as of Mons. le Prince and Mme. Marie's state of health, in which you will do me great service, I remain, &c.—Written at Montreul, the 28th of April 1542.

Should the king of England desire you to cross over at the same time with him, you will not fail to inform me hourly, or as continuously as possible, of all the King's movements and doings, taking care to leave behind you in England, under the excuse of sudden illness, one of the cleverest and fittest clerks of that embassy, that he may daily inform you of whatever takes place in England after the King's passage to Calais. In the same manner, should the King wish you to remain in London, you will send one of your men to Calais to watch the King's movements. I pray you to take good notice of that and execute my orders punctually, so that I may learn the true cause of this passage of the King, and of the preparations that are made for it.

Copy of Francis' letter to his ambassador in England. Ciphered. 1½ *p.*

1542.

n.d. **249.** MARILLAC to BAYART.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 25.

"Monsieur,"—As in order to go on with the negociation for this marriage, certain papers and documents are wanted, which I have not here by me, I have been obliged to despatch my cousin, bearer of this, to France that he may bring them. I need scarcely say that these privy councillors, who still insist on our considerably moderating and reducing our demands respecting the dower which this king is to give to his daughter, the Princess, will not proceed unless they inspect and examine the old treaties between the two nations. I have, therefore, sent my cousin, to whom you will be pleased to deliver a duplicate of the said treaties with this country.

I will not for the present write at length, but will beg a detailed and ample answer from you to the despatch I am now addressing to the King, our master, on this subject, that is, if his intention be that the present negociation continue and come soon to a good end; for if I am to state my opinion in this matter, I should say, under correction, that in the state in which things are there would be no great danger in delay, for time might be gained thereby, and we might see how events turn out in the meanwhile. I pray the Creator to grant you a long and prosperous life.—London—

Signed: "Marillac."

"Monsieur,"—May it please you to take in good part if this my letter is so short. If you wish to know the chief cause of it, the bearer will tell you. Another cause is, that trusting that the messenger will be able to give you a full account of what I have negociated here in England, there is no need for me to dwell more on the subject. Let that be also my excuse for not writing to the Cardinal [of Lorraine], who, I presume, without my addressing him in particular, will be able to know by my despatch to the King the details of the business I am writing about.

Signed: "Marillac."

Addressed: "To Leuslu Bayart."

French Copy in Chapuys' hand.

30 April. **250.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the QUEEN of HUNGARY.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, f. 26.

Since my last the King has left [London] for Dover in order to inspect the fortifications he is erecting there, and in the immediate neighbourhood, with the intention (as I presume from the fitting out of several vessels) of crossing over to Calais and Guisnes, and at the same time seeing what his engineers are doing with regard to the fortifications of those towns, *which to me is an evident proof that he no longer thinks of holding an interview with king Francis, as once proposed. My presumption is further confirmed by the ambassador's man, who reports to me that his principal has now given up*

1542.

all hope of the duke of Orleans (Charles) being ever married here in England.

The King leaves behind all his privy councillors, that they may during his absence promote and bring about, as I am given to understand, the affair of the loan (*prest*) which he wants to get from his subjects, of which I once wrote to Your Majesty.

Since my last despatch the Princess has gone on improving in health, and it is hoped that very shortly, with God's help, good diet, and the great care the King, her father, is taking of her, she will be well again.—London, the last day of April 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Queen Regent of the Low Countries."

French. Original. p. 1.

30 April. **251.** The Same to Mr. de Grandvelle.

Wien, Imp. Arch. *Rep.* P., *Fasc.* C. 233, ff. 5, 6.

"Monseigneur,"—Nothing new or important having occurred since I last wrote to the Emperor, there is no need of a despatch. The only thing worth mentioning is that the King left this town about six days ago to inspect the fortifications and other works he is having erected at Dover and its immediate neighbourhood. I presume also, to judge from some maritime preparations he is now making, and the fitting out of certain war-vessels, that he also intends visiting Calais and Guisnes, for that purpose, *which, in my opinion, affords sufficient ground to conjecture that there is no longer a hope of the interview to be held at Calais, as the ambassador's man assures me. Indeed, he tells me that nowadays his chief considers the marriage of the duke of Orleans here in England as most improbable, not to say impossible, and that he is not ashamed to glorify and extol the King, his master, for the good intelligence he keeps up with the Grand Turk, whose friendship he prizes more highly than that of His Imperial Majesty, adding that the said Turk is the most noble and virtuous prince in the World, besides many more praises he lavishes upon him.*

The King has left here behind him the whole of his Privy Council, chiefly, as the rumour goes, to forward the affair of the forced loan which he is now demanding not only from the lords and ecclesiastics (as was at first proposed), but also from all other people who have money to lend. He (the King) asks for a loan, to be repaid at the end of two years, but I fancy that the lenders will get back their loan *ad kalendas græcas*, as was the case with those who lent him their money in the cardinal of York's (Wolsey's) time, for, as is well known, the States annulled it entirely and revoked the whole thing, and the people never got back their money. Not one among the present lenders believes that he

1542.

will ever be repaid, and yet it seems as if they put a good face upon it; and the reason is *that the King's commissioners and deputies are persuading them that the money is to be employed in assisting and helping His Imperial Majesty against the Turk and his adherents, including among these last the king of France. I cannot understand what the King means to do by borrowing so large a sum from his vassals, for it is very, very strange that after so large a sum extracted from the clergy, and so many confiscations from others, after getting so many and frequent grants from his subjects, he should still insist upon getting this further loan from them. If this should continue, not one farthing will remain in the hands of his people, and all the money will be swallowed up by him. Instead of borrowing money from his subjects, he ought to distribute his among them by fostering the industry and trade constituting all the wealth of his kingdom, and without which England will be ruined.*

The Princess has been very ill, and in some danger of her life, but, thanks to God, she is beginning to recover, and there is a hope that owing to the good diet prescribed by her physicians, and the great care her father and her own servants take of her, she will soon recover completely.

Necessity again compels me to lose all shame, and apply as fervently as I possibly can for the payment of my arrears. I place myself entirely in your Lordship's hands.—London, the last day of April 1542.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To Monseigneur de Granvelle, the Emperor's Privy Seal."

French. Holograph, partly ciphered. pp. 3.

1539.

APPENDIX.

— March. **252.** FRANCIS I. DECLARATION respecting the TRUCE of NIZZA.

S. E. Roma, L. 875, f. 44–6.

After perusing the articles brought from Spain by Mons. de Brissac,* as well as the letters of Our ambassador, the bishop of Tarbes (Castelnau), both of which bear testimony to the desire which Our good brother, the Emperor, entertains of living in perpetual harmony and friendship with Us, We cannot but declare that We have been exceedingly pleased at such a manifestation of his goodwill towards Us. That the Emperor may, therefore, know how much We Ourselves desire to keep up that friendship and render it indissoluble and everlasting, We now promise under oath to keep the following engagements :—

1st. We faithfully promise to him (the Emperor) on Our word of honor to be constantly, and as long as We live, a good and loyal brother to him, to aid and defend him and his honor, as We ourselves would aid and defend Ours; to help him against all his enemies, whoever they may be, and otherwise procure his greatness, exaltation and honor, as We would procure Our own; to take under Our protection, and during his absence, his wife, the Empress; and to assist with all Our force and power his Spanish subjects, as well as those of Flanders, Burgundy, Low Countries, Naples and Sicily, whenever they may require or want Our help, and as many times as they may claim it. In a like manner We should wish the Emperor to act towards Us.

We also promise and swear to keep inviolably, and observe faithfully, the 10 years' truce made at Nizza, and after the expiration of that time to keep at peace with him during Our natural life, preferring his friendship and alliance to that of any other Christian king.

With regard to the marriage of Our nephew, the prince of Spain,† with Our much beloved daughter Margaret,‡ and the promise made by the Emperor in the presence of Messieurs de Tarbes and de Brissac not to contract any marriage alliance during the 14 years of the Prince's minority, We have taken the same engagement for Our daughter in the presence of the Imperial ambassador.

* Mr. Charles de Cossé-Brissac. *See* above, pp. 75, 100–1.

† That is Philip, born in 1527.

‡ Marguerite de Valois, youngest daughter of king Francis, born the 5th of June 1523.

1539.

Respecting that of Our beloved son, the duke of Orleans, to Our very dear niece, the infanta of Spain,* the Emperor's eldest daughter, or to the second daughter† of the king of the Romans, We approve entirely of the excuses offered by the former to Messrs. de Tarbes and de Brissac, and his late answer on the subject. We, therefore, promise and swear in Our son's name to consider it from this time as an engagement not to marry until the said Princesses be of marriageable age.

We further approve of the articles which the Emperor has written and signed respecting this very matter, wherein he declares that he will dispose of the duchy and state of Milan in contemplation of the said marriage in such a manner that We shall have cause to be contented. We have perfect confidence in Our good brother, that past differences between Us being thus settled, everlasting peace will be secured, and that means will also be found to arrange matters between Us and the duke of Savoy.

For the sake of greater security We have signed this present declaration and had the seal with Our Royal arms appended to it.

Spanish translation from the French. Contemporary copy. pp. 11.

—Sept.—Oct. **253.** POPE PAUL'S INSTRUCTIONS to CARD. ROSARIO,‡ going as NUNCIO to AUSTRIA.

S. E. Roma, L. 875, f. 55–6.

After Our most cordial salutations you will declare to the king of the Romans (Ferdinand) what pleasure and joy We have experienced at hearing of the peace he (Ferdinand) has just concluded with king John. Already at the beginning of Our pontificate We had endeavoured to put a stop to the effusion of blood, sending you (Rosario) both to him (the king of the Romans) and to the then waywod of Transylvania for the express purpose of making them mutually lay down their arms, and attend to the defence of Christendom menaced by the Turk. All your efforts were then vain; now We send you again to those countries to congratulate king Ferdinand on the peace, which has at last been effected at Our instigation, for bishop Martinuzzi having come to Us on behalf of king John, soliciting Our mediation, We could not do less than take up the latter's cause, and try to persuade the king of the Romans to come to some sort of agreement with him.

* Maria, born in 1528.

† Catharine, who in 1549 was married to Francesco Gonzaga, duke of Mantua. Her elder sister (Isabella) was already betrothed to Sigismond II., king of Poland. Ferdinand had at this time another daughter called Eleanor, born in 1534, and who in 1561 was married to Guglielmo Gonzaga, duke of Mantua.

‡ That is Virgilio Rosario, vicar of Rome since 1537, and who died in 1559.

1539.

You will, therefore, request the king of the Romans to ratify the peace with king John for the reasons We have already stated, and need not repeat here. You will then declare those you yourself have for your journey to Hungary and Poland, namely, to the latter country to convey and give to the new king, Sigismond Augustus,* the sword and the cap blessed on the night of Christ's birth, and to Hungary that you may put into the hands of the new bishops the Apostolic letters confirming them in their respective bishoprics,† and at the same time exact from them the customary dues and fees, which are to be exclusively spent in the fortification of towns against the Turk.

Our chamberlain will also tell the king of the Romans that when We asked the Transylvanian bishop (Martinuzzi)‡ what number of men his master, and likewise the king of Poland, could furnish as a contingent towards the general expedition against the Turk, that bishop answered Us that he had no mandate from his master to that effect. That is why We wish to know now what number of men king John and the king of Poland will raise in case of a Turkish invasion, and We send thither both the bishop of Modena (Morone) and you (Rosario), Our chamberlain, for that particular purpose.

You will signify to the king of the Romans Our deep regret for the death of cardinal Trent,§ in whom both he and the Emperor have lost a valuable and virtuous ecclesiastic, and the Roman Church one of its most zealous defenders.

Lastly, you will inquire from the King whether there be anything that you can do for him there, in Hungary.—Rome, ———1540.

Latin. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

1540.

30 April. **254.** The SENTENCE against the PEOPLE of GHENT.

S. E., L. 654, f. 25.

Let it be known to all how, after mature deliberation in Our Council, composed entirely of knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece, ministers, masters of Requests, and other

* Sigismond Augustus had not yet succeeded his father, Sigismond I., or the Great.

† On this confirmation of Hungarian bishops, appointed by John, *see* above, pp. 113, 116.

‡ About this bishop, whose full name was Georgio Martinusio, I find in Moroni's *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica* (Venezia, 1847, Vol. XLIII., p. 179), that he belonged to the family of Wisenowiski in Croatia, but took early his mother's name. That in 1508 he entered the cloister at Castoconiano (?) in Poland, where he became acquainted with John, waywode of Transylvania, then an exile, owing to the king of the Romans having expelled him from his estates. In May 1534 John had him appointed bishop of Peter Varadin, then councillor and minister of Finance, and, lastly, regent and tutor of his son, John Sigismond. He became a cardinal, and died in 1551. There is a life of him by Antonio Bechet, *Storia del ministero del cardinal Giorgio Martinusio*, Paris, 1715.

§ Bernardo de Clesis, who died in September of this year.

1540.

worthy personages, We say and declare, as Our definitive sentence, that the inhabitants of Ghent have no right whatsoever to the claim they advance, and that notwithstanding the three privileges which they allege—one of count Guy in 1296, another in 1234 of Louis de Nevers, and a third of Madame Marie in 1476, they will have to pay all dues to Our crown, besides all the expenses incurred by Us during their last rebellion, as well as be compelled to refund with interest all the money they may have borrowed from merchants of the town and others, &c.

Spanish translation of the Emperor's Sentence in Flemish.

n. d. S. E. Roma, L. 875, f. 64–6.

255. POPE PAUL'S INSTRUCTIONS to the CARDINAL OF BRINDISI.*

Arrived at the court of Ferdinand, king of the Romans, the Cardinal will offer him Our greeting and congratulations on the peace concluded between him and king John [of Hungary]. He will likewise congratulate him on the marriage of his daughter Isabella† with the son‡ of the king of Poland [Sigismond].

After that he will tell him that by letters of Giovane [Morone], the bishop of Modena, and Our Nuncio near His Majesty, We knew already that he was of opinion that some sort of agreement should be entered into between Catholics and Lutherans, and that We should send Our commissaries to that effect; and We, who upon every occasion have always had due regard to the King's piety, zeal for the Catholic religion and other good qualities, have determined to follow his advice, and send you and your colleague to Germany for the said purpose. You will make Our excuses for the involuntary delay by such suggestions as may come to your mind, which will not be a difficult matter to manage, it being well understood that such affairs cannot be disposed of in a short time.

You will tell him that had no other cause influenced Us in the step We are now taking of sending you thither than his own sincerity and zeal for religion, that would have been quite enough to urge Us on to accede to his wishes. But that in the present case, besides the King's authority and reputation, there is another object to be attended to, which is the reintegration of the Church. He who built the edifice of that Church intended it to be one and indivisible (*unicam, integram*), and, therefore, it is worthy of consideration that the union of temporal and ecclesiastical rights in Germany

* Hieronimo Aleandro di Mota, from 1524 to 1572, cardinal in 1536.

† Isabella, the King's eldest daughter. *See* above, p. 514.

‡ That is Sigismond Augustus, who, after his father's death in 1548, inherited the throne, and reigned until 1572, when he died without posterity. His marriage to Isabella had not yet taken place.

1540.

cannot co-exist without conformity of religion, or if it does exist, cannot last but a very short space of time, and yet as far as Germany is concerned—especially now-a-days that by its advanced position it is called upon to defend Christendom from the Turk—there can be no doubt that the aforesaid union may be profitable.

It is, therefore, incumbent upon Us to send you thither; it is principally for the reintegration of the Church that you are sent, and yet it is both advisable and convenient that wherever you may happen to stop on your journey, you may say, if asked, that the object of your mission is quite different, lest the Lutherans should, as they have done at other times, construe that acquiescence and unity of Ours into a sign of weakness and fear. This is merely said for your own instruction, rather than to be repeated to king Ferdinand, to whom We have frequently written on the subject.

You shall have two sets of instructions concerning the said reintegration of the Church, of which one is fuller than the other. You may show the one and the other to king Ferdinand; to other people you will only show that which is the less explicit (*debilius*). Our object in thus doing is this, that if no treaty be made there be less injury done to Our Apostolic dignity.

You will explain these things to king Ferdinand, and if by chance he should tell you that in his opinion a larger number of commissioners is required, you will answer him that considering the small importance of the affair (*attenta debilitate principii*) two people are enough for all purposes, but that should there be a chance or probability of the matter coming to a conclusion, then, in that case, We shall be glad to increase that number.—[Rome,————1540.]

Latin. Copy made by Berzosa. pp. 2.

n. d. **256.** Instructions to the Cardinal of Brindisi.

S. E. Roma, L. 787.

Whereas by letters of the venerable father John, bishop of Modena,* Our Nuncio at the court of Ferdinand, the king of the Romans, We are informed that he has some hope of being able to reduce to the pale of the Church those inhabitants of Bohemia who once separated from it, and although that reduction has frequently been attempted, though in vain, We have thought that when you visit Hungary on certain business intrusted to your care, you may go also to the neighbouring country of Bohemia, and see what can be effected there for the good of the universal Christian church.

You will signify to king Ferdinand, without whose authority nothing is to be done in the matter—that in the present

* Giovan Morone. *See* p. 280.

1540.

state of political affairs in that country (Germany) it would be much better for him not to have anything to do with it. You are, therefore, before all things, to investigate what may be the King's ideas on the subject. Should he agree, you may at once proceed on your journey; but if for some reason or other he (the King) were of a contrary opinion, you will abstain from it and not go on, taking care, however, that no one knows that you had a mission from Us and that the object of that mission had not been accomplished.—Rome, ————1540.

Latin. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

— Mai. **257.** INSTRUCTIONS to the SAME.

S. E. Roma, L. f. 581.

On your arrival at the court of Our son in Christ, Ferdinand, king of the Romans, you will try to ascertain whether king John will see you with pleasure; because if he should not, as some do assert, you are not to go to Hungary, but shall remain in Austria, without, however, telling anyone that you had such a mandate and commission from Us. If, however, you should hear from king Ferdinand or from a person of authority at his court that your visit will be agreeable, you will then go to him, salute him in Our name and congratulate him on the conclusion of the peace between king Ferdinand and himself. Then you will try, with your usual dexterity and experience of affairs, to ascertain how much each of those princes believes himself to be indebted to Us for having advised and promoted the said peace between them; and above all you will endeavour to arrange matters in such a way that your journey thither, if undertaken, may not appear as virtually dependent on king John's will, or that We Ourselves had any doubt in the matter, but you will try to make people believe that you are sent thither merely to congratulate him on the peace lately made, as it has always been the custom of Our predecessors to do whenever peace is concluded between two Christian princes with the intervention of the Holy Apostolic See.

And whereas king John's ministers have written to Us that their master wishes Us to confirm certain nominations of bishops made by him, you will tell him, should he speak to you on the subject, that you have from Us a mandate and commission to that effect, and that when you have reported to Us on the qualities and merits of each of the ecclesiastics appointed, We shall not fail to confirm them And let not king John suspect that We consent to that in order to secure the dues and rights of the Papal Chamber and College, since, considering the poverty and distress to which his subjects have been reduced by the past wars, We fully intend making a motion in Consistory proposing the suppression this time of all fees and perquisites due on the occasion.

1540.

And whereas another petition of king John was laid before Us to this effect—that We be pleased to pardon and absolve from censures those ecclesiastics who during the past troubles and civil discords, which have afflicted Hungary, had taken up arms and committed homicides, We are determined to please him also in that respect.

Other petitions of king John have likewise been presented. We say nothing about them now, because the King's agents here at Rome have already received an answer on each of them. That you may, however, know what to reply to the King's questions, if interrogated concerning them, We enclose you a memorandum of what has been resolved about them.*—Rome, May 1540.

Latin. Copy. pp. 1½.

— May. S. E., L. 877.

258. Instructions to the Bishop of Modena.

Whereas John Faber, the bishop of Vienna, at the preparatory meeting, held before the diet of Spires, said and declared that it would perhaps last longer than people anticipated, should the said diet be prorogued, as there is every appearance that it will be, and should religious matters be discussed therein, there can be no doubt that Our Most Holy Father, the pastor of the Christian flock, will, for the sake of saving his sheep, send thither one or more legates, and do everything else that may be deemed necessary for that purpose.

So it was that after receiving the letters from cardinal Farnese, and from the legates residing at the court of His Imperial Majesty and of his brother the king of the Romans, dated Gandavi (Ghent) 12, 14, 16, and 27 of April, and having likewise read the Emperor's instructions to his ambassador, the marquis de Aguilar, His Holiness, after consulting his College of cardinals at the first Consistory, decreed as follows:—That owing to the pressure of time, which did not allow of sending to Germany a member of the Cardinals' College, the legate once sent to the Emperor's court, and who was still residing in Flanders, should again be sent to His Imperial Majesty, and to his brother the king of the Romans.

There was in the same consistory a motion in favour of another cardinal being appointed to accompany cardinal Neocastro, and although His Holiness at first did not object to that, but was rather in favour of the appointment, yet considering the shortness of the term fixed, the dangers and fatigues of a long land journey, and above all the age and infirmities of the one who might have been chosen for the purpose, he decided not to appoint any one. There was still another reason for that, namely, that legate Farnese had written on the 22nd of April that the Emperor would shortly

* The memorandum alluded to is not in the packet.

1540.

signify, through Poggio, the Nuncio in Spain, what faculties and authority His Holiness' legate was to take to the Diet. His Holiness, therefore, refrained from naming then any cardinal to accompany Neocastro on his mission, though it was then settled that should the news from Germany and Flanders be different from what they were at the time, the appointment and nomination should be made. Meanwhile the bishop of Modena (Morone) was appointed, &c.—Rome, 15 May 1540.

Latin. Copy by Berzosa.

9 June. **259.** The Emperor's Instructions to Mr. de St. Vincent, his Ambassador in France.

S. E., Francia, L. 878.

King Francis having sent to his ambassadors, the bishops of La Vaur (Selve) and Hellin, a memorandum and instructions respecting the truce and the investiture of Milan, of which affair the King himself spoke to you and to Mr. de Peloux, gentleman of Our chamber, in a very different manner from what We anticipated, We have deemed it necessary to have the following memorandum prepared for your guidance.

After placing in the King's hands the holograph letters, as well as the credentials of which you are the bearer, you will tell him how pleased We have been at hearing by the instructions to his ambassadors, as well as by his conversation with you, that he is aware of Our perfect readiness to fulfil the engagement taken with the bishop of Tarbes and Monsieur de Brisach (Brissac), on the very same terms proposed and stipulated in the instructions which you and Mr. de Peloux took to France. Indeed, We flattered Ourselves that in doing so We not only fulfilled a duty and prepared the way for the settlement of Our mutual differences, and the establishment of a lasting peace, but did also a great service to Christendom—threatened by the Turk. But since it is not so, and king Francis refuses to accept either of the means proposed in Our last memorandum, adding that it is better for the present to leave matters as they are, We charge you to express to him Our sincere regret that neither of the two means proposed for the cession of Milan to him has met with his approbation.—Brussels, 9 June 1540.

Signed: "Charles."

Countersigned: "Bave."

French. Original draft. p. 1.

1541.

n. d. **260.** The Chancellor of Milan to the Emperor.

S. E. Roma, L. 870. f. 1.

To-day the ambassador of the Most Christian king residing at the court of His Holiness (Paul III.), accompanied by a gentleman sent expressly by the king of France to treat of the Fragoso and Rincon affair—asserting on the part and

1541.

in the name of the said king that the above-named Cesare Fragoso and [Antonio] Rincon had been (*salteados*) and made prisoners on the Tissino, at its confluence with the river Po, in the duchy of Milan, and carried away by some of the Emperor's soldiers, by order and command of certain Imperial ministers in Italy—called in Consistory, demanding that the said Cesare Fragoso and Rincon be delivered from the prison in which they are or may be, and placed in the hands of the Holy Father, as well as all those whom the French ambassador accuses of having been implicated in their capture, according to the information and reports obtained by the king of France, which the ambassadors then and there exhibited before His Holiness.

The French ambassador further asked His Holiness for his judgment and decision on the case; that the prisoners be at once placed in his hands for the sake of evidence, and that all those whom His Holiness may wish to examine as witnesses be also brought to his presence; for, as the ambassador alleges, His Holiness, owing to his Papal dignity, has full right to interfere in such cases, especially in those relating to the observance of treaties of peace between Christian princes, the more so that the truce existing between the Emperor and the king of France was effected at his prayer and intercession.

The answer of the Imperial commissioners present at this demonstration of the French ambassador was as follows:—That His Holiness must be fully aware of the measures and steps taken by the Emperor, as well as of the legal enquiries made in the case of Fragoso and Rincon, which were well known and patent at the time, and could be proved by his own letters to his ambassadors at the court of France, by the account of what the King himself said to the Imperial ambassador when first he heard of the case—which letter was shewn to the Most Christian King and to his ministers—as well as by the judicial enquiries which Your Majesty's ministers had instituted in the State of Milan, enquiries in which a gentleman sent to the Marquis del Gasto by the wife of the said Fragoso to complain of the case, also took part. Besides which, at the request of Mons. de Velly, ambassador of king Francis, and of a cousin of his, sent to the Emperor for the purpose, the latter sent them all the papers and documents relating to the case, which papers and documents the French ambassador's cousin, with the intervention of the very gentleman sent by Fragoso's wife, did carefully examine, having also enquired minutely into the case, interrogated witnesses and so forth, as has already been declared and demonstrated, His Imperial Majesty having besides offered to place in His Holiness' hands any other testimony or proof that might be required. In addition to which, the Emperor, for the sake of peace and of his own justification, and that His Holiness might be persuaded

1541.

of his real sentiments on that score, as well as of his respectful consideration for his person, and his wish that Christendom at large may understand that his wish in this, as in other things, is to keep and observe the treaties of whatever kind they may be—chiefly those closely connected with or affecting Christendom, and especially those concerning Papal authority and his own person—besides what he himself has testified to His Holiness, as well as to the said ambassador and gentleman, has over and over again declared that he never knew that the aforesaid Cesare Fragoso and Antonio Rincon had ever been or were actually in any part of his dominions, much less prisoners in his power. If they really were, he at once would declare them free and amicably surrender them to the king of France. That he is very glad to hear that His Holiness is about to take up the case of Fragoso and Rincon, and consents to his becoming the judge thereof, and deciding who it is who has wilfully broken the truce—himself or the king of France; and that for such a judgment and declaration His Holiness be invested with full power to enquire minutely into all the alleged cases of contravention by the Emperor of the truce made at Nizza, and ratified at Aigues Mortes in 1538. That the inquiry be made in all the dominions and territorial possessions belonging to the Emperor, and that His Holiness' commissaries may for that purpose have access to all fortresses and castles where they may suspect that the said Cesare Fragoso and Antonio Rincon are kept in prison, as well as for the examination of witnesses, and ultimately proceed to the punishment of those who may be found guilty. The same to be done in all other cases of contravention which may be brought against him. All the above, provided the king of France shows readiness to make a similar submission on his side, and that the same rule be observed in all cases of contravention, whether they concern the Emperor or the king of France.

The above act of submission in the form and manner above detailed has been signed on the part of His Imperial Majesty by ————, and on the part of the king of France by ————, both promising in the name of their respective masters to have the said convention ratified or inviolably observed.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 5.

Aout—Sept. S. E., L. 877. **261.** The SAME to the SAME on the ANSWER to MR. DE HANNEBAULT'S* OVERTURES.

What language is to be held to the French gentleman sent by Mr. Hannebault, supposing that he will only speak in general terms, and merely say that king Francis is inclined to keep the truce?

* Claude d'Hannebault, Annebault, or Annebaut, lieutenant-governor in Piedmont, and marshall of France. *See* above, pp. 202, 345, 370–1, 415.

1541.

Ought His Imperial Majesty's ministers to accept simply such a declaration, and make a similar one on the Emperor's part, without, however, mentioning or alluding to past differences and to king Francis' most intimate relations with the Turk? Or is the person deputed to bring the said message and overtures to be informed of certain rumours afloat respecting the King's intention to break the truce?

Is king Francis to be reminded through the said gentleman of certain words uttered by Mr. de Langes (Langeais), and by the generality of his own ministers, implying that the truce must be considered as broken, and war as certain, at the same time assuring the gentleman in question that the Emperor could never imagine that such words had been uttered by king Francis, since he himself has lately written to Mr. de St. Vincent that he is, on the contrary, ready to observe the truce most faithfully?

It is very important to decide whether on this present occasion, and others that might supervene, it will be expedient to speak to the envoy about the increase of French forces in Piedmont, at the same time touching incidentally on the German levies which the Emperor intends to make, explaining the cause thereof, and maintaining that both the Germans and Italians are raised for no other purpose than the defence of Christendom and the invasion of Turkish territory, and, therefore, that Piedmont does not require in the least to have its garrisons increased. This last question is of much importance, and some resolution or other ought to be taken before His Imperial Majesty embarks for his expedition against Algiers.

It will also be necessary to know what else is to be done respecting the legal proceedings instituted in the case of Cesare Fragoso and Rincon, so as to clear it up altogether to the satisfaction of the French. This ought to be done at once, whilst the Emperor is in these parts, since the French have had recourse to His Imperial Majesty, and suspect the marquis del Gasto, governor of Milan, to have had a hand in it. It is the more needed that unless the French are positively convinced that His Majesty's ministers are not mixed up with the affair in question, they may, whenever it suits them, do the same, or take it as a specious pretence for breaking the truce, or else keeping it no longer than it suits them. That they (the French) will detain Mr. de Valence in prison, in whose release His Imperial Majesty is particularly interested, and which he will promote by every means out of respect for the Bishop's person, as well as for his own reputation, and likewise on account of the co-adjutorship of Liege, which church, for want of a prelate, might be exposed to serious inconveniences. For if the said archbishop of Valencia be still kept a prisoner, His Majesty will have still greater reason to complain to the Holy Father of that prelate's detention, as well as of the non-observance of the truce, and beg him to make the French

1541.

understand that sufficient justification respecting the case of Fragoso and Rincon having already been offered, the archbishop ought at once to be released, and the money and jewels taken from him restored.

It will therefore be requisite that His Majesty, either *motu propio*, by letters patent, or through councillor Boissot, the Imperial commissioner appointed on our side, with the consent and approval of the French ambassador, do order a legal inquiry to be instituted, and that the French themselves may examine the witnesses, even the twelve individuals whose testimony, according to Mr. de Langes, might be adduced, and generally make any other they like, or pretend to make, relating to the case.

Besides the above-mentioned steps, in order to ensure the observance of the truce, it seems important to take measures for the security of this State of Milan, and generally speaking of the whole of Italy, so as to keep the latter at the devotion of His Imperial Majesty. Already the inhabitants of this State are much pleased at the mere announcement that His Imperial Majesty is about to visit them, and are disposed, as well as prepared, to show their affection in every possible way. That is why, were the Emperor pleased, as the occasion and opportunity offered, to show to the Milanese, generally and individually, the reciprocal affection he feels for them, that would be a most desirable step under the circumstances. Besides which, as everything will depend upon the conduct of the French, and the wish they may have of observing the truce, and also upon what may be treated with the Holy Father with respect to Milan, it seems as if, at the present juncture, it would be advisable that the security of the Duchy should be provided for, as in that manner the Milanese (*les manants et habitants du duche*) will show still greater affection for the Emperor, and assist him with their persons and property.

To this end it will be advisable to inquire in what state of defence the fortresses and castles of the Duchy are at present, and also those that the duke of Savoy (Carlo) still retains. Likewise if it should be necessary now or in future to raise levies of men, horse and foot; where those levies are to be made; of what nation, and how they are to be paid, and above all in what manner the inhabitants of the Duchy can help towards its defence. As to the duke of Savoy (Carlo) it has to be considered how we are to deal with him and his subjects; how we can help him in case of need, and secure him against the ill-will of some of his own servants, now that president Lambart has died. The same may be said of his son, the prince of Piedmont (Emmanuele Philiberto), and of the castle of Nizza guarding against the danger of the Duke's son or the castle falling into the hands of the French.

Nor will it be amiss to take precautions about Gennes (Genoa), considering the insistance of the French to get

1541.

possession of that city somehow, the inconstancy of the Genoese themselves, and the inclination of part of the inhabitants; for if the French once set foot in it, one may easily conceive the inconveniences that may arise.

It would be desirable to find means for the renewal of the confederacy made at Bologna in the year [15]33 between the late Pope Clement, His Imperial Majesty, the dukes of Ferrara and Mantua, and the republics of Florence, Genoa, Siena, and Lucca, stipulating the sum which each of those states was to contribute, and appointing Antonio de Leyva commander-in-chief, with several captains under him, which confederacy lasted until the death of that general. It may, however, be apprehended that there will be great obstacles in the way of that confederacy being renewed; for, in the first place, there is His Holiness' visible inclination always to remain neutral; then there is his disinclination to expend money (*debourser argent*); and last, not least, on the side of the duke of Ferrara, there is his being now allied by marriage to the reigning family of France. As to His Holiness, the cause of the defence of Italy might be described to him, as it was to his predecessor [Clement], under such lively colours that his scruples may perhaps be surmounted. The same may be said of the duke of Ferrara. It is also to be considered whether the overtures for this confederacy—in case of the plan being approved by His Imperial Majesty—are to be brought forward immediately, or delayed until the Emperor has had his interview with the Holy Father. In the former case, whoever of the parties proposes the thing first, is sure to raise the suspicions of the other; whereas, if the matter is delayed, there is the danger of the Pope being unwilling to sanction it.

Siena ought to be looked after; it is important to know how the government of that Republic is to be conducted, and in whose hands it is to remain for the future.

The lord of Pomblin (Piombino) and his lordship. He must not dispose of it without the Emperor's previous knowledge.

Are all the Swiss cantons, or some of them, Catholic or Protestant, to be addressed on these matters, and touching the Valesians?

French. Original draft. pp. 3½.

n. d. **262.** FERDINAND, KING OF THE ROMANS. INSTRUCTIONS to DIEGO LASSO DE CASTILLA and BONACORSI (BUONACCORS) DI GRINO, his internuncios at Rome.

S. E. Roma, L. 2005, B. tom xv., fol. 9. B. M. *Add.* 28,593, f. 151.

They are to deliver their credentials and make the following declaration:—

The Apostolic Nuncio residing at this court, and Otho of de Fruchsiis, gentleman in waiting to His Holiness Pope Paul, have declared in the presence of the Imperial ambassador, and of the commissioners of the Catholic League, that His

1541.

Holiness, the Pope, is ready to join the confederacy, and yet that he can in nowise approve of the recess of Ratisbone (Regensburgh). If, however, two of the articles of that recess are altered, the Pope would accept the offer made to him of becoming a member of that league. The ambassadors are to assure His Holiness that neither the Emperor, nor he himself (the king of the Romans), nor, indeed, the rest of the members of the Catholic League, intend in the least to do, or will permit anything to be done, likely to impair or diminish the authority of the Apostolic See.

They are, nevertheless, to beg His Holiness to contribute one fourth part of all the expenses of a league, which has been concluded for the express purpose of defending the Catholic religion and the Holy See, especially as he (the king of the Romans) and the Emperor, have taken upon themselves to contribute also another fourth part to the expenses, notwithstanding that they are rendering services in the League in other respects. The remainder of the total expenses to be defrayed by the other members of the League individually, who, in addition to their contribution in money, will have to expose their states, subjects, and even their own persons to great dangers and inconveniences from the moment that war breaks out.

They are, in short, to beg His Holiness to keep in readiness 60,000 ducats for the above-mentioned purpose.*

Latin. Copy from the Archives at the Vatican made by Berzosa.

n. d. **263.** IDIAQUEZ to the ARCHBISHOP OF TOLEDO.

S. E. L. 52, f. 356. f. 23.

By the ordinary courier from Flanders a letter of the 27th of June, from the marquis de Aguilar has been received. Martin Alonso arrived [in Rome] on the 19th of that month. Finding that the Pope was absent, he went after him, met him at Pagliano, had a talk with him, spoke according to the instructions he had from the Emperor, and then continued his journey. The principal topic of his conversation with His Holiness was the diet [of Spires]; the resolution being that which Martin Alonso himself communicated by the last post, to which communication an answer has already been sent.

Martin Alonso says in his letter that both the Legate and His Holiness' Nuncio complain bitterly of D'Andalot. It appears that the Pope ordered the arrest of one Hieronymo di Carpi, who had been once a chamberlain of the duke of Florence [Alessandro dé Medici], and that the duchess [Margaret] was rather in favor of him owing to his having been once her husband's servant. Whilst he was being conducted to prison

* There is no date to these instructions, which bear some resemblance to those in Vol. IV., Part II., pp. 21 and 955.

1541.

by the "*barracelo*," Andalot, followed by some of his own household servants, came out of his house, and rushing upon Hieronymo and his escort delivered him. He was then taken to the Quirinal and presented to His Holiness by the Duchess, Ottavio Farnese, and by the Cardinal [Alessandro], as well as by the marquis de Aguilar, saying that he was innocent of the crimes imputed to him, and urgently requesting that he should be examined. The charge against him is that he has said, among other things, that the Pope did actually order the death of cardinal Medici. His Holiness, on the Duchess' intercession, pardoned the accused, but is still very indignant against D'Andalot.

There are letters of the 16th of June from the viceroy of Naples [Toledo]. At that date Martin Alonso had not yet arrived in that city. Eighteen *fustees* of Turkish privateers were infesting the coasts of Pulla (Puglia). Letters from that locality say that the privateers had made some havoc and carried away prisoners; whilst others assert that Scipione di Somma had attacked and defeated the Turks, slaying some of them, so that the enemy had gone away without causing any harm on that coast.*

Spanish. Original. 1½ *p.*

* The letter, which has no signature at all, is besides undated, though it appears from the endorsement that it was written by Alonso Idiaquez—then the Emperor's chief secretary or minister of Foreign Affairs—to the archbishop of Toledo (Juan Tavera). The Emperor was in Italy at the time on his way to Lucca, where his interview with Pope Paul took place (13 Sept. 1541), and therefore it is natural to conclude that Idiaquez' letter must have been written between the 22nd of August, when the Emperor reached Milan, and the 18th of September, when he left Lucca. *See* Gachard, *Voyages*, &c., and Bradford's *Itinerary of Charles V.*, pp. 526–7.

ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

p. 6, par. 3. "*Whither the Most Christian King might send the queen of Navarre, accompanied by* 7 *or* 8 *damsels of Royal blood, especially of the houses of Lorraine, Vendôme and Nevers*," says the abstract of Scepper's despatch to the Emperor; but either that despatch, originally written in French, is badly translated into Spanish, or else *princess* instead of *queen* of Navarre must be understood, for at this time (1538) Margaret, Francis' sister and widow of the duke of Alençon, had been married since 1526 to Henri II. d'Albret, titular king of Navarre, and had a daughter called Jeanne, probably one of the damsels among whom Henry wished to select a wife.

p. 10. "*Charles de Bourbon*," &c. There was a duke of Vendôme, so called, but as his death occurred in 1537 he cannot be the one here mentioned. He had a brother, also named Charles, better known as cardinal Bourbon, who died in 1598. On the other hand, by Mr. de Vendôme, no one can be meant but Antoine de Bourbon, son of Charles.

p. 12. "*Except the nun, meaning one of the duke of Guise's daughters.*" At p. 10 the nun is said to be the daughter of Vendôme, and I find in *Genealogies Historiques*, Vol. III. pp. 400–1, that Charles de Bourbon, duke of Vendôme, who died at Amiens on the 25th of March 1537, left of Françoise d'Alençon, widow of François, duke of Longueville, seven sons and six daughters. Of the latter four went into the cloister, and became abbesses, *i.e.*, *Magdalen*, of Sainte Croix de Poitiers; *Catherine*, of Soissons; *Renée*, of Chelles, and *Eleanor* of Fontegrant. But I also find in other works of the kind, and chiefly in *Histoire de la maison de Lorraine*, &c., that Claude de Lorraine, duke of Guise, left also two daughters who took the veil—Antoinette de Lorraine, at Parmentier, and Renée at St. Pierre de Reims—and became in time abbesses of their respective convents.

p. 15, No. 7, par. 2. "That the French ambassador at this court (Marillac) had sent in his excuses," &c. The French ambassador was still—at the date of Chapuys' letter—Louis Perreau, sieur de Castillon, born in 1489, and who died in 1553, having twice represented king Francis in this country: once in 1533, in the room of the bailli de Troyes, recalled; and again in October 1537 till the 6th of February 1539, when he himself was replaced by Marillac. All and every one of the references made at pp. 27, 31, 37 and elsewhere to the French ambassador in England before the month of March 1539, when Marillac himself landed in England, must therefore be understood as applying to Louis Perreau, sieur de Castillon, about whom *see* Introduction.

I need scarcely observe that the preceding letter—under No. 6, dated the 11th of September, and headed "The Same to the Same," as if it were one from Luigi Gonzaga to the Emperor—is altogether misplaced, and ought to have been preceded by Chapuys' of the 31st of August. At any rate, it could in nowise have been written by Luigi Gonzaga, being, as it is, immediately preceded by one of his dated the 30th from Messina, in Sicily. Its being placed in Bergenroth's Collection (Vol. XIX., p. 212), immediately after the other with the heading "Luis Gonzaga al Emperador," was the cause of my falling into this error. Besides, the letter has all the appearance of one written in French, either by the Imperial ambassador or by some other of Charles' agents in Belgium or in France, reporting news from the latter country, and especially concerning the mission entrusted to the admiral of France, Philippe de Chabot, sieur de Brion.

p. 34, No. 10. In the last line of the first paragraph, "*Milan*" is a mistake for "Florence," for the dowager duchess of that State was Christina of Denmark, the Emperor's niece, widow of Francesco Sforza. On the other hand the dowager duchess of Florence, widow of Alessandro de' Medici, was the Emperor's natural daughter. Both married again; the former became the wife of François de Lorraine, marquis de Pont-a-Mousson, and afterwards duke of Lorraine; the latter married Ottavio Farnese, duke of Camarino, and is better known in history as "Margaret of Parma."

The letter itself, though numbered 10, ought to have been preceded by the following of the 8th from the Emperor to Lope de Soria.

p. 42. The English ambassador at the court of Brussels, whose death is recorded in Don Diego de Mendoza's despatch to the Emperor, dated Breda, the 14th of September 1538, and described by him as "a jovial, good-humoured man, more fit for courtly and social intercourse than for political business, for which he had no great taste or capacity," was no doubt John Hutton, whose death on the 5th of September is recorded in the State Papers, Vol. VIII., p. 154.

p. 51, line 3. *Your Majesty's letter to D. Juan.* There can be no doubt that by "Don Juan" the Imperial ambassador at Rome is meant, but it may be observed that Spanish genealogists generally call him *Don Luis*, instead of Don Juan. *See* Introduction to Part II., Vol. V., p. xiv.

p. 55, line 12. The Signora, or Madame Costanza, mentioned in the second paragraph, was the Pope's daughter. She first was married to Bozio II., Sforza, count of Santa Fiore, and afterwards to Stephano Colonna, duke of Palestrina. By her first marriage she had two sons—Guido Ascanio Sforza, who became cardinal Santafiore on the 18th of December 1534, and died on the 7th of October 1564; and Ascanio Sforza, count de Valmontone, who died in 1575.

At p. 114, in the marquis de Aguilar's despatch to the Emperor, dated Rome, 13 Feb. 1539, a lady named Costanza *Trenes* is mentioned as having applied to the former to recommend a petition of

hers in favor of her son, the bishop and "camarlengo" of Pope Paul. There is, however, every reason to suspect that *Trenes* is a bad reading for *Fernés*, a name which Spanish writers of the XVI. century often give to the Farnese, and, if so, Costanza Trenes is no other than Costanza Fernés, or Farnese, the Pope's daughter. On the other hand, Pedro Pacheco, the bishop of Pamplona, having been appointed cardinal about this time, and she (Costanza) having among her various sons by her first husband one who became a cardinal as early as 1534, leaves no doubt as to the identity of the two persons being fairly established. Bishop Pacheco, however, did not leave his bishopric; he retained it until January 1545, when he was appointed to the see of Jaen, in Andalucia, and lastly to Siguenza. He died at Rome in 1560, having been succeeded in the see of Pamplona by Antonio Fonseca. It will be seen at p. 140, in another despatch of Aguilar's to the Emperor (13 April 1539), that, upon the death at Rome of Alvaro Osorio, bishop of Astorga, the same lady, Signora Costanza Farnese, again petitioned the Emperor for that bishopric for her son.

p. 61, l. 7. "Principalement par le sund de Bette allants ou venants de Prusse, *Rierevel*, Dantzig et aultres villes," says the text of the two copies of the same paper preserved in the Imperial Archives of Vienna. Rierevel, as above written and spelt, must be wrong, and I presume that instead of *Kiel*, in Denmark, and *Revel*, in Esthonia or North-Western Russia, some blundering clerk read and wrote Rierevel, that is Kiel-Revel.

p. 66, line 12. "*Together with such rights as the Duchess* [*Christina*] *might have to her mother's inheritance.*" Christiern, or Kristiern II., king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, over which he ruled from 1513 to 1523, when he was dethroned by his own subjects, had been married to Isabella (Isabel), daughter of Philip and Joanna, the father and mother of Charles V. Isabella was born in Flanders in 1501 and died in 1526, leaving two daughters, Kristierna or *Christina*, the widow of Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, and *Dorothea*, who was married to the Count Palatine (Frederic). This last must have been the eldest, and have inherited the right to the crown of Denmark and Norway (Sweden having at the rebellion elected a king of its own), or else Henry during the long negotiations for his contemplated, though not effected, marriage with her sister [Christina], could not have stipulated the cession of those rights, whatever they might be to the succession of their father's—still alive, though confined in a dungeon, where he died in 1559.

p. 72, No. 28. Philippe Chabot, sieur de Brion, admiral of France, count of Charny and Buzançois, of whom frequent mention has been made in Vol. V., Part II., of this calendar (pp. 54, 71, 77, 97, &c.), was the son of Jacques Chabot and Madeleine de Luxemburg. Early attached to the household of François, duke of Angoulême, who in 1523 became king of France under the name of Francis I., he followed him to Italy, and was made prisoner with him on the

24th of February 1525. In 1526 he was appointed admiral of France and governor of Burgundy. Six years later, in 1532, he came to England as ambassador extraordinary, and was made knight of the Garter by king Henry. He was at one time in great favor with the King, but owing to some court intrigue—about which both Brantôme and Du Bellay, two contemporary writers, differ considerably—the jealousy, perhaps, of the High Constable Montmorency, or of the cardinal Jean de Lorraine, or, which is more probable, the ill-success of his mission to Mary of Hungary, brought about his disgrace and fall in 1541; and although the turn of politics and Francis' inconstant humour again brought him to power in 1542, he never recovered in full his monarch's favor, and died on the 1st of June 1543.

Since the above was written I have been able to ascertain that my conjecture about the document which forms the subject of this note having originally been been drawn out in French and translated into Spanish becomes a certainty. At Simancas, as I am informed, is preserved the original document in French, on the margin of which is the following note in Spanish: *Este Chabote, como aquí se le llama, fui prisionero en Pavia, y tenia entonces y despues el oficio de almirante de Francia, que allí, como aquí, era hereditario, y tendrian los de su familia, como los Enriquez lo tienen en Castilla, siendolo hoy dia D. Fernando Enriquez, duque de Medina de Rioseco*—which statement, however, is wrong with regard to France, where the charge of Admiral was not, as in Spain, hereditary.

p. 93. Paragraph XXIX., where the duchy of Urbino is mentioned, stands as it is in the original at Simancas; but either, instead of *Urbino*, the word *Camarino* is to be substituted, or else a whole sentence must have been left out by the clerk of the Council who prepared the minute, for the possession of Urbino was never disputed to Guidobaldo della Rovere; it was Camarino, which that duke owned in right of his wife, Julia Varana, daughter of the last duke, that was invaded by Paul in 1540 and finally given to his grandson, Ottavio Farnese. Most likely the passage above alluded to ought to be read thus: "recobrar el ducado [de Camarino], que ahora tiene el de Urbino," *i.e.*, "to recover by force the duchy of Camarino, which he of Urbino now retains unduly."

p. 99. "The viceroy of Naples [Don Pedro de Toledo] and the duchess of Castro's dower." Margaret of Austria, the Emperor's natural daughter, was never duchess of Castro. This title was conferred by Pope Paul on his eldest son, Pier Luigi Farnese, in 1536. It was to Ottavio Farnese, Pier Luigi's son, that Margaret was married on 19 Jan. 1539, at the time that she was *dowager duchess of Florence* as widow of Alessandro de' Medici, Clement VII.'s nephew, or son, as some historians will have it. Ottavio became in time duke of Camarino, which title and estate his grandfather, the Pope, conferred upon him in 1541.

p. 106, No. 36. A more accurate copy of these credentials received since affords me an opportunity to correct the name of the Landgraf's agent as

follows: "Philipp, landgraf of Hessen, to the queen dowager of Hungary, regent in the Low Countries for her brother, the Emperor.

"We have sent Our very learned, beloved, and faithful Doctor Sigfried Lauemburg to Your Royal Majesty with Our orders and mandate respecting the business which he himself will explain of Our marriage demands.—Wirhaven (Cassel), in Germany, 13 January 1539.

German holograph. p. 1."

What the offer of marriage was is not explained, but most likely the Landgraf, then about forty, was one of the many suitors for the hand of the dowager queen of Hungary.

ibid. The following letter, No. 37, is wrongly headed, owing to the intercalation at the last hour of the Landgraf's letter to queen Mary (No. 36). Instead of "to the Same," it ought to be headed, "to the Emperor."

p. 160, par. 1. The two "fuorusciti" here mentioned—one from Naples, the other from Spain—are Cesare Cantelmo, the Neapolitan, and Antonio Rincon, the Spaniard, so often mentioned in these pages.

ibid, last par. "Ottavio Farnese's younger brother," &c. Pier Luigi Farnese, duke of Castro, Pope Paul's son, who died in 1547 by the hand of an assassin, had four sons and one daughter:—1st, Alessandro, the cardinal, born in 1520, who died on the 1st of March 1589. 2nd, Ottavio, duke of Camarino, of whose marriage with Margaret of Austria, the Emperor's natural daughter, frequent mention occurs in the pages of the present volume; he was born in 1524, and died on the 11th of September 1586. 3rd, Horazio, duke of Castro, married to Diana, natural daughter of Henri II., king of France (d. 1553); this Horazio or Orazio Farnese is no doubt the individual alluded to in the passage. 4th, Ranucio, born the 11th of August 1530, who became a cardinal and archbishop of Ravenna in 1545, and died on the 28th of October 1565. 5th, Pier Luigi's only daughter was Vittoria Farnese, who in 1548 married Guidobaldo, duke of Urbino.

As to Costanza, Pier Luigi's sister, too frequent mention has been made of her in these pages to necessitate a further notice. She married first Bosio Sforza, count of Santafiore, and afterwards Stefano Colonna, prince of Palestrina.

Pier Luigi's wife was a lady of the family of Orsino, named Hieronyma, daughter of Luigi, count of Pitigliano.

p. 164, par. 2. "The bishop Lanchano," &c. The copy from Simancas has distinctly *el Obispo de Lanchano,* which I have translated by "bishop Lanchano," as if this last were his proper name, for although there was, and is to this day, a small town in Naples formerly called *Lanciano,* and now *Lansano,* it is too insignificant a place to have ever been a bishopric, besides which Gams omits it altogether in his *Series Episcoporum,* &c.

p. 169, par. 2. "*Indulto Quadragesimal,*" &c., read "Indulto quadregesimal" or Lenten Indulgence—Cardinal's hat for the bishop of Geneva, &c.,

these being the two ecclesiastical affairs spoken of in the paragraph abstracted. The bishop of Geneva's name was Pierre de Labaume.

p. 171. The nomination of cardinal Tavera to the post of Grand Inquisitor of Spain did not take place until the 7th of September 1539, when the bulls from Rome confirming his appointment arrived. He resigned in 1544, and died the year after on the 1st of August. He had been archbishop of Toledo since 1534, and president of the Council of Regency.

p. 176, No. 77. The letter of Cornelis Scepper, the Emperor's ambassador in France, is not in the Imperial Archives of Vienna, nor at Simancas, as it was natural to suppose, but in Paris, at the Hôtel Soubise. I need not point out here the reason for such transference, having already had occasion to record, as my predecessor also did, the flagrant spoliation of the Archives at Simancas. *See* Introduction to Vol. V., Part II., p. xix.

Bergenroth had it copied, with many others, in 1868, adding it to his Collection of Papers for the reign of Charles V., now in the British Museum. It is, like the rest of them, written in Spanish, either by Scepper himself, who was evidently a Dutchman by birth, or by his secretary. Owing to this, to the bad writing, perhaps, or to some other cause which I cannot determine—not having seen the original—certain it is that the transcripts, all in the same hand, are full of blunders and mis-readings, with now and then an occasional blank, as if the French transcriber had been unable to read one or more words in the original. Without going any further, in the 6th line of No. 77, "the day after (the 29th Aug.)" must be an error (of the writer or of the transcriber?) for "the 29th of July," the letter itself being dated "the 2nd of August."

p. 177, No. 78. I scarcely need observe here that Tinteville is wrong for Dinteville, French ambassador in England in 1536, and afterwards in Rome in 1538. His full name was Jean Policy, sieur de Dinteville and bailli de Troyes.

p. 180. To the note at the foot of that page about *Laval*, I may add in confirmation that Lavour is the name of an old episcopal town in Languedoc, of which George de Selve was bishop from 1529 to 1543. George was the son of Jean de Selve, first president of the Parliament of Paris, and brother of Odet de Selve, twice French ambassador in England. George, the bishop, had also been employed by Francis in various missions to Venice, to Rome, and to Germany.

p. 183, No. 80. In another abstract of Aguilar's letter to the Emperor, 13 Aug. 1539, which has lately come to hand from Simancas, the passage about England is differently worded. It stands thus:—

"Respecting the English business, I (Aguilar) spoke to His Holiness as instructed by Your Majesty's letters. I did so in the presence of cardinal Farnese and of his secretary, Marcelo, who reported most minutely the substance of their conference with the

members of Your Majesty's Privy Council, namely, that the English matter ought not to be proceeded with for the present, and that it was better to wait until the affairs of Germany had been settled one way or other. Hearing which from my lips, His Holiness uttered a long discourse, complaining bitterly that the delay in the execution of the concerted plans would be the cause of the king of England acting every day worse and worse. He could not help thinking (said he) that there was coolness and hesitation in the matter, for whilst Your Majesty urged that cardinal Pole should go first to the king of France and communicate the whole affair to him, the latter declined to receive the Cardinal, and made excuses, saying that there was no need of the Cardinal coming to him unless he were furnished with full powers from Your Majesty to declare your intention as to what had better be done in case of the friendly admonition to be made to the king of England by their ambassadors failing to have the desired effect, and the King persisting in his disobedience to the Holy See. 'Even if king Francis (continued His Holiness) should consent to receive cardinal Pole, and hear from his lips the means he himself proposes to adopt with the advice of cardinal Farnese, and the ambassadors of the two princes went to England on a mission of exhortation and admonition, the measure would be completely useless unless the king of England and his subjects were at once deprived of the trade with Flanders and the Low Countries, and the ports—chief staple for their goods and merchandise—should be shut against them. Without that measure the exhortation by the ambassadors will only have the effect of over-irritating the King.' 'I know of no other available means (continued His Holiness), of making that king come to his senses again than the one I propose; all others will be insufficient. At any rate, the affair must be kept alive, lest the king of England should imagine that the offence has been forgotten. But what I most regret in all this affair is that king Francis is never constant in his good purposes, and, although he seems at present to be in favor of my views, he may one of these days disconcert all our plans.'"

p. 187, No. 85. Under the head of "Deciphering of letters from the Ambassador in France," there is at Simancas (L. 1484, No. 21), a Spanish translation of several despatches formerly written in French, the dates of them being the 3rd, 10th, 18th, and 20th of August, all of which will be found in Bergenroth's Collection, Vol. X., as transcripts, not indeed from Simancas, but from the Archives in Paris, under the signature of Simancas *Olim*, B. 4, No. 57.

p. 200, No. 91, par. 2, l. 4. Sentleger is meant for Sir Anthony St. Leger, of Henry's Privy Chamber. He had a brother named Robert.

p. 207, par. 3. The son of Gian. Battista Sabello (Savelli), can be no other than Jacopo, bishop of Nicastro and Teramo, who in December 1539 was created cardinal by Pope Paul. The rest of the future cardinals, in the order they are mentioned in the passage, were:—1, Henry, or Enrique, de Borja, son of the duke of Gandia; 2, Prothonotary Guidichon (Bartholomeo Guidiccione), vicar of Rome; 3, Protho-

notary Uberto Gambara; 4, Marcello Cervini, bp. of Nicastro; 5, Ascanio Parisani, bp. of Rimini, Paul's treasurer; 6, the auditor of the Apostolic Chamber at Rome [Jacopo Simonetta]; 7, the General of the Servites (Magister Dyonisius, generalis Ordinis Servorum).

p. 208, par. 2. "*The Pope will not appoint Orsino, the abbot of Farfa.*" His name was Napoleone, the celebrated abbé and "condottiero," so often mentioned in the pages of this calendar. "Di nome tremendo nell' opere sue, risveglio nelle monti Italiane la vecchia memoria de' pascati Napoleoni," says Sansovino (*L'Historia di Casa Orsino.* Ven., 1565; fol., pp. 55 and 58). His life was one of continual stir and trouble. At times the ally of France against the Emperor, and generally hostile to the Colonna, he always upheld the French party in Italy. After a war with his own brothers, he returned to Rome under the pontificate of Paul, and whilst conducting to Naples a sister of his, who was to be married in that town, was attacked on the road by brigands and slain, near Fossombrone in the duchy of Orbino. The author above mentioned quotes the following verse composed by an anonymous poet after his death:—

> "Cadde l'Orsino, & nel cader s' estinse
> Ogni glorie di Marta, et Roma pianse
> Poiche chi inuitto uisse, morto uinse."

He was the son of Gian. Giordano Orsino, and Pier Luigi Farnese, the Pope's son, had been married to a lady of that family, called Hieronima.

p. 219. To the note (†) at the foot of that page the following supplementary remarks will not be considered superfluous. There were at this time two marchionesses of *Pescara* living: one the widow of the marquis Ferrante Davalos d' Aquino, who commanded the Neapolitan infantry at Pavia, and died in 1527; the other the wife of his cousin, Alfonso, better known as marquis del Gasto, and *Pescara.* The former's name was Vittoria Colonna, daughter of Fabricio and sister of Ascanio. The latter was Maria de Aragon, whose sister, Joanna, was married to Ascanio Colonna, Which of the two—the dowager widow of Ferrante, or the wife of Alfonso — is the one described in Lope Hurtado's letter, No. 23, p. 59, as maliciously interfering in the marital quarrels of the Emperor's natural daughter [Margaret] with her young husband [Ottavio Farnese] it is difficult to determine; for Vittoria, soon after her husband's death at Milan, withdrew to a nunnery in Naples, where she died in 1547; whereas Gasto's wife, D. Maria, was still living when he died in 1546. To judge, however, from the passage there alluded to, in which Ascanio's son [Fabricio?] is mentioned, I should say that by "the marchioness of Pescara" the wife of Gasto must be meant, since she was the sister of Joanna or Juana de Aragon, duchess of Tagliacozzo and Pagliano by her marriage to Ascanio Colonna, and consequently aunt of Fabricio, son of Ascanio.

p. 234, par. 2. The Prince of the Green Turbans or Caps, as elsewhere (p. 9), was no other than the khan of Tatary (*sic*), a descendant of Timur or Tamerlane. It was to him that shah Thamasp married his *sister*, or, as in the passage alluded to, his own *daughter*.

p. 243, No. 114. The reader will be surprised to find the first mention of Cromwell's execution occurring in a letter from high commander Cobos, the Emperor's chief secretary, to the marquis de Aguilar, the ambassador at Rome. The original draft of this letter is at Simancas, and there is also a transcript of it in the Bergenroth Collection. In his journey to Flanders through France, at the end of the year 1539, the Emperor did not take his secretary with him; he left him behind at Madrid as a councillor of State. It was from there, on the 29th of July, that Cobos wrote to the Imperial ambassador at Rome the news of the Lord Privy Seal's execution, which he himself must have received either from Alonso Idiaquez or from Juan Vazquez de Molina, the two secretaries whom the Emperor took with him to Flanders. But how could Cobos at Madrid have heard of an event which took place in London on the same day? for Cromwell's execution, according to all accounts, took place six weeks after his arrest on the 11th June, that is, on the 29th of July 1540. It is only by supposing the date of the minute to be altogether wrong, and the clerk to have written July instead of August, that the similarity between the two dates can be accounted for; the more so that in the next letter (No. 115) from the High Commander to secretary Juan Vazquez de Molina, dated the 3rd of August, mention is made of Anne de Clèves' repudiation by Henry, which is known to have preceded Cromwell's arrest and execution by some weeks.

As neither the dean of Cambray [Maioris], who in March 1540 came to London as Charles' ambassador, nor Chapuys, who replaced him in October, says a word about Cromwell; as, on the other hand, Charles de Marillac, Francis' ambassador in England, has given us full details respecting the Privy Seal's arrest, condemnation, and execution, it will not be amiss for me to abstract here some of his despatches to king Francis or to the High Constable (Anne de Montmorency), lately published by the Foreign Office of France—*Correspondence politique de Mons. de Marillac*, Paris, 1885.

Mons. de Marillac to king Francis:

"I have just been told that Master Thomas Cromwell, keeper of the Privy Seal, and this king's vicar-general in spiritual matters, who ever since the death of cardinal Wolsey has had the chief management of affairs in this kingdom, and was lately created Lord High Chamberlain (*Grand Chambellan*), was one hour ago sent a prisoner to the Tower, and all his property judicially confiscated; which piece of intelligence, though it may be interpreted by some as a private act of the King, and one comparatively of small importance—since after all it only signifies reducing a personage of that class to the low state and condition from which he was

raised and exalted, and treating him as in the opinion of many here he richly deserved to be treated—I consider of great importance, as it must sooner or later have an effect on this King's political views, if it does not indicate, as I presume, a radical change with regard to the religious innovations of which Master Cromwell himself had been the chief inventor and promoter. On this account, and considering the news to be important, I have deemed it my duty to inform you as soon as possible of the event, adding that until now no radical measure or final resolution in matters of religion has been taken, though the bishops are every day meeting together, and Parliament is still sitting to decide."

"I was about to close and seal this letter when a gentleman courtier came to tell me, in the King's name, not to wonder at Master Cromwell having been lodged in the Tower, for although common people, as usual, assigned various and different causes for his imprisonment, which causes I might perhaps have considered reliable, and probably reported home as such—yet the King wished me to hear from his own lips the exact truth and his reasons for the arrest of his privy councillor, whatever his authority and rank might be. The causes were substantially these: that whilst he (the King) was desirous by all means in his power to establish the fact of religion (*establir le faict de la religion*) and reduce it to the true way, the said Cromwell, strongly attached, as he was, to the party of the German Lutherans, had always resisted with all his power his desires in that line, favoring those doctors and theologians who preached the erroneous doctrines [of those sectarians], and preventing the others as far as he could from preaching and asserting the contrary of those doctrines. That very lately, having been falsely advised and admonished by some of his own confidential servants, apparently his friends, to think seriously of what he was planning and doing against the intentions and wishes of his Royal master and the Acts of Parliament, he had openly declared that he had no hope whatever of being able to suppress the *old* preachers, and letting the *new* ones be heard; but that matters would soon come to a crisis. The King, with all his power, would be unable to stop the former, and then his own party (Cromwell's) would become so strong that the King, willingly or unwillingly, would be obliged to embrace the new opinions in matters of religion, or else take up arms against him (*prendre les armes a l'encontre de luy*). Should this be the case (Cromwell had said), he trusted not to be inferior in the contest, but superior and stronger, so as altogether to win the day and firmly establish the order of things of which he had been thinking long ago. These projects and intrigues of Cromwell had been revealed to the King by the very people on whom he himself most trusted, and who, preferring fidelity to him (the King) to favor and grace from their private master, had gone up to him, and reported what they had heard and seen.

"The King's messenger further said that on the very first occasion of my going to Court the King will tell me so many

and such things about Cromwell, that I shall be fully convinced of his criminality. He (the King) had long dissembled, but could no longer postpone the punishment of the culprit on this occasion."—*Marillac to king Francis;* London, 11 June 1540, pp. 189–90.

The Same to the High Constable [Montmorency]:

"Monseigneur,—The split between this king's ministers, of which I wrote in one of my late despatches as likely to end in the ruin and destruction of one of the two parties, has come to pass. That of lord Cromwell seemed some days ago to be the stronger, owing to the dean of the Royal Chapel [at Windsor], bishop of Chichester [Richard Sampson] having been arrested; but now it is almost entirely destroyed by the sudden arrest of its chief, not one of his former friends and adherents remaining by his side, save, perhaps, the archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer), who dares no longer open his mouth in his defence, and the Lord Admiral of England, who for a long time back has learned the art of sailing with every wind. These two, however, could do nothing against such adversaries in the King's Council as the duke of Norfolk and the rest of the councillors, so that Cromwell's disgrace became an accomplished fact—indeed, his fall and his imprisonment are things so wonderful and so unexpected that they have taken every one by surprise."—*Marillac to the High Constable Montmorency;* London, 11 June 1540, pp. 190–1.

King Francis to Marillac:

"Master Walop, the English ambassador, has to-day come to apprize me, in his master's name, of Master Cromwell's arrest, a piece of intelligence which not only has been agreeable to me, but which, owing to the singular and perfect friendship which I have always professed, and do profess, for the said king, my brother, I have received with singular pleasure, as it has given me an opportunity to thank God. I beg you, Mr. Marillac, to present to the King the enclosed letters of credence, and to tell him that, in my humble opinion, he has good reason to thank God for having afforded him cognizance of the faults and malversations of that wretched individual Cromwell—the sole cause of all the suspicions and ill-will by him entertained, not only against his friends but against his most private, loyal, and best servants, as it has been proved by the facts which God has been pleased to bring to his knowledge. My brother will thus learn how easy it will be for him, after removing from his side so wicked and wretched an instrument, to devote himself entirely to the peace and quieting of his own kingdom, the common weal of the Church, and especially that of the princes, nobles, and commoners of England—a thing, Mr. Marillac, which I beg you to put before the King's eyes as coming from me, his friend and perpetual ally."—*King Francis to Marillac;* Fontainebleau, 15 June 1540, pp. 191–2.

Mr. de Marillac to king Francis:

. . . . . .

"Cromwell's arrest took place at Westminster, in the Council Hall (*Chambre du Conseil*). On the governor (*cappitaine*) of the Tower entering the Hall and announcing to him that he had the King's commands to take him prisoner, the latter burst into a passion, took his bonnet off his head, and flung it on the ground. 'Is this,' said he to the duke of Norfolk and to the rest of the privy councillors there assembled, 'the reward for the services I have done to the King, my master? I appeal to your consciences, am I a traitor, as I have been accused of being? Since I am treated in this manner, I must at once renounce all hope of mercy and grace—I who never thought that I was offending. If the King thinks that I have, my only request is that he make quick work of me, and will not let me languish long in prison.' Upon which part of the councillors said that he was really a traitor; others said that he should be judged by the same laws which he himself had made—so rigorous and sanguinary that words idly spoken had often been construed into treason and crimes of lese majesty. The duke of Norfolk particularly, after reproaching him with some villanies, tore the St. George from his neck. Then the Admiral (Fitzwilliam), to show himself as great an enemy of his in adversity as he would have been a friend in prosperity, as people imagined, stripped off the Garter. He was then led down into a barge, by a gate which opened into the river, and rowed secretly and without noise to the Tower, the people of this city not becoming aware of it until they actually saw the King's archers, under the conduct of Mr. Cheney, at the door of the prisoner's house, where an inventory was taken of his property and chattels. This, however, was not so valuable as people might have imagined, and yet considerable enough for a man of his stuff (*pour ung compaignon de telle estoffe*), since a sum of 7,000 pounds sterling, equivalent to 28,000 crs. (*escus*) of our French money, was found, and perhaps a larger one in silver plate, including crosses, chalices, mitres, vases, and other utensils coming from the spoliation of churches and monasteries, the whole of which were before night deposited in the Royal treasury, which is to me a sign that the King does not intend giving them back and releasing his prisoner.

"The day after the minutes of many letters were found addressed by Cromwell to the German princes and lords who adhere to Luther's doctrines, as well as the answers to those letters. I have not yet been able to ascertain what the correspondence was about, but I hear from a good source that the King is so incensed against him that he will not allow any one to mention his name in his presence; on the contrary, he wishes all memory of him to be forgotten as soon as possible, as if he had been the most miserable wretch that ever lived in England. In proof of which, soon after Cromwell's arrest, the King began to distribute all the offices and commissions he formerly had, as you will presently hear, a proclamation being issued forbidding all persons to call him Lord of the Privy Seal, as though he had never held that office

or give him any other title or signory, but merely mention him as Thomas Cromwell, the shearer of cloth, thus taking away from him all privileges and prerogatives of nobility conferred on him. His less valuable household furniture, vestments, and so forth, were by the King's order distributed among Cromwell's servants, who, however, were enjoined not to use in future their master's livery. Such things make people think that Cromwell will not be judged by the lords, and that, if sentenced to death by them, he will not be beheaded, as is the custom of this country, but will be dragged through the streets of this city, and then hung and quartered as a low traitor. Perhaps in a few days' time we shall witness the catastrophe, especially as for the last few days Parliament, which is to close at the end of this month, has been deliberating about having the prisons emptied.

"With regard to other prisoners, no one can say what their fate will be, only that hope is entertained that the Debitis (Deputy of Calais) will be spared, inasmuch as the King was heard to say two days ago that he cannot persuade himself that the Debitis (Deputy of Calais) has acted maliciously, but merely out of sheer ignorance, in the affair of which he is accused.

"It now remains for me to tell you who has succeeded to the various honors, charges, and estates of the said Cromwell. I will say nothing of those personages whom you already know, presuming that no further information is required concerning them. The Privy Seal has been given to the admiral Fitzwilliam, whilst Master Russel has become Lord High Admiral of England in his room. The bishop of Durham (Cuthbert Tunstall) has been appointed first secretary, or vicegerent in ecclesiastical causes. In spiritual matters nothing has yet been decided. It is, however, rumoured that if one be appointed to that office, it will be the bishop of Westminster, who, since the arrest of his adversary and capital enemy (Cromwell), has been recalled to the Privy Council, which he rarely attended before. For the affairs of justice, the Chancellor (Lord Thomas Audeley) has been deputed, who, among other accomplishments (*vertus*), has that of being unable to speak either French or Latin, and has besides the reputation of being a good salesman of justice whenever a good bidder is to be found. They have appointed under him a clerk or chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, the most wretched creature in all England, and the first inventor of the destruction of abbeys and monasteries, the general confiscation of Church property, and all sorts of innovations in religious matters.* The Chancellor I speak of was the real adviser of such measures, whilst Cromwell was the executor of them by lending his authority, on which account he had the title of Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, owing to his having thereby increased or augmented the King's treasury and revenue. He might just as well have been called the 'Chancellor of the Diminutions,' for having diminished and curtailed the

* Sir Richard Ryche, Solicitor-General.

property of the Church, as well as the reputation he himself had of being a learned and wise man."—*Marillac to the High Constable Montmorency;* 23 June 1540, pp. 192–3.

Marillac to Montmorency:

"Master Thomas Cromwell, condemned and sentenced to death by Parliament, as I announced in one of my last despatches, was beheaded this morning in front of the Tower, the spot where similar executions generally take place, the King having graciously exempted him from a graver and more ignominious sort of death. At the same time with him, and in the same place, was beheaded lord Haigrefort (Hungerford), a nobleman aged about 40, accused of sodomy, of having had incestuous intercourse with his own daughter, and made use of magical arts and invocations to the Devil. Since noon someone has called to tell me that Dr. Barnes and some others will be burnt alive. That will make me keep this my letter closed till the evening, that I may let you know whether the execution has really taken place or not, for I am told that the number of those condemned to death amounts to forty-two (*sic*). It is, moreover, thought that this very week many more executions will take place of people condemned and sentenced by Parliament, who, not being included in the general amnesty and pardon granted by the King, have been sentenced either to death or to perpetual confinement in the Tower prison, according as the King may use clemency or rigour towards them. I observe that among those to be executed there are some of whose names mention should be made, and that is why I call your attention to the enclosed memorandum and list of them."*—London, 23 of June 1540, p. 193.

Marillac to the King:

"Sire,—My despatch of the 23rd contained an account of the execution of Master Cromwell and of the seigneur Lord Hangrefort† (Hungerford). Two days after took place that of the six doctors, three of whom were hung as traitors, in the usual way, for having some time ago spoken in favor of the Pope. Their names are Pol (Powel?), Abel (Abell), and the prior of Dencaster (Doncaster). The other three were burnt as heretics, namely, Drs. Barnes, Garard, and Hierosme (Jerome). And certainly it was wonderful to witness the execution on the same day and at the same hour of people professing different doctrines and belonging to opposite parties: an equally scandalous execution for the one as for the other party—each of them pretending to have been offended by the other—and a most horrible one to witness or hear of, considering the stubborn obstinacy with which each of the parties respectively defended their case, complaining to the last that justice had not been observed, but, on the contrary, had been perverted and infringed in their case, each and every one of them maintaining to the last that they had never been summoned before

* The document here alluded to has not been found in Marillac's original correspondence, or else its editors would have printed it.

† Haigrefort. *See* above.

a judge, and were entirely ignorant of the cause of their imprisonment and condemnation to such an ignominious death—that the condition of the Christians in this century of Grace was far worse than that of the Jews—at the time when it was strictly forbidden among them to try and sentence a man to death before hearing his defence, and his being convicted of the crime or offence of which he was accused.

"I need not give here the names of those, ten in number, who were executed last Wednesday. One was the natural son (*filz, bastard*) of the late Grand Squire, Master Carau (Sir Nicholas Carew), and by his side a friar, who would not put off his frock, but persisted in wearing it in public. The other eight were all men of low rank and almost unknown."—*Marillac to the King;* London, 23 June 1540, pp. 193–6.

p. 244, par. 2. "Half-fruits," &c. After the word division, ending with a —, the word "pension" ought to be inserted, otherwise the sentence has no meaning. Uberto Foglieta, who is there recommended by the high commander (Francisco de los Cobos, or Covos) for a pension on the archbishopric of Granada, was most likely the brother of Agostino, a Roman lawyer employed by Mai, Cifuentes, and other Imperial ambassadors in the long suit instituted by queen Katherine in consequence of her divorce (*see* Vol. IV., Part II., p. 12).

Corda, in the third line of the same paragraph, is an "erratum" for Coria, a town of Extramadura, and in the note (†) at the foot of the page, La *Corda* is again wrong for La Cerda, the family name of the dukes of Medinaceli. The general of the Franciscans at this time was no longer Fr. Francisco de Quiñones, whose death is recorded at p. 289, but Fr. Vincencio Lunel, a Spaniard, whose brother Antonio is erroneously called by Gams *Lunelli*.

p. 247, No. 117. In this letter of the 10th of August from Mr. de St. Mauris to the Emperor, reference is made to a previous one of the 5th, which is not in the Imperial Archives of Vienna nor at Simancas. This is the more to be regretted that there are certain obscure passages in the one abstracted that cannot be sufficiently cleared up. For in the first place, what does the Imperial ambassador in France mean, whilst condoling with the Emperor at the sharp and long attack of gout from which he was still suffering, by the words "owing to your journey to Iceland?" No historian, that I know of, speaks of a journey to that island made by the Emperor in 1540; whilst Vandenesse, who accompanied him in all his journeys, and marked down with scrupulous care all the places his master staid at, makes no mention at all of Iceland. After leaving Paris in January, visiting queen Mary of Hungary in Brussels, putting down the rebellion of Ghent in May and punishing its inhabitants, the Emperor visited Flushing, Dordrecht, Rotterdam, and La Hague; on the 11th of August he was at Haarlem, on the 12th at Amsterdam, and on the 14th at Utrecht. The only plausible conjecture I can offer is that the writer of the letter may have employed the word Iceland figuratively, as the "country of Ice," or Northern Germany.

ibid, par. 3. "With regard to the Clèves marriages," &c. It might be supposed at first sight that the Imperial ambassador alludes to that of Anne de Clèves and king Henry, but it is not so; the Emperor's inquiry and the ambassador's answer refer to that of the duke of Clèves and Juliers (Guillaume de La Mark) with Jeanne d'Albret, Francis' niece, which really took place, but was subsequently annulled.—Henri Martin, *Histoire de France,* Vol. VIII., *liv.* xlix.

p. 248, par. 2. "This information was imparted to me by Mr. d'Ezcurren, who had it from Mons. Antoine de la Cruz," &c. In Part II. of Vol. V., pp. 462, 484-5, frequent mention is made of one Azcarren, or L'Azcarren, a Navarrese gentleman attached to the suite of Henri II. d'Albret, titular king of Navarre, then residing at Pau. He it was who introduced Martin de Salinas, the king of the Romans' ambassador in Spain, to Henri and to Margaret, his wife, sister of Francis I. The object of Salinas' mission was to ascertain what sort of compensation Henri d'Albret, a son of Jeanne, the last queen of Navarre, would ask to relinquish his pretended rights to that kingdom. Mr. d' Azcarren, or Ezcurren, as he is there called (*see* pp. 248–9), must be the same person elsewhere alluded to as having commenced the negociation at Pau, the more so that he is said to have derived his information from Mr. Antoine de la Croix, as the writers of the time call him: *i.e.,* Antoine de la Cruz de Albret, son of Henri I. of Navarre, and brother of the second Henri d'Albret, whom the Austrian ambassador visited in 1538.

p. 263. "Bishop Pietro Bossio." It is doubtful whether Bossio is not an error for Blosio (Pietro), Clement VII.'s secretary, mentioned at p. 244.

p. 266. D. Gaston de la Cerda, third duke of Medina Celi, was the second son of duke D. Juan. At the death of D. Luis, the eldest, who left no children, D. Gaston inherited the large estates of his family —one of the noblest in Spain, since they claim their descent from the Infante Don Fernando de la Cerda. D. Gaston, however, who early in life, and whilst his brother was still alive, had taken the frock in a Hieronimite convent, and had afterwards become Knight of St. John, must have appealed to an ecclesiastical court in demand of some sort of dispensation to leave the Church and marry, and hence the suit at Rome instituted by his own brother, Don Juan, who succeeded him as fourth duke.—Lopez de Haro, *Nobiliario Genealogico,* Vol. I., lib. i., cap. xi., p. 83.

p. 267, par. 4. Two officials of the name of Sanchez are mentioned in the High Commander's letter to secretary Alonso Idiaquez, who had then replaced him near the Emperor. One is *Alonso,* who from 1531 to 1535 was the king of the Romans' ambassador in Venice and in Rome, and another *Antonio Gabriel,* whose death is recorded as having happened before the 22nd of Sept. 1541. This latter, who was treasurer first of Aragon and afterwards of Naples, may have been the son or nephew of another Gabriel Sanchez, who, under

the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, held the office of treasurer to those monarchs, and furnished Columbus with part of the funds required for his voyage of discovery.

ibid. Gonzalo Perez, who in paragraph the fifth is said to be wanting the abbey of Arles, is no other than the translator of Homer's Odyssey in verse, and the father of Antonio, who succeeded him in his post of secretary to the Emperor. There is, however, no place in Spain called *Arles* or *Artes*, and therefore I am inclined to think that the correct reading is Arbas or Arbes, the name of a rich abbey in Navarre.

ibid, same par. Dr. Scoriazo (a misprint for Scoriaza) can be no other than the Emperor's chief physician, *Escoriaza*, whose letters and reports on Charles' health during his frequent absences from Spain have already been abstracted. *See* Vol. IV., Part II., of this Calendar, pp. 42, 197, 449, 618, 780.

p. 280, No. 132, par. 1. The name of the cardinal of the Borgia (Borja) family there mentioned was Enrique (Henry), who in 1539 was bishop of Squillace, in the kingdom of Naples. Created cardinal by Paul III. in January 1540, he died shortly after at Viterbo, of a malignant fever, before he could go to Rome and take his seat in the Sacred College. *See* Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, Vol. XIII., p. 517. He was the son of the duke of Gandia.

p. 286. The date of the letter (No. 137) is altogether wrong, for on the 3rd of November 1539 the Emperor was still in Spain, on his way to Paris. He passed the night of the 27th at Bayonne, where he was met by the dauphin of France (Henri de Valois), cardinal Châtillon, the High Constable of France (Montmorency), and several princes, officers, and gentlemen of Francis' household. On the 10th, at noon, he was at La Roche, and reached Loches at night of the same day. Here he was met by cardinals Bourbon, Lorraine, Lisieux, Tournon, Boulogne, Macon, Paris, Châtillon, and Gaddi. There he was met by king Francis, and Paris was reached on the evening of the 1st of January 1540. After a week's stay in Paris, and a visit to Madrid—a pleasure house in the Bois de Boulogne, built by Francis, and probably so called in order to elude his promise of visiting the Emperor in his capital—the latter left for Flanders, and on the 21st of the same month was at Valenciennes.

p. 292. In the second paragraph of Cobos' letter (No. 141) to Sarmiento de Mendoza, Imperial ambassador in Portugal, reference is made to a bishop of Viseu (Miguel de Silva), who was at Rome in September or October 1540, most likely on a mission of Joaõ III. to the Pope, and perhaps also soliciting a cardinal's hat for himself. At least such is the inference naturally to be drawn from the Pope's declaration to Aguilar respecting him. However, notwithstanding Paul's dislike and reluctance to create Silva a cardinal, it appears that the Portuguese prelate at last succeeded in gaining Papal favor, and being promoted to the purple in 1541. An inedited letter of the marquis de Aguilar to the Emperor, dated the 15th of January

1541, has the following:—"His Holiness, in the Consistory held before the last Temporas (Ember-days), suddenly got up from his chair, and without any previous notice declared that the bishop of Viseu was the cardinal he had reserved '*in pectore*' at his last creation. The cause of his nomination, as cardinal Santa Croce has given us to understand, is no other than his having been once the Pope's schoolfellow '*in minoribus*,' and so great a friend of his that in after life he stood godfather to cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Paul's grandson, and, more particularly perhaps, his having brought here [to Rome] a large sum of money, of which he may have divided a good portion among those who have interceded for him. At any rate, the French ambassador has, I am told, complained of the nomination of the Portuguese, and spoken to the Pope against it, saying, among other things, that his master, the King, had written ordering him to suspend all negociations until he receives fresh instructions from France."

p. 294. The note at the foot of the page is erroneously given. After his return to England, at the end of August or beginning of September, Chapuys wrote to Granvelle on the 3rd of the latter month, to the queen of Hungary on the 23rd of October (No. 134), and on the 31st to the Emperor (No. 135). No letter of the 16th of October is to be found in the Imperial Archives of Vienna, unless it be misplaced, as is often the case, in some other bundle of official papers of later date. It has already been observed that Chapuys was out of England when Cromwell's execution took place; but he had already returned to his post when Henry's marriage to Katharine Howard was made public, and yet the first allusion to her is that contained in his letter of the 23rd of December, when he waited upon the King at Hampton Court, and had audience from him. From this I conclude that some of that ambassador's despatches must be either missing or misplaced. However this may be, as Marillac, in his exceedingly interesting letters to king Francis or to his ministers, speaks of the rumours afloat among courtiers five weeks before, in July, I will abstract here two of his letters in which the Royal marriage is mentioned. In one of them, dated the 21st of July 1541, after lamenting the repudiation of Anne de Clèves by the King, he continues:—

"However that may be, it is generally reported that the King will shortly marry a lady of great beauty, the daughter of the brother, now deceased, of the [present] duke of Norfolk. Should I be allowed to express my own opinion on the matter, I should say that, if my information from various quarters be correct, the King's marriage to the lady has already been effected and consummated. Yet, as the affair is kept secret, I dare not announce the latter as a positive fact, especially as in a few days I shall be able to ascertain what truth there may be in the whole affair."—*Marillac to the High Constable Montmorency;* London, 21 July 1540, p. 202.

Five weeks after the same ambassador wrote:—

"I have nothing more to write about, save that during this journey (*a ce progrez*) I have had occasion to see the new queen—

a young lady of middling beauty* and greater grace, short and delicate-looking, very modest countenance, and sweet though deliberate looks, of whom this king is so passionately fond just now that he could not, however affectionately he may treat her, sufficiently manifest the love he bears her, which, to judge from outward demonstrations, far exceeds that which he ever professed for other ladies [of this court]. She dresses in the French fashion, as all the other ladies of this court, and bears the following motto round her armorial scutcheon: "Non aultre volunte que la sienne."—*Marillac to the High Constable Montmorency;* London, 4 Sept. 1540, p. 218.

p. 302, No. 144. The Scotch ambassador there called "Jean Camail" can be no other than Sir John Campbell. *See* State Papers, Vol. V., p. 238.

p. 305, No. 149. The duchess of Suffolk's name was not Margaret, as erroneously stated in line 13 of the first paragraph, but *Mary*, the sister of king Henry, and wife of king Louis XII. of France, after whose death, on the 1st of January 1515, she married Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

p. 336, l. 35. "Junto al puerto del Tube" are the words of the copy, but no such a name appears on the maps I have consulted. According to other accounts, the murder of Fragoso and Rincon took place at the confluent of the Ticino and the Po by Spaniards from the garrison of Pavia.

p. 339, No. 171. The Medici (Lorenzo) mentioned in the last paragraph, line 15 of Don Diego de Mendoza's letter to the Emperor, dated 12 July, as residing then in France, and having applied for the post of French ambassador at Constantinople in the room of Fragoso (Cesare) and Rincon (Antonio), murdered a few weeks before, can be no other than the celebrated Lorenzo de' Medici, generally known by the surname of Lorenzino, the same who in January 1537 is reported to have slain with his own hand his kinsman Alessandro, at the time duke of Florence. Lorençino was the son of Laurentio or Lorenzo de' Medici and of Semiramis Apiano, daughter of Jacopo or Giacopo, lord of Piombino. He himself, after being employed on various missions by king Francis, was slain by robbers on his way from Paris to Venice.

Pietro Strozzi, his friend and confederate, who became Marshal of France and died in June 1558, had married Laudemia de' Medici, daughter (or sister ?) of Lorenzino.

p. 345, l. 2. "The duke of Clèves, my nephew," says king Francis to Marillac, his ambassador in England, in one of the letters, of which Chapuys procured a copy through Philip Honz. The Duke is no

* The words in the text are: "une jeune dame de beauté mediocre, mais de plus grande grace, de stature petite, et grèle, de contenance modeste et deliberee," which portrait of the lady materially disagrees with that of Marillac's preceding letter, where Katharine, before her marriage, is described as "une dame de grande beauté." The editors of the correspondence have observed that there is a contradiction in the passage, and the negative particle ought to be introduced before the adjective "mediocre," which would render the text, if not more intelligible than it is, at least less contradictory.

other than Guillaume de La Mark, duke of Clèves and Juliers, who, after the death of Charles d'Egmont, duke of Ghelders, claimed this latter duchy as his inheritance. He was the son of John III., and the brother of Anne, Henry VIII.'s repudiated wife. Francis I. perceiving that, nothwithstanding the Emperor's offers, he could not obtain possession of the much coveted duchy of Milan, decided to break the truce made at Nizza in June, and confirmed at Aigues Mortes in July of the previous year. There was about that time a secret negociation between the Emperor's agents and those of the titular king of Navarre, Henri II. of Albret, pending which a marriage between prince Philip of Spain, the Emperor's son, and Jeanne d'Albret had been offered on condition of Henri and his wife, Marguerite de Navarre, a sister of king Francis, consenting to the cession of whatever rights they might have, or pretend to have, to that kingdom. That the marriage was really effected, though subsequently annulled, is a fact which Henri Martin records in his *Histoire de France*, Vol. VIII., *liv.* xlix.

p. 355, No. 182, par. 1. Passano, in l. 5, where Martin Alonso, the Emperor's messenger, is said to have met the Pope and have had an audience from him, must be an error for Pagliano, a small town of the Roman States, and capital of a duchy belonging to the Colonna family.

ibid, par. 2. The cardinal of Medicis, of whose assassination Pope Paul was accused by Hieronymo de Carpi, chamberlain of the duke of Florence (Alessandro de' Medici), can be no other than Ippolito, son of Julio, or Giuliano, governor of Florence, whom Pope Clement created cardinal in 1529. He was bishop of Avignon, and died, according to Ciaconius, tom. iii., p. 234, of the plague, when he was preparing to join Charles' expedition against Algiers. Of this Julio or Giuliano Pope Clement is generally reputed to have been the natural son, whilst Alessandro was that of Clement.

p. 368, No. 196. "I am now expecting from the same man four more ciphered alphabets," &c. It is with the help of these that Chapuys was enabled to read and transcribe the letters and papers which the French ambassador's servant or secretary procured him from time to time.

Joined to this despatch of Chapuys' to the queen of Hungary, dated Oct. 5, 1541, are several documents in cipher, which I suppose are the copies of Marillac's correspondence with king Francis and his ministers during the years 1540–1—the same which the Imperial ambassador deciphered and sent home; if so, they have already been abstracted and chronologically placed according to their dates.

p. 384, No. 204. It would have been important to obtain a copy of the letter which Chapuys says he had written *les Caresmaux passes*—last Lent—that is, in June or July 1541, announcing to the queen of Hungary that there had been during that time much consultation and talk about the King's divorce from his Queen (Katharine Howard), but the letter is not to be found at Vienna nor at Simancas. As a substitute for that letter I will abstract here

what Marillac himself says, at about the same time, concerning an event which seems to have taken every one by surprise:—

"What induces me to suspect that I am right in my conjecture is, that I know for certain that the lady in question has lately been accused of having had connexion with a gentleman of this court, whilst she was living in the house of the old duchess of Norfolk, the mother of lord William [Howard], and that the King's physicians have declared her unable to bear children. I also take into consideration the fact of the King having for some time back behaved towards her as he did towards his late queen Anne [Boleyn]—avoiding as much as possible her company; and that the Queen herself, who formerly did nothing but dance and amuse herself, keeps now her apartments without showing herself, and that when musicians with their instruments call at her door they are dismissed, saying that it is no longer time for dancing. Her brother [Lord Henry], a gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber, has been exiled from Court without his being told the cause or reason for it; and if matters have come to this pass, the duke of Norfolk must be exceedingly sorry and troubled, for the said Queen happens to be his own niece, and the daughter of his brother [Lord Edmund], just as Anne [Boleyn] was also his niece on his sister's side, and his having been the chief cause of the King marrying her.

"I set people of mine to watch in the neighbourhood of Hampton Court, and the only thing they have learned is that yesterday, at night, the archbishop of Canterbury [Cranmer], to whom the fact had been first revealed, entered the Royal palace with others; and since then, I am told, that an inventory has been taken of all rings and jewels belonging to the Queen, which, if true, there can be no doubt as to the rest. However this may be, so many people of my acquaintance affirm the fact that, if I have been deceived in this matter, it must be owned that they and I, and indeed all those who can judge and have experience of English affairs, must be in error.

"With respect to the lady whom the King is likely to take for wife, all here think that she will be the same that he repudiated a year ago, who has conducted herself as wisely and virtuously as is possible to imagine; who, moreover, is now more beautiful (*plus belle*) than ever she was, more regretted and sympathized with than even queen Katharine of Aragon in a similar case. Besides which there is no signal, that I know of, of the King wishing to marry again, or of his having placed his affections elsewhere."—*Marillac to the King;* p. 352–4.

p. 390. Mary (Maria), the Emperor's daughter, was born at Madrid on the 21st of June 1528. In 1548 she was married to the archduke Maximilian II., who, upon the death of Ferdinand, his father, in 1564, became emperor of Germany. After Maximilian's death in 1575, Maria, his widow, returned to Spain, and entered the convent of Las Descalzas Reales, in Madrid, founded by her sister, Doña Juana. She died there on the 26th of February 1603.

There lived at the same time two Infantas of Portugal of the same name, both belonging to the Royal house of Portugal, of whom frequent mention has been made in the pages of this Calendar. As they have been often mistaken one for the other, it will not be considered inopportune to give here some notice of both. One was *Maria*, the daughter of king Dom Manoel, of Portugal, and of Eleanor, of Austria, the Emperor's sister. The other, born in 1527, was the daughter of Dom Joaõ III., son and successor of Dom Manoel, who occupied the throne of Portugal from 1521 to 1557. The former was betrothed to the Dauphin, Charles de Valois, duke of Orleans, son of Francis I., but the marriage never took place, and she died single in 1577; whilst the latter married, in November 1543, Philip II., son of Charles V., and died on the 12th of July 1545, after her confinement. She was the first of the four wives of that monarch, and the mother of prince Don Carlos, whose untimely and somewhat mysterious end has furnished subject for many a novel.

p. 391, last par. "Nicolao Ardinghello, bishop of Vessumbrun." The name of this bishop is variously written in the marquis of Aguilar's despatches, sometimes *Andrighelli*, at others *Ardinghelli*, but by consulting Gams' *Series Episcoporum*, &c., and Baronio's *Annales Ecclesiastici*, Vol. XXXIII., p. 573, I find that the latter spelling is the correct one. He became Paul's first secretary and datary, and was sent to France as Papal Nuncio in November 1541 to solicit the observance of the truce by Francis, and the release of the archbishop of Valencia, George of Austria, natural son of the emperor Maximilian, and uncle of Charles, who, on his journey to Liège, whose episcopal coadjutorship he had just obtained, was taken prisoner—no doubt in retaliation for Fragoso and Rincon, murdered in Italy. As to Vessumbrun, which is also called Frossombrone and Foss San Bruno, I need not observe that it is a corruption of Fossombrone, the ancient "Forum Sempronii," an episcopal town in the legation of Urbino.

p. 406 par. 3. "Cardinal Parisio and auditor Marcello." The former's name name was Paolo; he was bishop of Nicastro until 1541, when he was raised to the purple. Marcello—that is, *Antonio Marcello Cervini*, for such was his full name—had been secretary to cardinal Alessandro Farnese when this latter went to Spain as legate. (*See* above, pp. 184, 207, 218, 406.) He was created cardinal by Paul III. in December 1539, and after the death of Julius III. (Giovan M. Giocchi), in 1555, was elected Pope, under the name of Marcellus II., but died some days after.

p. 424. Francesco Sfondrato (not Sfrondato, as his name has been sometimes spelt) was born at Cremona in 1494. His father, Gian. Battista, who died in 1497, had been senator of Milan. Francesco, who was at first count of La Riviera, was also created Senator by Francesco II. Sforza, duke of Milan. He married Anna Visconti, by whom he had a son, named Nicolao, born on the 21st of Feb. 1535, and who, in 1560, became bishop of Cremona, cardinal in

1583, and lastly, in Dec. 1590, Pope, under the appellation of Gregory XIV. He died on the 15th of October 1591.

Soon after his wife's death count Francesco went into the Church, became bishop of Sarno, and afterwards archbishop of Amalfi. In December 1541 he was appointed, as has been seen, temporary governor of Siena (Sena), then promoted to the cardinalate, and lastly sent to the Diet of Spires as legate to Charles V. He died at Cremona in 1550, on the 21st of July.

Count Francesco Sfondrato, therefore, is the same person as cardinal Sfondrato, though sometimes mentioned as *Count*, and at others as *Cardinal*.

p. 427. The paragraph relating to the Cardinals' hats offers some difficulty. As to the bishop of Viseu (Miguel de Silva (1527–47), the son or nephew of Alfonso de Silva, Portuguese ambassador in Rome, 1525–6), he is already mentioned at p. 192 as about to quit that capital and return to Portugal. He was appointed Cardinal in December 1541, at the eighth and last creation made by Paul, and then sent on a mission to the Emperor, for the purpose, as it was said, of inducing him to come to terms with king Francis. The cardinal of Viseu died in 1547. Of the three French ecclesiastics, one was the ambassador at Rome; the chancellor of France [Antoine du Prat] was the other; but who was "the nephew of Mr. Sambaut" (?) that I cannot guess, for the name may be so disfigured as to render any conjecture almost hopeless. Yet I find that there was in France a bishop and cardinal of Lisieux of the name of Annebaut (Jacques), a nephew of the Marshal of France, Claude d'Annebaut (generally written Hannebault), king Francis' lieutenant-general in Piedmont, and if so, *Sambaut* might well be a misreading for "Annebaut."

p. 429, No. 220, l. 21. "The registers of the 'tonlieu' of Calais." This word "tonlieu" must have been used in former times to designate the tonnage of ships, as well as the duty, toll, or tax to be levied on each ton (*tonneau*) of merchandise. Like the word *debitis*, or *debitys*, for deputy, it must have belonged to the local dialect of Picardy, for it is not to be found in French dictionaries however old. On this last word *debitis*, see above p. 541.

p. 464. The name of the ambassador sent on this occasion to France was Knyvet (Sir Henry).* Sir Henry must have had a brother called Sir Anthony, who in 1541 was lieutenant of the Tower, for Marillac in his correspondence (p. 315), after mentioning, on the 14th of June, the execution of two archers of Henry's body guard, convicted of having waylaid and robbed a rich merchant of this

* "Quant à M. Knyvet je ne puys penser qu'il l'ayt dépesché pour aller nêgocier en France chose qui soit d'importance, car bien qu'il soit personnaige de bonne sorte, et qui n'est estimé ignorant, toutesfois il est jeune homme, n'ayant eu jamais maniement d'affaires d'Estat; qui parle d'ailleurs assez mal françoys, comme celluy qui ne partit jamais d'Angleterre, où il ne peult guères avoir proffitté sinon en sçavoir de belles parolles et cérémonies dont tout ce monde est plein. Il partira demain matin s'il ne le faict cette nuit."—*Marillac's letter to Montmorency*, London, 5 November 1540.

city [of London], goes on to say: "More fear than actual harm has also been caused to the brother of the ambassador just now sent to the Emperor by this king, that is, Sir Anthony Knybet, who having been accused of giving a slap in the face to a gentleman within the precincts of the Royal Palace, was sentenced to have his right hand cut off at the wrist. He was actually conducted by the executioner of justice to a place where a scaffold had been erected for the purpose; then his hand was tied and secured to a stake; the executioner lifted up his axe, and was about to discharge the blow, when the King's pardon came."—*Marillac to king Francis;* London, 14 June 1541.

p. 468, No. 230. "And likewise for a daughter by the first marriage of the wife of Monsieur de Lyt, once *debitis* of Calais." There can be no doubt that by Monsieur de Lyt, or Lyte, as otherwise written, Arthur Plantagenet, viscount Lisle, the King's deputy (*debitis*) or governor of Calais is meant. His wife was Elizabeth Grey.

As to the daughter of Mme. Albart (?), and niece of the Grand Esquire, I leave it for the English genealogists to find out who she was; most likely the name is very much corrupted.

p. 505. Count Luigi or Ludovic Rangone, mentioned in Chapuys' letter to the Emperor, dated the 16th April, seems to be the same personage whose arrival in England that ambassador records about the middle of March (p. 484), and yet he is there named count *Glaudio* (Claude), whereas in his letter of April his christian name is said to be *Luigi*. In the State Papers, Vol. X., p. 414, his arrival in London is also mentioned, though his name is spelt Rincon, as if he were a relation of the ambassador of Francis at Constantinople, who, on his return from that city, together with Cesare Fragoso, was murdered by Gasto's spies. I need not observe that the Italian name *Rangone* has nothing in common with Antonio Rincon, the Spaniard.

p. 508. The severe illness (for such it must have been) of princess Mary, at the same time as that of the prince of Wales, must have considerably alarmed the French ambassador, who on the 28th of April wrote to king Francis as follows: "Mme. Marie est fort mallade d'une fievre estrange qui l'a tenue depuys Pasques, par où l'on estime quelle est en dangier de mourir, car parfoys il y [luy ?] vient des faiblesses si grandes qu'on la tient quelque espace de temps comme morte. Le prince de Galles aussi est mal disposé, mais ce n'est pas si aigrement que la dite dame sa sœur."—*Marillac to the King;* London, 28 April 1542; pp. 410–1.

Francis' letter of the 28th (No. 248), in answer to Marillac's of the 22nd, shows how concerned he must have been respecting the health of the Princess; at a time, too, when the negociations for her marriage to Charles, duke of Orleans, were being still briskly carried on—at least on his part. On the 2nd of May, however, all danger had passed, and Marillac wrote to his master: "Au demeurant, Mme. Marie, se trouve beaucoup myeulx quelle ne soulloit, et disent les medecins que pour ceste foys elle est hors de dangier."

p. 514, No. 253. The Pope's instructions to cardinal Rosario, like most of the papers comprised in the Appendix, are undated. There can be no doubt, however, as to that cardinal's mission having taken place before August or September, which is the supposed date of the document copied by Berzosa from the original minute in the Archives of the Vatican, for Zapoli, or king John of Hungary, as he was persistently called by the enemies of the king of the Romans, died on the 21st of July 1540, not in 1538, as erroneously stated elsewhere (pp. 13 and 118). In February 1539 he married, at Buda, Isabella, daughter of Sigismond, king of Poland, by whom he had a son called John Sigismond, who succeeded him.

p. 520, No. 259. These instructions to Mons. de St. Vincent, as well as most of the letters contained in the Appendix, were lately procured from Simancas, though too late to be inserted in their proper place. They begin thus: *Le Roy de France vient d'envoyer a ses ambassadeurs à Rome les sieurs evesques de Lavaur et de Hellin;* but though there was a bishop of La Vaur, in Languedoc, of the name of George de Selve (*see* p. 180, *note*), there was, I am sure, no bishopric of *Hellin*, nor was there at any time a town in France of that name, much less a bishopric. The only way to get out of the difficulty is to suppose that the blundering clerk—who drew out the instructions in Brussels (for they are dated from that city), or else made the copy in Bergenroth's Collection (Vol. XXI., f. 97), which is more probable—read *Hellin* instead of *Macon*; for in March 1538 Charles Hèmard Denonville, bishop of Macon since 1531, and who became cardinal in 1536, was Selve's colleague in the embassy of Rome.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Date.	No.	——	Page.
1538.			
July —	1	The Emperor to Lope Hurtado de Mendoza, Lord High Chamberlain to the duchess Margaret.	1–2
—	2	Mr. de Granvelle to the Emperor - - - -	2–4
30	3	Luis Sarmiento [de Mendoza] to the Same - - -	4–5
Aug. 14–22	4	Abstract of Letters from the Imperial Ambassador in France of the 14th and 22nd of August 1538.	6–13
30	5	Luigi Gonzaga to the Emperor - - - -	13–4
Sept. 11	6	The Same to the Same - - - - -	14–5
Aug. 31	7	Eustace Chapuys and Don Diego de Mendoza to the Same -	15–31
Sept. —	8	Memorandum of the English Ambassadors in the Low Countries.	31–33
7	9	The Emperor to Pope Paul - - - - -	34
10	10	The Emperor to the Marquis de Aguilar - - -	34–6
8	11	The Same to Lope de Soria - - - - -	37–8
14	12	Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza to the Emperor - -	39–43
„	13	The Same to High Commander Cobos - - -	43–4
22	14	The Emperor to Cardinal Cesarino - - - -	44
„	15	The Same to the Marquis de Aguilar - - -	45–6
—	16	The Queen of Hungary to Eustace Chapuys - - -	46–8
Oct. 2	17	The High Commander Cobos and Mr. de Granvelle to Luis Sarmiento de Mendoza, Ambassador in Portugal.	48–9
7	18	The Marquis de Aguilar to the Duchess of Florence [Margaret of Austria].	49
10	19	Lope Hurtado to the Emperor - - - -	50–1
„	20	Act of Revocation by Margaret of Austria of her powers to the Marquis de Aguilar.	51
11	21	Eustace Chapuys to the Queen of Hungary - - -	51–3
„	22	The Emperor's Declaration on the League to be formed against the Turk, and the Military Preparations to be made by the Confederated Powers.	53–4
Nov. 10	23	The Marquis de Aguilar to the Emperor - - -	55–9
„	24	The Advice tendered by an anonymous Councillor upon the Treaty of Closer Alliance to be concluded with the King of England.	59–63
„	25	Memorandum respecting the Proposed Marriage of the King of England with the Dowager Duchess of Milan.	63–9
—	26	Report of the Imperial Deputies of their Negociations with the English Ambassadors at Brussels.	69–70

Date.	No.	——	Page.
1538.			
Nov. 18	27	Second Report of the Imperial Deputies in their Negociation with the English Ambassadors.	71–2
—	28	What the Admiral of France said to the Queen Regent of Flanders and the Low Countries, and what her Answer was.	72–5
Dec. 14	29	Scepperus to the Emperor - - - - -	75–9
7–13	30	The Report of the Duke of Aarschot, the Sieur de Lickerke, and Dr. Loys Schore, of their Conferences with the Ambassadors of the King of England.	79–87
„	31	Deliberations in the Emperor's Council of State - -	87–95
—	32	Points of the Treaty with England, respecting which the Queen of Hungary would like to receive Instructions.	95–7
1539.			
Jan. 2	33	Pope Paul to the Emperor - - - - -	97–8
„	34	The Marquis de Aguilar to the Same - - -	98–9
11	35	Scepper to the Same - - - - - -	99–105
13	36	Philip, Landgrave of Hessen, to the Queen of Hungary -	106
19	37	The Marquis de Aguilar to the Emperor - - -	106–8
Feb. 7–21	38	Luis Sarmiento de Mendoza, Imperial Ambassador in Portugal, to the Emperor.	108–12
13	39	The Marquis de Aguilar to the Same - - -	112–4
15	40	The Answer to the English Ambassador concerning the Proposed Marriage Alliances.	114–5
25	41	Lope de Soria to the Emperor - - - -	116–9
Mar. 7	42	The Marquis de Aguilar to the High Commander - -	119–25
8	43	Proces Verbal of what passed between the English Ambassador and the Deputies of the Queen of Hungary.	125–9
10	44	Queen Mary of Hungary to Eustace Chapuys - -	129–31
17	45	The Emperor to the Marquis de Aguilar - - -	131–2
„	46	The Same to the Same - - - - -	132–4
„	47	The Same to the Pope - - - - - -	134
19	48	Maioris to the Queen of Hungary - - - -	134–5
„	49	The Same to the Same - - - - -	135
22	50	Instructions to Esquire Wynacourt, Provost of Mons -	135–7
23	51	Maioris to the Queen of Hungary - - - -	137
April —	52	Consultations at Toledo for writing Despatches to Italy -	137–9
12	53	Ambassador Figueroa to the Emperor - - -	139–40
13	54	The Marquis de Aguilar to the Same - - -	140–4
16	55	The Same to the Same - - - - -	145–6
19	56	Instructions to Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza - -	146–7
„	57	The Marquis de Aguilar to the Emperor - - -	147
25	58	Luis Sarmiento de Mendoza to the Same - - -	147–9
27	59	Prince Doria to the Same - - - - -	149
28	60	Maioris to the Queen of Hungary - - - -	149–50
May 4	61	The Same to the Same - - - - -	150–1
16	62	The Marquis de Aguilar to the Emperor - - - -	151–4

Date.	No.		Page.
1539.			
May 19	63	The Same to the Same	154–7
„	64	The Same to the Same	157
June 4	65	The Same to High Commander Cobos	158
5	66	The Same to the Emperor	158–9
20	67	The Same to the Same	159–61
22	68	The Same to the Same	161–2
26	69	Advices from Genoa	162–3
29	70	The Marquis de Aguilar to the Emperor	163–4
„	71	Lope Hurtado to Cobos and Granvelle	164–6
30	72	Lope de Soria to Cobos	166–7
July 3	73	The Emperor to the Marquis de Aguilar	167–70
4	74	The Marquis de Aguilar to the Emperor	170–1
„	75	The Same to the High Commander	172
20	76	The Marquis de Aguilar to the Emperor	172–5
Aug. 2	77	The Imperial Ambassador in France to the Same	176–7
„	78	The Same to the Same	177–83
—	79	King Francis to the Emperor	183
13	80	The Marquis de Aguilar to the Same	183–5
20	81	Pope Paul to the Emperor	185
Sept. 15	82	The Emperor to the Marquis de Aguilar at Rome	185–6
„	83	The Same to the Same	186–7
24	84	Declaration in Council respecting a League to be made with France against the Turk.	187
„	85	Deciphering of Letters from the Ambassador in France	187
„	86	Deliberations in the Emperor's Council on the Articles of the Proposed League with France against the Turk.	187–90
Oct. 4	87	The Emperor to the Marquis de Aguilar	191
24	88	Instructions to Don Luis de Çuñiga, sent to Italy for the purpose of making known the Emperor's Intention to go to Flanders through France.	191–3
26	89	Secret Instructions to Don Luis de Çuñiga, who left Madrid for Italy on the 24th of October 1539 for Italy.	193–7
29	90	The Marquis de Aguilar to the Emperor	197–200
30	91	The King of England to the Queen of Hungary	200–1
Nov. 2	92	Mr. de Praët and the Imperial Ambassador in France to the Emperor.	201–4
29	93	The Marquis de Aguilar to the Same	204–10
—	94	Abstract of Letters received in Spain from Italy	210–2
Dec. 21	95	The Emperor to the Archbishop of Toledo	212–4
1540.			
Jan. 6	96	Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle to Covos	214–5
7	97	Pope Paul III. to the Emperor	215
8	98	Report of the Council of State [in Spain] on Letters to be prepared for Italy.	215–7

Date.	No.	——	Page.
1540.			
Jan. 12	99	Lope Hurtado [de Mendoza] to the Emperor	217–20
17	100	Cardinal Tavera to the Same	220–2
19	101	The Same to Ferrante Gonzaga	222
23	102	The Emperor to the Cardinal of Toledo	222–3
28	103	Lope Hurtado [de Mendoza] to the High Commander	223–5
Feb. 8	104	The Same to the Emperor	225–6
Mar. 3	105	The Emperor to the Archbishop of Toledo [Tavera]	226–7
Apr. 13	106	The Marquis de Aguilar to the Emperor	227–8
26	107	Capt. Vergara to Francisco Duarte, the Proveditor	228–35
May 15	108	The Emperor to Mons. de St. Vincent and Mr. de Pelu, his Ambassadors in France.	235–40
June 26	109	High Commander Covos to the Emperor	240–1
„	110	The Same to the Same	241–2
„	111	The Same to Juan Vazquez de Molina	242
„	112	The Same to the Same	242
29	113	Pope Paul to the Emperor	242–3
July 30	114	High Commander Cobos to the Marquis de Aguilar	243–4
Aug. 3	115	The Same to Secretary Juan Vazquez [de Molina]	244–6
„	116	Juan Vazquez de Molina to the High Commander	246–7
10	117	Mr. de St. Mauris to the Emperor	247–51
21	118	Lope Hurtado [de Mendoza] to the Same	252–3
27	119	[Juan] Vazquez de Molina to Luys Sarmiento [de Mendoza]	253–4
30	120	The Imperial Ambassador in France to the Emperor	254–9
Sept. 3	121	Eustace Chapuys to Mr. de Granvelle	259–60
4	122	Mr. de St. Vincent to the Emperor	261
7	123	Lope Hurtado de Mendoza to the High Commander of Leon	261–2
9	124	The Marquis de Aguilar to the Same	262–6
„	125	The Same to the Same	266
22	126	The High Commander of Leon to Secretary Idiaquez	267–8
„	127	The Same to Mr. de Granvelle	268–9
23	128	The Privy Council [in Spain] to the Emperor	269–72
Oct. 1	129	D'Andalot to the Marquis de Aguilar	273
n.d.	130	The Articles drawn by Giovan [Riccio] da Montepulchano for Jean d'Andalot.	273–4
11	131	Cardinal Tavera to the Emperor	274–9
14	132	The Marquis de Aguilar to the Same	279–80
18	133	The Same and Mons. de Granvelle to the Same	280–1
23	134	Chapuys to the Queen of Hungary	281–2
31	135	The Same to the Emperor	282–5
„	136	The Same to the Queen of Hungary	285–6
Nov. 3	137	The Emperor to the Marquis de Aguilar	286–8
„	138	The Florentine Ambassador in Rome to Duke Cosmo	288–9
4	139	The Marquis de Aguilar to the Emperor	289–1

Date.	No.	——	Page.
1540.			
Nov. 7	140	The Duke of Florence (Cosmo de' Medici) to the Marquis del Gasto.	291
16	141	High Commander Cobos to Luis Sarmiento de Mendoza	291–3
24	142	Luis Sarmiento de Mendoza to the High Commander of Leon [Cobos].	293–4
Dec. 5	143	Eustace Chapuys to the Queen of Hungary	294–5
23	144	The Same to the Same	296–302
„	145	The Same to the Emperor	302–3
26	146	The Same to the Queen of Hungary	303
„	147	The Same to the Same	303
1541.			
Jan. 2	148	Eustace Chapuys to Queen Mary of Hungary	304–5
9	149	The Same to the Same	305–7
17	150	The Same to the Same	308
Feb. 6	151	The Same to the Same	308–9
„	152	The Same to the Same	309–10
22	153	The Same to the Same	310–2
Mar. 3	154	The Same to the Same	312
27	155	The Same to the Same	313–15
Apr. 17	156	The Same to the Emperor	315–9
„	157	The Same to the Queen of Hungary	319
May 1	158	The Same to the Same	319–21
„	159	The Same to the Same	321–2
13	160	The Marquis de Aguilar to the Emperor	322–3
17	161	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	323–4
„	162	The Same to the Queen of Hungary	324–5
26	163	The Same to the Same	325–8
29	164	Don Diego de Mendoza to the Emperor	328–9
June 1	165	King Francis to his Ambassador in England	329–31
10	166	Eustace Chapuys to the Queen of Hungary	331–2
18	167	The Same to the Same	332–4
July 2	168	The Same to the Same	334–5
7	169	The Marquis del Gasto to the Emperor	335–7
9	170	The Same to the Same	337–8
12	171	Don Diego de Mendoza to the Same	338–40
n.d.	172	Idiaquez' Report	340
16	173	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	341–3
„	174	The Same to the Queen of Hungary	343
25	175	The Same to the Emperor	343–4
Aug. 9	176	King Francis to his Ambassador in England	344–6
10	177	Eustace Chapuys to the Queen of Hungary	346–9
12	178	The Same to the Same	349–53
„	179	Abstract of a Despatch from Ambassador Marillac to the King of France.	354

Date.	No.	——	Page.
1541.			
n.d.	180	The King of France to his Ambassador in England - -	354
Aug. 24	181	High Commander Cobos to the Marquis del Gasto, Governor of Milan.	354–5
n.d.	182	Idiaquez to Francisco de los Cobos, High Commander of Leon	355
28	183	The King of France to Mr. de Marillac - - -	355–6
„	184	The Admiral of France [Brion-Chabot] to the French Ambassador [in England].	356
n.d.	185	The Ambassador's Answer to the King of France - -	356–7
29	186	Eustace Chapuys to the Queen of Hungary - - -	357–9
n.d.	187	The French Secretary in England to Eustace Chapuys -	359–60
n.d.	188	The Same to the Same - - - - -	360
Sept. 7	189	The King of France to his Ambassador in England - -	360
„	190	Chapuys to Granvelle - - - - -	360–1
10	191	Idiaquez to Cobos - - - - -	361
13	192	King Francis to his Ambassador in England - - -	361
29	193	Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza to the Emperor - -	361–3
30	194	Commander Valençuela to the High Commander Cobos -	363–4
Oct. 9	195	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor - - - -	364–5
„	196	The Same to the Queen of Hungary - - - -	365–8
11	197	D. Francisco Manrique to the Emperor - - -	368
15	198	Secretary Juan Vazquez [de Molina] to High Commander Cobos.	371–4
26	199	Eustace Chapuys to the Queen of Hungary - - -	374–6
Nov. 5	200	Cardinal Tavera to the Emperor - - - -	376–7
6	201	Eustace Chapuys to the Queen of Hungary - - -	378–9
9	202	Don Francisco Manrique to the Emperor - - -	379–83
10	203	Eustace Chapuys to Mr. de Granvelle - - -	383
„	204	The Same to the Queen of Hungary - - - -	384–5
14	205	Commander Valençuela to High Commander Cobos - -	385
„	206	The Marquis de Aguilar and Monseigneur de Granvelle to the Emperor.	386–93
19	207	Eustace Chapuys to the Same - - - -	393–6
22	208	The Marquis de Aguilar and Monseigneur de Granvelle to the Same.	396–406
Dec. 3	209	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor - - - -	406–9
„	210	The Same to the Queen of Hungary, Regent in the Low Countries.	409–10
„	211	The Same to Mr. de Granvelle - - - -	410–1
8	212	King Francis to his Ambassador in England - - -	411–2
11	213	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor - - - -	412–4
14	214	Mr. de Granvelle to the Same - - - -	414–9
18	215	Eustace Chapuys to the Same - - - -	419–20
„	216	The Same to the Queen Regent - - - -	420–1
19	217	The Marquis de Aguilar and Mr. de Granvelle to the Emperor	421–5
24	218	The Marquis de Aguilar to the Same - - -	425–7
27	219	The Same to the Same - - - - -	427–9
29	220	Eustace Chapuys to the Queen of Hungary - - -	429–30
30	221	The Same to the Same - - - - -	430–51
„	222	The Same to Mr. de Granvelle - - - -	451–4
n.d.	223	Memorandum and Report of French Intrigues in England -	454–6

Date.	No.	———	Page.
1542.			
Jan. 10	224	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	456–7
„	225	The Same to the Queen of Hungary	457–9
„	226	Mr. de Granvelle to the Emperor	459–61
26	227	The Emperor to Chapuys	461–2
29	228	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	462–7
„	229	The Same to Mr. de Granvelle	467
Feb. 9	230	The Same to the Emperor	468–70
„	231	The Same to the Queen of Hungary	470
25	232	The Same to the Emperor	470–5
„	233	The Queen of Hungary to Eustace Chapuys	475–7
Mar. 5	234	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	477–9
„	235	The Same to the Queen of Hungary	479–80
10	236	The Same to the Emperor	480
14	237	The Emperor to Eustace Chapuys	480–1
„	238	The Same to the Same	481–3
25	239	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	484–5
27	240	The Same to the Queen of Hungary	485
31	241	The Queen of Hungary to Eustace Chapuys	485–7
Apr. 1	242	The Same to the Same	487–9
6	243	The Emperor to Eustace Chapuys	489–91
16	244	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	491–505
„	245	The Same to Mr. de Granvelle	506
22	246	The Same to the Queen of Hungary	506
„	247	The Same to the Same	507–8
28	248	King Francis to Mr. de Marillac	508
n.d.	249	Mr. de Marillac to [Secretary] Bayart	509
30	250	Eustace Chapuys to the Queen of Hungary	509–10
„	251	The Same to Mr. de Granvelle	510–1

Date.	No.	——	Page.
		APPENDIX.	
1539.			
Mar. —	252	Frances I. Declaration respecting the Truce of Nizza -	513–4
1540.			
Sep.-Oct.	253	Pope Paul's Instructions to Cardinal Rosario going as Nuncio to Austria.	514–5
Apr. 30	254	The Sentence against the people of Ghent - - -	515–6
n.d.	255	Pope Paul's Instructions to the Cardinal of Brindisi - -	516–7
—	256	Instructions to the Same, sent as Nuncio to Hungary -	517–8
May —	257	Instructions to the Same - - - - -	518–9
—	258	Instructions to the Bishop of Modena [Giovan Morone] -	519–20
June 9	259	The Emperor's Instructions to Mr. de St. Vincent, his Ambassador in France.	520
1541.			
n.d.	260	The Chancellor of Milan to the Emperor - - -	520–2
Aug. Sep.	261	The Same to the Same on the answer to be made to Mr. de Hannebault's Overtures.	522–5
n.d.	262	Ferdinand, King of the Romans. Instructions to Diego Lasso de Castilla and Buonaccorsi (*sic*) di Grino, his inter-nuncios at Rome.	525–6
n.d.	263	Idiaquez to the Archbishop of Toledo (Tavera) - -	526–7

GENERAL INDEX.

ABBREVIATIONS.

amb. for ambassador.
abp. „ archbishop.
abpc. „ archbishopric.
b. „ born.
bp. „ bishop.
capt. „ captain.
card. „ cardinal.
co. „ count and countess.
dep. „ department.
d. „ died.
do. „ dowager.
du. „ duke and duchess.
Emp. „ Emperor.
Eng. „ English.
gen. for general.
Imp. „ Imperial.
It. „ Italian.
k. „ king.
let. „ letter.
marq. „ marquis.
n. „ note.
pres. „ president.
pro. „ province.
q. „ queen.
sec. „ secretary.
Span. „ Spanish.
trea. „ treasurer.

Save in cases when letters or documents are mentioned, the numerals refer to the pages of the volume.

A

Aarschot, du. of, *v. Croy* (Philippe de).
Abbeys in England :
....., the destruction of, and churches going on (July—Aug. 1538), 13, 31, 77.
....., part of the property of the, and monasteries to be employed to make a dower for Mary in case of her marrying the prince of Portugal, 65.
Abel, Abell (Dr. Thomas), Katharine's chaplain, executed (June 1540), 542.
Aberdeen, in Scotland, bp. of, *v. Stewart.*
Abruzzi (Naples), Span. infantry in the, (Apr. 1540), 228.
....., ..., Pope Paul wishing to take into his pay the, for the purpose of attacking the Perugians, *ibid.*
Acerra, episcopal town of Naples, 58.
Acherra, *v. Acerra.*
Acosta (Pedro Alvarez), bp. of Osma (1539–63), 453.
....., the receptors of his bpric. do not pay regularly Chapuys' pension, *ibid.*
Acuña, lic^do^, keeper of the Archives, 242.
Adhemar de Monteil (Louis d'), co. de Grignan, French amb. in Rome (1538), 198.
....., a wise and discreet diplomatist, 57.
....., his conversation with the Imp. amb., marq. de Aguilar (Nov. 1538), 57–9.
Admiral, lord High, of England, *v. Fitz William*, and *Russel.*
..... of France, *v. Brion-Chabot.*
..... of Castille in Spain, *v. Enriquez de Cabrera.*
....., vice, of England (Jan. 1541), 304.
Admiralty, 304, 306.
....., judge of the, 304, 306.
Admonition, breve of:
....., the term fixed in the, having already expired, 141.
....., the resolution of the, not officially communicated to k. Henry, nor to the Emp., 141.
....., ..., and, therefore, k. Henry has had no time to excuse himself, *ibid.*
....., ..., hence the Emp.'s vague answer to card. Pole's application, *ibid.*
Adriatic Sea, the Venetians arming in the, 166, 168.

Africa, coast of, 148, 193, 275, 455 *n.*
....., importation of arms from Spain into, 148.
....., Charles embarcation for the (Sept. 1541), 369–70, 377, 407, 438.
....., expedition to, mentioned, 432, 447–8.
....., retreat from, 413.
....., *v.* also under *Algiers.*
Agde (dep. Herault, France), bp. of, *v. La Guiche* (Claude de.)
Aghilara d', *v. Aguilar.*
Agua Morta, Aguas Muertas, *v. Aigues Mortes.*
Aguila (Aquila), bp. of, *v. Sancho.*
Aguilar, marq. de or d', *v. Manrique.*
Aguilon (D. Juan de), taken prisoner at Avignon, 426.
Aguirre (Domingo de), 243.
..... (Juan de), 274.
Aias Bashá, *v. Ayás.*
Aigues Mortes, the interview at (Ju. 1538), 5, 6, 13, 15, 17, 24, 28, 30, 69, 71, 79, 85, 101, 112, 177, 181, 204 *n.*, *Int.* vi.
....., a gentleman of k. Francis' chamber sent to Rome to announce the truce made at (Sept. 1538), 15.
....., another to England and Scotland, after visiting q. Mary of Hungary in the Low Countries, 16.
Alaba y Beamont (D. Frances de), Span. commander in the Roussillon, 278.
Alarcon (Hernando de), marq. de la Val Siciliana, 56, 221.
Alba, du. of, *v. Alvarez de Toledo.*
....., Julia, bp. of, *v. Statilius.*
Albardin, *v. Aberdeen.*
Albart (?), the daughter of Mme., and niece of the Grand Squire, k. Henry said to have taken a fancy to (Feb. 1542), 468, 552.
Albertino (Dr. Gilberto), 56.
Albion (Juan de), gov. of Perpignan, 278.
Albret (Antoine d'), natural son of Jean, k. consort of Navarre, 248, *Add.* and *Cor.* 544; *v.* also *Cruz.*
..... (Catharine d'), last q. of Navarre (1483–1512), 248 *n.*, 544.
..... (Henri I. d'), titular k. of Navarre, son of Catharine, 344.
..... (Henri II. d'), titular k. of Navarre, 103, 105, 214, 261, 345 *n.*, 413 *n.*, 529, 544.
....., ..., his overtures to the Imp. amb. in France, 104, 276–7.
....., ..., agent of, *v. Azcarren* and *Ezcurren.*
..... (Jean d'), k. consort of Navarre by his marriage to Catharine, 248 *n.*, 544.
..... (Jeanne d'), dau. of Henri II. and Margaret de Valois; well made and pretty, 12.
Albret (Jeanne d')—*cont.*
....., ..., her mother, a sister of k. Francis, wishing her to marry some prince of the house of Austria, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., such as Philip, the Emp.'s son, 13, 241.
....., ..., ..., or else Maximilian, the son of Ferdinand, k. of the Romans, 13.
....., ..., secretly married to the du. of Clèves (15 July 1546), 345, 529, *Int.* viii.
....., ..., her marriage annulled by the Pope, 548.
....., ..., ultimately married to Antoine de Bourbon, du. de Vendôme, 345.
..... (Marguerite d'), wife of Henri d'Albret, *v.* under *Margaret de Navarre*, and *Margaret de Valois.*
Alburquerque, du. of, *v. Cueva.*
Alcantara, in Extremadura, Spain, military order of, 123.
....., high commander of, *v. Cueva* (Pedro de la).
Alder wood, the charcoal of the, used in smoking and preparing herrings. The people of Dunkerke applying for permission to export it from England, 334.
Aleandro di Motta, card. of Brindisi (Brundusino), 1524–72, Papal Nuncio to Ferdinand, k. of the Romans, 516 *n.*, 527.
....., Pope Paul's instructions to, *255–6.*
Aleixo, *v. Alexo.*
Alençon, duchy of, chancellor of the, *v. Brinon.*
..... (Mme. d', Françoise d'), widow of the du. de Longueville; marries Charles de Bourbon, du. de Vendôme, *Add.* and *Cor.* 529.
..... (Charles IV., du. d'), 529.
..... (Catherine d'), abbess of Soissons, *ibid.*
..... (Eleanor d'), abbess of Fontegrant, *ibid.*
..... (Renée d'), abbess of Chelles, *ibid.*
Alessandria (Alexandria) in Egypt, 8.
....., a vessel from, commanded by a Spaniard, anchors at Venice (July 1541), 339.
....., the coast of, badly provided with artillery and men, *ibid.*
....., attacked by the Portuguese, *ibid.*
Alexo, *v. Meneses.*
Alghero, in Sardinia, the Emp. lands at (Sept.–Oct. 1541), 372.
Algiers, in Africa, 233, 495.
....., the undertaking on, mentioned, 14.
....., ..., resolved upon, 354, 369, 386, 388, 404.
....., preparations for the expedition to, 106, 354, 523.
....., powder, ammunition, and stores for, 220.

Algiers—*cont.*
....., transports for the troops to be procured abroad, 108, 220.
....., ..., those from Andalusia having scarcely any artillery on board, 220.
....., ..., those of other provinces of Spain not yet forthcoming, 221.
....., ..., nor had those of Portugal arrived in January 1540, *ibid.*
....., much difference of opinion prevailing in the Span. Council as to the expedition to, 361.
....., ..., some thinking that owing to the state of affairs in Hungary the Emp. ought to remain in Europe, and wait for a better opportunity (Sept. 1541), *ibid.*
....., 80 Turkish galleys sailing in the direction of (Nov. 1541), 396.
....., the Emp. to command the army in person, 404.
....., ..., said to be greatly disappointed about his intended expedition to (Aug. 1541), 354.
....., foreign sailors to be pressed to serve on board the Imp. fleet, 130.
....., ..., those of Flanders and the Low Countries having deserted, an embargo on Engl. merchant ships is ordered, *ibid.*
....., ..., k. Henry resenting the measure and complaining of it to Chapuys, 438.
....., ..., suspecting the armament of the Imp. fleet not to be destined against the Turk but against England, *ibid.*
....., news published in London of the expedition to, having been quite successful (Dec. 1541), 407.
....., ..., turns out to be false, 411, 420, 422–3, 426, 446–8.
...., Span. and German infantry landing in Italy from (Dec. 1541), 415.
....., the failure of the expedition to, attributed by Henry to the Spaniards, 438–9.
....., ..., chiefly to the want of experienced sailors, *ibid.*
....., ..., k. Henry apparently showing regret at it, 446, 448, 480.
....., ..., having on more than one occasion warned the Emp. against its dangers, 446.
... ., the Cortes of Castille will no doubt urge the Emp. to repeat his attempt on, *ibid.*
....., ..., if so (said Henry), the advice is bad; he ought never to return thither, *ibid.*
....., causes and reasons assigned by k. Francis for the Emp.'s expedition to, in Sept. 1541, 456.
....., an inconsiderate and rash enterprise, said k. Henry to amb. Chapuys, 452.
....., ..., which no doubt had been planned and carried into effect without Granvelle's approval or advice, *ibid.*
Alguer, in Sardinia, *v. Alghero.*
Aliaporte, a port of England; most likely a corruption of *Newport, q. v.*
....., two Biscayan "zabras" boarded and plundered by French corsairs at (Sept. 1540), 270.
Allebrecht, Mme. d', the du. of Norfolk sending his commendations to (March 1542), 478; *v. Albret* (Margaret).
Almaguer (?) to be appointed to a place in the Finances of Spain (Aug. 1540), 244.
Alonso (Martin), Imperial agent in Rome; arrival of (19 June 1541), 353, 526; *v. Rios.*
Alps, the, 117.
Altamura, in Naples, to be purchased for Margaret of Austria's dowry, 160, 291, 406.
Alvarez Acosta, 453; *v. Acosta* (?).
..... de Toledo (D. Fadrique) second du. of Alba, 212 *n.*
..... (D. Fernando), third du. of Alba, 212 *n*, 267, 372.
....., ..., Spanish galleys under, unable to join the African expedition (1541), 377.
Amalfi, town of Naples:
....., du. of, *v. Piccolomini.*
....., bp. of, *v. Sfondrato.*
....., *v. Malfi* and *Melphi.*
Ambassadors, resident or extraordinary, agents, &c.:
....., *Austrian*, to Rome, *v. Buonacorso, Lasso de Castilla, Sanchez.*
....., ..., to the Turk, *v. Lasco, Noguerol.*
....., ..., in Spain, *v. Salinas* (Martin de).
....., ..., to Rome, *v. Buonacorso di Grino* and *Lasso de Castilla.*
....., ..., to Venice, *v. Sanchez* (Alonso).
....., *Bavarian*, to Rome:
....., ..., an agent from the dukes of Bavaria with overtures about the Council, 138.
...., ..., ..., to get an answer before the Pope's departure for Bologna, 389.
....., ..., of the du. of Clèves in England (1539–41), invited to be present at Catharine Howard's trial, 408.
....., ..., ..., messages and lets. of the German princes to, 471–2, *Int.* xv.
....., ..., in France (Sept. 1540); commissioned to raise troops for k. Francis in Germany, 261.
....., *Danish*, to the court of France. The new k. of Denmark [Frederic II.] sends his, to k. Francis (Aug. 1538), 7.
....., *English*, to Clèves, *v. Clerk* (Dr.).
....., ..., to Flanders and the Low Countries, 31–2, 52; *v. Browne, Carne, Hutton, Vaughan, Wriothesly.*
... ., ..., still negociating about the proposed marriages of k. Henry and the do. du. of Milan; Dom Luyz of Portugal and princess Mary, 69–72, 79–87.

Ambassadors, &c., *English—cont.*

....., ..., ..., about a treaty of commerce, 95–7, 200, 349–50, 354, 366.

....., ..., two sent in June 1541 to adjust certain differences in matters of trade, 333, 350, 366; *v. Carne* and *Vaughan.*

....., ..., still in Brussels (Nov. 1541), 379.

....., ..., recalled (Jan. 1542), 457, 464.

....., ..., one, who had been once Henry's, in Brussels, introduces Chapuys to the K. (Dec. 1540), 296.

....., ..., draw up a memorandum respecting the proposed marriage of k. Henry with the do. du. of Milan, Christina of Denmark, *8,*

....., ..., to the court of France:

....., ..., from Feb. 1533 to March 1541, *v.* Wallop (Sir John).

....., ..., in 1538, *v. Gardiner* (Stephen).

....., ..., in 1538, *v. Bryant* (Sir Francis).

....., ..., till Dec. 1541, *v. Howard* (lord William).

....., ..., *v. Pate* (Richard?).

....., ..., in 1541, *v. Knyvet* (Sir Henry).

....., ..., to the Imp. Court in Spain or in Flanders, *v. Wyatt, Gardiner, Pate, Wallop, Knyvet, Boner.*

....., ..., to the Emp. One (Sir Henry Knyvet?) attending the expedition to Algiers, said to have lost his jewels there, 431.

....., ..., ..., k. Henry questioning Chapuys thereupon, *ibid.*

....., ..., one, Philip Hobin, takes a friendly message of advice from Henry to the Emp., 437, 494.

....., ..., ..., had he listened to it his affairs would not have been in so much danger, *ibid.*

....., ..., to Scotland. One, a gentleman from the North of England, sent to k. James, *Int.* xvii.

....., ..., a prisoner in the Tower (Jan. 1541), *ibid.*

....., ..., in Venice, *v. Gioachino* and *Harvel.*

....., ..., in Vienna, one resident; instructed to answer the k. of the Romans' application for money to resist the Turkish aggression (Aug. 1541), 349.

....., ..., from Ferrara to Rome (Feb. 1539), negociating about Modena, 107–8.

....., *Florentine,* in Rome, 288–9, 290–1, 415.

....., ..., lets. to the du. Cosmo, *135.*

....., ..., in Spain, *v. Cherubino.*

...., *French,* to Denmark. K. Francis delighted with the success of his ambassador's negociations in (1541-2), 464; *v. Richer* (Cristophe).

Ambassadors, &c., *French—cont.*

....., ..., to England. A gentleman of k. Francis' chamber sent to announce the truce of Aigues-Mortes (Aug. 1538), 16.

....., ..., goes to Court accompanied by Castillon, *ibid.*

...., ..., to proceed afterwards to Scotland for the same purpose, *ibid.*

....., ... (from July 1538 to March 1539), 15–6, 25, 27-31, 37 *n.*, 101, 529; *v. Perreau.*

....., ..., succeeds Dinteville (Nov. 1533), *Int.* iv.

....., ..., in England a second time (1537), *Int.* v *n.*

....., ..., makes his excuses to Chapuys for not attending the public rejoicings for the truce, 15.

....., ..., takes leave conjointly with the Imperial (1539), 142, *Int.* iv.

....., ..., a gentleman from Provence sent to ask for a safe conduct for certain knights of Rhodes (Jan. 1541), 309.

....., ..., another (co. de Tes) to visit Henry after his recovery from illness (March 1541), 314.

....., ..., a gentleman of Francis' Chamber sent to inquire from k. Henry the reason of his reinforcing the garrisons of Calais and Guisnes, 322.

....., ..., to Germany. Those sent thither by k. Francis have achieved little or nothing (June 1539), 159.

....., ..., one of them, a bp. (Bellay), who had been previously French amb. at Rome, the most wicked and worst minded man he had ever known (said the Pope), 160.

....., ..., card. Tournon and the bp. of Soissons about to be sent to the Separatists of Germany to persuade them to return to the obedience of the Church (Dec. 1538), 102; *v. Longuejoue* and *Tournon.*

....., ..., to k. John of Hungary (1538–9). A gentleman of Francis' Chamber, 102.

....., ..., accused by the Imp. amb. of having acted against orders, and to the Emp.'s prejudice, 103.

....., ..., to the Imp. Court. Francis about to send one to the Emp. to complain of the du. of Savoy (Aug. 1538), 12.

....., ..., two more, in July 1541, to remonstrate against Fragoso and Rincon's disappearance in the State of Milan, 321; *v. Velly* and *Dodieu.*

....., ..., to Flanders and the Low Countries, *v. Brion-Chabot, Coucy.*

....., ..., to Portugal. One in Oct. 1540, to ask k. Joaõ to send his niece, the Infanta [Maria] to Francis, 280.

....., ..., ..., as her mother, q. Eleanor, wishes her to be near her person, *ibid*; *v. Chastillon.*

Ambassadors, &c., *French—cont.*

....., ..., another of q. Eleanor returning from Portugal after an unsuccessful mission, 292; *v. Lordres.*

....., ..., a French bp. (Claude de la Guiche?) sent to Evora in Portugal on a mission to k. Joaõ to ask for the hand of the Infanta Doña Maria, 4–3.

....., ..., in Rome, *v. Adhemar de Monteil* (Louis d'). One from the Most Christian king of France arrives (9 Nov. 1538), 56.

....., ..., enters Rome in the suite of Margaret, the do. du. of Florence, *ibid.*

....., ..., the Imp. amb. calling upon him, 57.

....., ..., a wise and discreet gentleman, *ibid.*

....., ..., informs Aguilar that k. Francis has already admonished Henry to return to the obedience of the Church, *ibid.*

....., ..., assures the Pope that his master will help against the Turk, 91.

....., ..., and is decided to follow the Emp.'s steps with regard to England, 99.

....., ..., writes home in commendation of Aguilar, who (he says) is working admirably for the common cause (Jan. 1539), 105.

....., ..., going back to France with a message from the Pope to k. Francis concerning the suspension of the General Council, 143.

....., ..., one, a bp. of Rhodes, in France, returning from his embassy (Jan. 1539), 105; *v. Armagnac* (George d').

....., ..., Nov. 1539 to 1542; *v. Giez, Selve, L'Esleu d'Orange.*

....., ..., Mr. de Giez' arrival in Rome (Nov. 1539), 203, 206.

....., ..., to be officially informed of the motives of Don Luis de Zuñiga's mission to the Pope and to Doria, 203.

....., ..., announces to Paul the marriage of k. Henry with Anne de Clèves, 210.

....., ..., conferring with Granvelle and Aguilar at Rome on the Fragoso incident (Nov. 1541), 386-9.

....., ..., accompanied by a sec. of k. Francis, who resides with him (Selve or L'Esleu?), 322, 386, 520–1.

....., ..., Farnese and Santa Croce attending the conferences, 386–9.

....., ..., recommended for a cardinal's hat, 427, 550–1.

....., ..., being asked to state in writing whether k. Francis considers Fragoso's case an infraction of the truce or not, declines to do so, but maintains that it is a flagrant one, 389.

....., ..., two envoys of k. Francis arrive at Rome (1539), 151.

....., ..., ..., one of them a secretary of the High Constable, *v. Orange* (L'Esleu d').

Ambassadors, &c., *French—cont.*

....., ..., ..., his arrival in Rome (May 1539), 145, 151.

....., ..., ..., his negociations with Paul, 157, 160.

....., ..., to Scotland. One, passing through London in Aug. 1538, has audience from k. Henry, 25.

....., ..., ..., who resents his not having been informed before hand of the object of his mission, *ibid.*

....., ..., returns therefrom in company with Mme. de Montreuil, 28; *v. Lassigny.*

....., ..., another of k. Francis to k. James on certain business of the du. of Guise, 412.

....., ..., arrives in London (5 Dec. 1541), *ibid.*

....., ..., leaves for Scotland without seeing the K. or the privy councillors (10 Dec.), *ibid.*

....., ..., should have gone to Scotland by sea, had he not been prevented by contrary winds, 413.

....., ..., among the excuses alleged by him and by the resident amb. to conceal the object of his mission, one is that he goes to Scotland to condole with k. James for the death of the q. mother, *ibid.*

....., ..., returns from Scotland and prepares to cross the Channel to France without calling on k. Henry (Feb. 1542), 471; *v. Morvilliers.*

....., ..., to the Diet of Spires. Four sent by k. Francis (Feb. 1542), 476.

....., ..., one of them, the chancellor of Alençon (Brinon), making a speech to persuade the States to take up arms against the Turk, *ibid.*

....., ..., ..., but secretly implying that they ought not to go to the assistance of Hungary, *ibid.*

....., ..., in Switzerland; *v. Bois Rigault.*

....., ..., to the Turk. One returning from Constantinople (1538), *v. Cantelmo* (Cesare).

....., ... (1539), *v. Fragoso* and *Rincon.*

....., ... (1540), one at Constantinople in March or April, endeavouring to form a league of the Turk, France, and Venice, 234.

....., ... (1541), *v. Maggio* and *Paulin.*

....., ..., to Venice (1538 to Jan. 1539), *v. Armagnac*, bp. of Rhodes.

....., ..., recalled and returning to France (Jan. 1539), 105.

....., ..., to be replaced by the bp. of Montpellier, *ibid.*

....., ..., Guillaume Pellicier, bp. of Montpellier; his arrival June 15; 166.

....., ..., has audience from the Doge, *ibid.*

Ambassadors, &c., *French—cont.*
....., ..., how he received the news of Fragoso's murder, 338.
....., ..., his application to the Signory of Venice thereupon, 339.
....., ..., dispatches a courier to Constantinople (July 1541), 340.
....., ... (Sept. 1541), his correspondence in cipher betrayed to the Imp. amb. Mendoza, 362.
...., ..., to the waywode of Transylvania (John Zapoli), 13.
.. .., ..., doing bad offices there, 103.
....., *Genoese*, in France, promising great things (Jan. 1542), 467.
....., *Hessian*, in France. The landgraf of Hesse (Philip) sends one to Francis (Aug. 1538), 7.
....., ..., ..., again in Aug. 1540, to promote the marriage of Jeanne d'Albret to the du. of Clèves, 248.
....., ..., ..., and another to k. Henry, 31. *Int.* xii.
....., ..., ..., this latter for the purpose of communicating with the English prelates, *ibid.*
....., ..., to the q. of Hungary (Jan. 1539); *v. Sifriden-Lowenburg.*
....., *Hungarian*, to Rome. One from Zapolski, the waywod of Transylvania, to Paul (Feb. 1539), 113 *n.*, 116; *v. Frangipani.*
....., *Imperial*, in England, resident, *v. Chapuys* (Eustace).
....., ..., extraordinary, *v. Mendoza* (D. Diego) and *Courrières.*
....., ..., in France:
....., ..., *v. Bossu* (1538), *Bonvalot* (Sept. 1538).
....., ..., *v. Peloux* (1538), *Manrique* (Juan Fernandez).
....., ..., *v. Marvol* (Philip).
....., ..., *v. Scepper* (Cornelis).
....., ..., in Genoa, *v. Suarez de Figueroa.*
....., ..., in Portugal, *v. Sarmiento de Mendoza.*
....., ..., in Switzerland, one who was once the Card.'s servant (?), 527.
....., ..., resident in Rome, *v. Aguilar.*
....., ..., extraordinary, *Granvelle, Praët, Zuñiga.*
....., ..., in Rome, minor agents, *v. Andalot, Valençuela.*
....., ..., in Venice, *v. Mendoza* (D. Diego de) and *Soria* (Lope de).
....., of the Palatine du. of the Rhine (Phillip) to England, *v. Goderfinger.*
....., ..., *Papal, v. Legates* and *Nuncios.*
....., *Polish*, in England. One, followed by eight or ten servants, arrives in London (2 July 1541).
....., *Portuguese*, in Rome, *v. Silva* (Miguel de).

Ambassadors, &c., *Portuguese—cont.*
....., ..., to France. K. João about to send one to France (Nov. 1540), 292.
....., ..., to the Emp. in Feb. 1539; 5, 110; *v. Meneses.*
....., from *Savoy* to the Emp. (1538). One from the du. Carlo induces the marq. del Gasto to write a sharp letter to Montejean, in Piedmont, 11–2.
....., *Saxon*, to France; two, apply to k. Francis for help against the Turk, 7.
....., ..., ask him also not to consent to the General Council being held, *ibid.*
....., ..., to England. Still in London with that of the landgraf of Hesse; in continual communication with the English prelates (Aug. 1538), 31.
....., *Scotch*, to England:
....., ..., the bps. of Aberdeen, Orkney, and others, arrive in London (Dec. 1540), 458.
....., ..., in frequent communication with the K. and his Privy Council, 459, 466.
....., ..., go back to Scotland (Feb. 1542), 468.
....., ..., to France (Dec. 1540), 302, 547; *v. Campbell* (Sir John).
....., ..., to other courts also; the same, 302.
... ..., ..., expected in London (Dec. 1540), 302.
....., ..., to the Imp. court, for the purpose, as it is said, of asking that the Spaniards and Flemings do not come to fish in Scotch waters, 305.
....., ..., arrival of, in London (Jan. 1541), *ibid.*
....., ..., in France. One of k. James sent to the court of France (Dec. 1540), 302.
....., ..., and to other courts also, *ibid.*
....., ..., expected in London on the 25th Dec., *ibid.*
..... of the Republic of *Siena* to the Emp. at Lucca (Sept. 1541), 418.
....., ..., in Spain (Jan. 1540), 217.
..... of *Urbino* at Rome. An agent of the du. Guidobaldo della Rovere accepting in his master's name the proposed settlement of the Camarino affair (Jan. 1539), 98, 146.
....., *Venetian*, in England, *v. Zuccato* (Hironimo).
....., ..., in France. One calling frequently upon the Eng. amb., and both together treating with Francis' ministers (Aug. 1540), 179, 256.
....., ..., ..., for the purpose, as it is suspected, of forming a league between France, England, and Venice, *ibid.*
....., ..., to the Imp. Court (at Toledo) (March 1539). In great intimacy with the Eng. amb., 132.
....., ... , ...,whose house he frequents, 133.

Ambassadors, &c., *Venetian—cont.*

....., ..., very suspicious and quick, and yet not so experienced of State affairs as he ought to be, *ibid.*

....., ..., ..., and slightly inclined to Papal authority, *ibid.*

....., ..., negociating about Castilnovo and the League against the Turk, 172, 175.

....., ..., to Rome, 1538, *v. Contareno* (Gasparo); (1539) *Cornaro* (Andrea).

....., ..., two, the old (Contareno) and the new one (Cornaro), discoursing on the Camarino business (Apr. 1539), 146.

....., ..., ..., and the cession of Castilnovo to the Signory, 172.

....., ..., their conferences with Paul more frequent than ever (May 1541), 322.

....., ..., to the Turk. One leaving Venice for Constantinople in company with Cesare Cantelmo (1538?), 177–8.

....., ..., ..., dies on the road thither, 179.

....., ..., said to have recovered from his illness, 166.

....., ..., another to follow him closely, with instructions that if a general truce cannot be obtained, at least a particular one with the Signory must be secured (June 1539), 166.

..... of the *Waywode Zapoli* at the court of Francis:

....., ..., one residing there (Aug. 1538), 9, 13.

....., ..., from the same to Rome, *v. Frangipani* and *Statilius.*

Ambers, *v. Anvers* and *Antwerp.*

Ambert (?), port of Brittany, 270.

Amboise, the incident of (Dec. 1539), 213.

....., ..., the Emp.'s explanation of, in a let. to Card. Tavera, 213–4.

Ambuesa, *v. Amboise.*

America. In consequence of one Port. caravel and another Span. ship sailing to, being robbed in the Channel by pirates, an order is issued at Chapuys' instance that no Eng. vessel be allowed to sail for Brazil or, without her commander giving a security (Jan. 1541), 304.

Amiens, in Picardy, 529.

Ampthill, in Bedfordshire, k. Henry at (Aug. 1538), 16.

....., Chapuys and Castillon going together to, 17.

Ampurias (Emporias), in Catalonia; bpric. and bp. of, 267; *v. Atteca.*

Amsterdam, *Add.* and *Cor.* 543.

Anatolia, the Turks of, 114.

Ancona, in the States of the Church, a vigilant eye to be kept on (June 1539), 163.

Andalot (Jean d'), the Emp.'s equerry (Apr. 1538), bearer of dispatches for Italy, 132, 137, 140–1, 151.

....., ..., lands at Genoa (26 March 1538), 139.

....., ..., arrives at Rome, 140, 279.

....., ..., leaves for Venice, 139, 140–1, 146.

....., ..., returns to Rome with despatches, 151, 242, 262–3, 268, 279.

....., ..., appointed to succeed Lope Hurtado, 268.

....., ..., leaves for Tiboli, where Margaret is residing (4 Sept. 1540), 263.

....., ..., again in Rome (Oct.), 273–4.

....., ..., Paul's indignation against, 355.

....., ..., and its causes, 355, 526–7.

....., ..., articles sent by Montepulciano to, for Hurtado's defence in the Pallavicino case, *130.*

....., ..., to accompany the Emp. to Algiers (Sept. 1541), 364.

....., ..., let. to the marq. de Aguilar, *129.*

Andalucia, 313.

....., scarcity of bread in (Oct. 1540), 220, 245, 276.

Andrighelli (Niccolo), bp. of Fossombrone, 421, 425, 459, 550; *v. Ardinghello.*

Andrinople (Adrianople), in Turkey, 209, 329.

....., the grand Turk (Solyman), hunting in the neighbourhood of (Apr. 1540), 234.

....., the Venetian ambs. at (1540), 234.

Angoulême (Mons. d'), *v. Valois* (Charles de.)

....., du. d', *v. Francis I.*

Anguiano (Dr. ——), Katharine's proctor at Rome, 263.

Anjou, house of, 266.

Annebaut, *v. Hannebault.*

Ansaldo, *v. Grimaldo.*

....., his bank at Genoa; Margaret's dowry to be deposited at, 144, 155.

Antoncourt, *v. Hampton Court.*

Anton, Anthona, *v. Southampton.*

Antonio, card. Farnese's sec.; leaves Toledo for Rome (July 1539), 174; *v. Marcello?*

Antwerp, 15, 260, 228, 240, 321–2, 334, 367, 384.

....., copper and war-ammunition bought at, by k. Henry's order (1539–40); seized, 346–8, 353, 367.

....., ship-owners of, 284.

....., the post-master of, 328.

....., let. dated from, *108.*

Anvers, *v. Antwerp.*

Appiani (Jacopo), lord of Piombino in Tuscany (d. 1545), 525, 547.

..... (Semiramis), dau. of the preceding; wife of Lorenço de' Medici, 527.

Aragon, kingdom of:
....., Acequia or canal of, 161.
....., subsidy granted by the Cortes of, to Charles for his expedition to Algiers, 447.
..... (Juana de), marq. de Pescara and Gasto, *Add.* and *Cor.* 536–7.
..... (D. Enrique de), 220.
....., D. Fernando de, du. de Villahermosa, 220.
....., Katharine of, q. of England, *v. Catharine.*
..... (Da. Maria da), duquesa de Tagliacozzo and Pagliano, *Add.* and *Cor.* 536–7.
....., vice-chancellor of, 215.
Aragonese, or natives of the kingdom of Aragon, 447.
Aragonia (Miçer Juan Luis), Imp. proctor in Rome; recommended for a pension on the bprc. of Bossa, 123.
..... (Dr. Nicolao), bp. of Bossa in Sardinia, Span. auditor at the Rota of Rome, death of (March 1539), 122.
Arahal, town of Andalucia, 471.
Aranjuez, in Castille, 186–7.
....., prince Philip sporting at (Nov. 1541), 377.
....., lets. dated from, *82–3.*
Arbas, abbey of, in Navarre; to be given to Gonzalo Perez, 267, 545.
Arbois (Mons. d'), *Int.* i *n.*; *v. Orton.*
Archers, the King's, *Int.* xvi.
Archinto (Filippo), abp. of Milan, and card. (d. 1558), 56.
....., reads a poem in praise of Margaret of Austria, and Ottavio Farnese, at their nuptials (Nov. 1538), 56.
..... , sends to prince Philip a set of medals, 244.
Archives, Nationaux, in Paris, *Int.* v.
....., of Brussels, *Int.* xxix.
....., of Simancas in Spain, 337, 553, *Int.* xxix.
....., ..., plundered by the French in 1809–10.
....., of the Vatican at Rome, 553.
....., Imperial of Vienna, *Int.* xxix.
Ardinghelli (Nicolao, Niccolo), bp. of Fossombrone, first sec. and Datary to Paul III. (1541), 391, 550.
....., ..., sent as Papal nuncio to France, 340, 391.
....., ..., leaves Rome, 391, 396, 416.
....., ..., has audience from Francis, 420.
....., ..., returns to Rome (Jan. 1542), 422, 425, 459.
....., ..., stops on the road for cause of illness, 428.
Ardres (dep. Pas de Calais, France), 295, 308, 323, *Int.* xix.
Ardres—*cont.*
....., a rumour afloat that Henry intends erecting a fortress close to, 295, 320, 323–4, 464.
....., 3,000 French pioneers working day and night at the fortifications of (June 1541), 320.
....., English and French deputies sent to the delimitation of, and Guisnes, *Int.* xix; *v.* under *Biez, Howard* (lord William), *Sauveuse,* and *Seymour* (Edward).
Argel, *v. Algiers.*
Arias de Saavedra (D. Juan), *first* co. de Castellar, 271 *n.*
Arles, abbey of, *v. Arbas.*
Armada, *v. Fleet.*
Armagnac (George d'), bp. of Rhodez in France, amb. in Venice (1537); in Rome (1538), 37.
....., ..., returns from his embassy (Jan. 1539), 105.
Arms, the importation of, into Africa, complained of by the k. of Portugal (Apr. 1539), 148.
....., in Fez alone there were more spears, weapons, and implements of war of Castillian manufacture than could be made at Milan, *ibid.*
Aroche, town of Extremadura (Spain), the inhabitants of, at difference with those of Encinasola on matters of pasture (Sept. 1540), 269.
Arràs, in Flanders, bp. of, *v.* Perrenot (Antoine).
Arrimini, *v. Rimini.*
Artes (?) abbey of, 267, 545; *v. Arbas.*
Arthois (Artois), county of, 10, 238.
Artiaga (Arteaga), 232–3.
Artillery, 54.
....., casting of, at Barcelona, 220.
....., master of the, *ibid*; *v. Ordnance.*
Ascarren, Azcarren, a Navarrese gentleman, Henri d'Albret's agent, 103.
Asia, the Grand Turk's dominions in, 448.
Aspremont (baron d'), one of Granvelle's titles, 383 *n.*
Aste, *v. Este.*
Astenay, town of Lorraine, *v. Stenay.*
Astesan, the county of Asti, 281.
Asti, in Piedmont, *Int.* i *n.*
Astorga, town of Spain, 170.
....., ..., bp. of, *v. Suarez.*
....., the cathedral church of, protesting against the tax of the half-fruits (Apr. 1540), 228.
Asturias, prov. of Spain, transport ships from the, to be procured for the Algiers expedition, 221.
Atteca (George d'), bp. of Ampurias, 267.
Audeley (Sir Thomas), lord chancellor, 342, 352–3, 384, 541.
....., privy councillors meeting in the rooms of (Aug. 1541), 349.

Audeley (Sir Thomas)—*cont.*
....., his speech in Parliament, on q. Catharine's misdeeds (Jan. 1542), 465.
....., wife of, 334; *v. Grey* (Christina).
Audenarde (Oudenarde), in Flanders, birthplace of Margaret of Austria, the Emp.'s natural daughter, *Int.* xxiv *n.*
Augsburg (Augusta), 228.
....., the diet of, 170, 286.
Augmentations, court of, in London, 541.
....., jokingly called by Marillac the "Court of Diminutions," *ibid.*
....., chancellor or vicar of, *v. Rychie.*
Aumale, co. of, *v. Lorraine* (Claude de).
Austel, manor in Cornwall, given by k. Henry to Anne of Clèves, *Int.* xv.
Austin Friars, convent of the, in London, 31.
....., a priest who came to England in the suit of the ambs. of the du. of Saxony, and landgraf of Hesse, preaching in, (Aug. 1538), *ibid.*
Austral, regions, 61.
....., towns, 62.
Australins, *v. Easterlings.*
Austria, the Turks about to invade, 439.
....., house of, the old ties of friendship between the, to be strengthened (said the Emp. to Chapuys in Sept. 1538), 47.
..... (George d', Jorge de), natural son of Maximilian, and uncle of Charles the Fifth; abp. of Valencia in Spain (1539), coadjutor of Liège (1544–57), 280.
....., ..., taken prisoner in retaliation for the murder of Fragoso and Rincon, 361, 369–70, 387–9, 390, 397, 421–4, 426, 428, 455.
....., ..., said to be confined in one of Montmorency's castles (Chantilly?), 426.
....., ..., at Saumur, in good health, and well treated, though under very strict vigilance, 370.
....., ..., not his prisoner (said Francis), only detained until his own servants, Fragoso and Rincon, be delivered to him, 369, 380.
....., ..., k. Francis refusing to release him from prison, 404–5.
....., ..., worse treated than ever, that he may die in prison (Nov. 1541), 404–7.
....., ..., the Pope to be urgently requested to interfere in favor of, 428.
...., ..., to remain in confinement until Fragoso and Rincon, Francis' ambs., are set free, or their sudden disappearance is explained, 421–2.
....., ..., about 20 of his household servants detained in Lyons, 380.
....., ..., money and jewels taken from, 523.
....., archdu. of, *v. Ferdinand.*
..... (Leopold of), bp. of Cordoba, 223 *n.*
Autremont (baron d'), *v. Champayney.*
Avignon, in France (dep. Vaucluse), county of, 381.
....., the castle of, said to have been promised by Pope Paul to the Emp. in exchange for other fiefs in Italy (1541), 369.
....., ..., in consequence of which, k. Francis sends a force thither, 381.
....., four thousand lances of k. Francis encamped at (Nov. 1541), 369, 381.
....., ..., as the people will not let them enter their town, 381.
....., Francis gets final possession of, 441.
....., ..., not to be blamed for it, considering the suspicious people found inside, *ibid.*
....., Spaniards taken prisoners at, 380, 421, 426, 428.
....., the town and castle of, had always belonged to France (said k. Henry to Chapuys), *ibid.*
....., Papal Legate at, *v. Salviati.*
....., the Pope's vice-legate at, 426; *v. Campeggio* (Alessandro).
Avila (D. Pedro de), recommended for a post in the Finances of Spain, 245.
..... y Zuñiga (D. Luis de), on a mission of the Emp.'s to Italy, 192, 203–4, 206–7, 209–10, 215 *n.*, 217–9, 224–6, 263, *Int.* xxvii.
....., ..., presents his credentials to the Pope, 204, 200.
....., ..., instructions to (Oct. 1539), *88.*
....., ..., secret ditto, *89.*
Aviñon, *v. Avignon.*
Ayás Bashá, Solyman's grand vizier, 117.
....., ..., his answer to the Venetian amb. concerning the proposed truce (1539), 162–3, 171, 176, 178.
Azcarren (Mr. d'), agent of Henri II., d'Albret, titular k. of Navarre, 248.
....., his negociations with the Imp. amb. in France (1540), 248–9, 257.
....., supposed to be the same as Ezcurren, 544.
Azevedo family. The "adelantamiento" or frontier captainship of Cazorla, hereditary in the, 374 *n.*

B

Badajoz, in Extremadura, bps. of, *v. Sarmiento de Mendoza*, and *Suarez.*
Baeça, Baeza, (Alonso de,) treasurer, 262.
Bagdad, in the Irac (Asia); the Persians marching on (1538), 9, 293.
Baglione (Ridolfo, Rodolpho), of Perugia; marches on Cortona with the "fuorusciti" of Perugia, 229, 288.

Baglione (Ridolfo, Rodolpho)—*cont.*
....., suspected by the Pope of favoring the rebellion of the Perugians, 289.
Balass (balax), the spinel ruby. One diamond and a, worth 11,000 duc., presented by Pope Paul to Margaret, the do. du. of Florence, the day of her marriage, 56.
Balearic islands, in the Mediterranean, 407 *n.*
Balia (bailiwick), of Siena, 407 *n.*, 423, 460.
....., to be composed in future of 40 citizens instead of 20, 417, 423.
....., eight of whom, two for each Monte, are to be appointed by the Emp., *ibid.*
Ballon, *v. Baglione.*
Bandini (Francesco), abp. of Siena (1529–88), 424.
Bandome, *v. Vendôme.*
Bar (Barrois, Bar-le-duc), du. of, *v. Lorraine* (François de).
....., duchess of, *v. Christina of Denmark*, 349, 436.
Barba (Bernardino), bp. of Puzzuolo, 290.
Barbarossa, Barbarroja, Barbarroxa, Babá Aróx, "the renegade," Turkish corsair, admiral of Solyman's fleet, 228–35.
....., against the Venetians (1538), 9.
....., defeated with heavy loss at Candia, *ibid.*
....., secretly negociating with the Venetians (Dec. 1539), 91.
....., his formidable fleet (July 1539), 172, 174, 184.
....., sailing for Gallipoli (June 1539), 166.
....., ..., there to join the Turkish fleet, and undertake Castilnovo, *ibid.*
....., doing much harm in the territory of the Venetians, 209.
....., treating with Gallego and others, 209, 211, 216–7, 221–3.
....., ..., and offering to desert the Turk, and come over to the Emp., provided he be allowed to take possession of Tunis, 221, 231.
....., no certainty at all of his professions being sincere (Jan. 1540), 216.
....., Doria and the viceroy of Sicily (Gonzaga), being of opinion that his proposals should be taken into consideration, 221.
....., ..., whilst card. Tavera and other privy councillors advise their rejection, 222.
....., ..., suspecting that he is in concert with the grand Turk, and that his offers are only a feint to gain time, *ibid.*
....., ..., much better that he takes forcible possession of Tunis and Bona than enter into a binding agreement of any sort with, *ibid.*
....., Capt. Vergara's account of his visit to, (Apr. 1540), 228–35.
Barbarossa, &c.—*cont.*
....., his own galleys much superior to, and better manned than those of the Grand Turk, 280.
....., ..., reported to have sailed for Negroponte with 40 of his own, and 80 more of the Grand Turk, 404.
....., preparing to invade Italy (Dec. 1541), 425.
....., ..., and particularly the kingdom of Naples, 428.
....., his house at Constantinople, 229.
....., his harem or "seraglio," 233–4.
....., his chief eunuch, *v. Hazem-bey.*
....., his son, married in Constantinople, 274.
....., his physician, *v. Romero.*
Barbary, the coast of, 358, 407 *n.*
....., two towns on the coast of, Susa and Monastir, recovered by Doria and Gonzaga (Oct. 1540), 293.
Barcelona, capital of Catalonia, 2, 3, 5, 15, 33 *n.*, 36, 70, 79, 85, 140, 170, 204 *n.*, 372, 382, 490.
....., let. dated from (1538), 2.
Bar-le-duc, du. of, *v. Lorraine* (François de).
Bari, du. of, 349; *v. Christina of Denmark*, du. of Milan.
Barletta, in Naples, 406.
Barnes (Dr. Robert), executed (June 1540), *Add.* and *Cor.* 542.
Baronio (Cesare); his *Annales Ecclesiastici* quoted, 419 *n.*
Barres (Mr. des), receiver-general of France, imprisoned (Sept. 1538), 14.
Basto, *v. Vasto.*
Bath, bp. of, *v. Clerk* (Dr. John).
Baue, sec. in Flanders, *v. Bave.*
Bavaria; forces raised in, against the Turk (1541), 371.
....., du. of *v. Lewis* and *William.*
..... (Lewis of), 138, 416.
..... (Philip of), *v. Palatine.*
..... (William of), (1508–50), 78 *n.*
....., ..., his agent at Rome, 389.
Bave, sec. in the Low Countries, 304, 462, 489.
Bayard, Bayart (Gilbert), French sec., 360, 509.
....., let. to Marillac, *249.*
Bayonne, in France, 104.
Beamont, Beamonte, D. Frances de, *v. Alava y Beamont.*
Bearne (Frederico de), a Sienese, 424.
..... (Julio), his brother, *ibid.*
..... (Ludovico de), 423.
Beaulieu, in Scotland, prior of, *v. Reid* (Robert).
Beauxeu (Beaujeu?), baron de, one of Granvelle's titles, 383 *n.*
Bechet (Antoine); his life of card. Martinuzio (Paris, 1715), 515 *n.*

Beer. Should the export of hops (*houblon*), be forbidden, the English will be obliged to buy their, in Flanders, 325.

Belgrade, fortress of, 359, 406.

....., report in London of the Turks being already at (1538), 17.

Bellay (Guillaume du), sieur de Langeais, Gasto's message to, concerning Fragoso and Rincon (July 1541), 337–8, 523–4, 532.

....., ..., lieut.-gov. of Piedmont, 337 *n.*

....., ..., his let. to amb. Mendoza, 338–9.

..... (Jean du), bp. of Bayonne (1525–9), abp. of Paris (1530), 151 *n.*, *Int.* xxxi.

....., ..., a cardinal's hat for the, 155.

....., ..., a restless and ambitious man opposed to all public welfare, said the Emp.'s ministers to Alessandro Farnese, the Legate (July 1539), 169.

....., ..., ..., and, therefore, unworthy of a cardinal's hat, *ibid.*

....., ..., once amb. at Rome (1535–6), 160.

....., ..., the most wicked and worst-minded man that ever was known, wrote Aguilar to the Emp. (June 1539), 160.

....., ..., sent by k. Francis to Germany, *ibid.*

..... (Martin de or du), brother of the preceding, French historian; quoted, 532.

Belona, Bellona, La, *v. Valona.*

Beltran, *v. Ferrer.*

Belzers, *v. Welzers.*

Benavente, in Spain, co. de, *v. Pimentel.*

....., in Italy (Benevento), 208.

Beneventanus, *v. Dyonisius.*

Berganza, du. de, *v. Braganza.*

Benavides (D. Francisco de), at Mallorca (1541), 273.

..... (D. Mendo de), *ibid.*

Bergenroth (Gustav), quoted, 48 *n.*, 49 *n.*, 78 *n.*, 91 *n.*, 337 *n.*, 414 *n.*, 530, 535, 537, 553.

Berghe (Berg), duchy of; the du. of Clèves trying to incorporate the, to his own (Oct.–Nov. 1538), 62.

Berghen (Cornelius van), bp. of Liège, (1522–44), resigns his bpric., 456 *n.*

Berwick, the du. of Norfolk at, *Int.* xviii.

Berzosa (Juan de); his collection of Papers copied from the originals in the Vatican, 520, 523, 526, 553.

Betoun (James), abp. of St. Andrews, and card. (1538–9), 145, 367.

....., cardinal's hat for (Jan. 1539), 99.

....., daily expected in France, 145.

Beures, Bevres, Mr. de, admiral of the Low Countries, *v. Bourgogne.*

Bible, translation of the, into English, ordered by Cromwell; condemned and prohibited (1542), 473.

Bies, *v. Biez* and *Gies* (?)

Biez (Oudard du), gov. of Boulogne (1527–44), marshal of France (1541), 464–5.

....., would not allow the Eng. commissioners returning from Ardres to Calais to pass through Boulogne (May 1541), 324.

....., appointed French commissioner for the delimitation of Ardres, *Int.* xix *n.*

Birago (Ludovico); his serjeant, 336.

....., his maitre d' hotel, *ibid.*

....., suspected of having betrayed Fragoso and Rincon, 337.

Biscay (Vizcaya), a prov. of Spain, one of the three Basque, 202.

... ., the people of, and Guipuzcoa send a deputation to prince Philip and to the Council of Castille to obtain the revalidation of their ordinances in matters of trade and navigation (Oct. 1541), 366.

Biscayan (Vizcainos), the natives of Biscay or Vizcaya, 109, 366.

....., two Biscayan *zabras*, in the Channel, boarded by French corsairs (July 1538), 270.

....., ships embargoed at Lisbon for the Algiers expedition (Feb. 1539), 108.

....., ..., the crews of others, in the port of Lisbon, taking part with the French in an affray between the latter and the English (Feb. 1539), 109.

Bishops, in Hungary, five appointed by k. John, 144.

....., ..., confirmation of, solicited at Rome, 113, 144, 156, 170.

....., ..., ..., obtained, 515.

....., ..., *v.* also *Hungary.*

....., in Spain, several protesting against the bull of the half-fruits (Apr. 1540), 230.

Bitello, *v. Vitelli.*

Blancard, Brancard, *Int.* xx *n.*; *v. St. Brancard.*

Blaover (?), in Brittany, 270.

Bles, *v. Blois.*

Blois, in France (dep. Loire et Cher), 12.

Blosio, Pope Clement's sec., 244, 544.

Bochetel, French sec., *Int.* ix.

Bodin (Jean), quoted, *Int.* xxviii *n.*

Bohemia, auxiliary forces from; the Turk afraid of the, 382.

....., the diet of the Catholics in, 121, 517.

....., q. of, *v. Mary of Hungary.*

....., hopes entertained of the Separatists of, being reduced to the pale of the Church, 517.

Bois-Rigault, sieur de, French amb. in Switzerland (1541), 359–60.

Bois-Rigault, sieur de—*cont.*
....., a gentleman from the Levant, whose name begins with the letter N., writes a let. to, *ibid.*
Boissot, councillor in the Low Countries; appointed Imp. commissioner to investigate the Fragoso case, 524.
Boleyn (Anne), alluded, 64–5, 356, 396, 445, 549, *Int.* xxxii.
....., ..., her daughter, *v. Elizabeth.*
..... (George), earl of Rochefort, 395.
....., ..., his widow, *v. Parker* (Jane).
..... (Thomas), earl of Wiltshire, alluded, 27, 99, *Int.* xxxi.
Bologna, in the Church States, 280.
....., bp.-card. of, *v. Campeggio.*
....., Pope Paul resolves to go to, to hold an interview with the Emp. (1541), 361.
....., ..., arrives there on the 7th of Sept., *ibid.*
....., ..., returns from, to Rome, 389.
Bona, a town of E. Africa, 173, 211–2, 274–5.
Bonacorso, Buonacorso, di Grino, Austrian internuncio (1540), 525.
Boner (Edmund), bp. of London, Eng. amb. at the court of Charles (1540–49), 452 *n.*, 503.
....., ..., appointed (March 1542), 483.
....., arrival of, and reception at Valladolid (Apr. 1542), 489.
....., explains his charge, 490–1.
Bonifacio, Bocca di, or Strait of, in Corsica, 371.
Bonvallot (François), abbot of St. Vincent, brother-in-law of Granvelle; Imp. amb. to France (1539–40), 46, 198, 201, 203, 276–7, 523.
....., ..., Instructions to (1540), *108*, *259*.
....., ..., lets. to the Emp., *77–8*, *85*, *92*.
..... (Etiennette de), sister-in-law of Granvelle, *Int.* xxii *n.*
..... (Nicole), wife of Granvelle, *ibid.*
Borgho, baron del, *v. Pulleo.*
Borgia family, *v. Borja.*
Borja (card. Enrique de), son of the du. de Gandia (Juan II.), death of, 280, *Add.* and *Cor.* 535, 545.
..... (card.), brother of the preceding; designated by Paul for a place in the College of Cardinals.
..... (Juan II.) du. of Gandia, 207, 280.
Bossa, in Sardinia, 122.
....., bp. of, *v. Aragonia.*
Bossio (Pietro), Roman lawyer, a Fleming by birth, 263, 544.
Bossu (Mr. de), Master of the Horse (*caballerizo mayor*) to the Emp., 35–6, 438.
....., on a mission to France, 35.
....., ..., to go thence to Rome, and to Flanders, *ibid.*
....., ..., to freight in the latter country as many transports as he can find for the expedition to Algiers, 36.
Botolph (Sir Gregory), pensioner in Calais, sent to the Tower (May 1540), *Int.* xiii *n.*
....., executed, 154.
Bouillon, in the Luxemburg; the lordship of, claimed by Mons. de Hedan, 13.
Boulogne, in Italy, *v. Bologna.*
Boulogne-sur-Mer, in Picardy (France), 324.
....., French gov. of, *v. Biez.*
Bourbon (Antoine de), du. de Vendôme, 25, 58, 529.
....., ..., proposed marriage of, to Vittoria Farnese, 58.
....., ..., marries Jeanne d'Albret, Francis' niece, 345, 529.
..... (Charles de), bp. of Nevers and card. (d. 1537), 10, *Add.* and *Cor.* 529, 545.
..... (Charles) du. de Vendôme, 29, 58, 529.
Bourg (Antoine du), baron de Saillans, high chancellor of France, 381.
Bourg-en-Bresse, 381.
Bourgogne (Adolphe de), sieur de Beures, admiral in the Low Countries, 128.
Brabant, to contribute with money towards the League, 243.
Bradford (Rev. William); his "Itinerary of Charles V." quoted, 48 *n.*, 462 *n.*, 527 *n.*
Braganza (du. de), 288.
Brandanburque (Brandenburg) Joachim, marq. and elector of, 112.
Brandon (Charles), du. of Suffolk, 436, *Add.* and *Cor.* 547, *Int.* x.
....., his wife, 305, *Add.* and *Cor.* 547.
Brantôme (Mr. de), French historian, quoted, 532.
Brasil, Brazil, in S. America, 304.
Breda, in N. Brabant, 40, 42–3, 44, 530.
....., Don Diego de Mendoza's journey from Brussels to (Sept. 1538), 43–4.
....., death of Mons. de Nassau at (10 Sept. 1538), 43.
....., lets. dated from, *42–3*.
Bretagne, the duchy of, in France, 270.
....., said to belong by right to Charles de Valois, 434.
Breteuil, in Normandy; steel-ordnance cast at, 251.
....., du. de, *v. Valois* (Henri de).
Bretigny, town of France (dep. Eure et Loire), *Int.* xix.
Breves, Papal. One exhorting the Cortes of Castille to make a grant to the Emp. for the war against the Turk, 36.
....., to be solicited from Paul by the Imp. amb. in Rome (Sept. 1538), *ibid.*
Brian, Briand, Bryant (Sir Francis), Eng. amb. to France; proposes an interview of Henry and Francis at Calais (Aug. 1538), 6, 10, 13.
....., his intemperate and high-flown language corrected, 7–9.

Brindeholm (Edward), *Int.* xiii.
Brindisi; the naval forces of the League to meet at, 54.
....., card.-bp. of, *v. Mota.*
Brinon (Jean), sieur de Villaine d'Humières, chancellor of the duchy of Alençon, Francis' amb. to the diet of Spires (Feb. 1542), 476.
Brion-Chabot (Philippe de), co. de Charny and Bussançois, gov. of Burgundy, admiral of France, 330, 354, 413, 453, 530–1.
....., on a mission to the Low Countries (Dec. 1538), 72–75, 531–2.
....., in disgrace; strong measures being taken against those who held office under him (Sept. 1538), 14, 532.
....., report of his conference with q. Mary, *28.*
....., again in favour, 532.
....., let. to Marillac, *184.*
..... (Jaques), 531; *v. Chabot.*
Brissac (Mr. de), French amb. to Charles, *v. Cossé-Brissac.*
Britanny, *v. Bretagne.*
Brooke (Sir George), lord Cobham, 17 *n.*
Brown, Browne (Sir Anthony), Henry's Grand Squire, amb. to the Low Countries (1538); recalled, 52.
....., in the Privy Council, 432.
....., niece of, 468.
Bruges, in Flanders, 243, 312.
Brun, *v. Brown.*
..... (Mme.), *v. Le Brun.*
Brundusino, Il vescovo, *v. Brindisi* and *Mota.*
....., a native of Brindisi, *v. Caraffa.*
Brunswick (Ernest), du. of (1532–46); his law-suit with the bp. of Hilsheim, 170.
Brusino, card., 112; an error for Brundusino, q. *v.*
Brussels, Bruxelles, 33 *n.*, 42–3, 51, 69, 135–7, 350, 379, 530.
....., a better place than London to negociate a commercial treaty between England and the Low Countries, 352, 353, 409, 447, 452, 456, *Int.* ii.
....., lets. dated from, *50, 241–2, 259.*
....., the treasurers at, 409.
Buda Pesth, in Hungary, 9, 11, 118, 293, 344, 362, 382, 553.
....., storming of, by the k. of the Romans (May 1541), 293, 342, 371.
....., relieved by a Turkish army, 342.
....., k. Ferdinand losing 4,000 men at, 344.
....., Solyman leaves, for Constantinople, 374.
Bugia, in Africa, 221, 407 *n.*, 411, 414, 420, 425, 530.
Bulgea, *v. Bugia.*
Bull-fight and comedy at Rome; Margaret of Austria, invited by the du. of Castro to a (Feb. 1540), 225.
Bullon, *v. Bouillon,* in the Luxemburg.
Bulls, *Papal,* for the half-fruits of the Clergy, 143.
....., ..., for the Military Orders of Spain, 143.
Buren, co., *v. Egmont* (Floris d').
Burgenbresse (Bourg-en-Bresse); q. Eleanor staying in the neighbourhood of, (Oct. 1541), 381.
Burgos, in Old Castille, 220, 483 *n.*
....., the cathedral church of, protesting against the tax of the half-fruits of the Clergy (Apr. 1540), 228.
Burgundy, county of, 78, 236, 370, 379, 438, 513.
....., governor of, *v. Brion-Chabot* (Philippe).
....., the restitution by Francis of, to the Emp. to be insisted upon, 238.
....., the Emp.'s subjects in, to be assisted by Francis according to the treaty of Nizza (1538), 513.
Bussançois, Buzançois, co. of, *v. Brion-Chabot.*

C

Cabrera, small island of the Balearic group, the Imp. fleet anchoring at (18 Oct. 1541), 407 *n.*
....., *v. Enriquez de Cabrera.*
Caçorla, Cazorla, in the prov. of Jaen (Spain), 374 *n.*
....., ade'antado of, *v. Cobos* (Diego).
Cadahalso (Cadalso), in Castille (Spain), let. dated from, 49.
Cadiz, in Spain, 108.
Cafarello (Giovan Pietro), agent of the du. de Castro (1538), 58, 91.
Cairo, in Egypt, 339.
....., the Bashaw gov. of, goes out with his janissaries to attack the Portuguese (June 1541), *ibid.*
Calais, 6, 134–5, 541, *Int.* x, xvii, xviii.
....., the daughters of Lorraine and Vendôme cannot go to, as Henry proposes, 9, 10, 12, 24–5.
....., troops and ammunition to (Sept. 1538), 40–2.
....., English deputies in, 60.
....., troops sent by Henry to, 295, 322, 324, 429.
....., interview at, in 1538, proposed by Brian, 6, 9, 10.
....., ..., a previous one of Henry and Francis in (1535), alluded, 330.
....., ..., another of k. Henry and q. Mary proposed, 67.

Calais—*cont.*
....., the registers of the "tonlieu" at, 429, 551.
....., English ambs. in Belgium returning home arrive at (23 March 1539), 137.
....., engineer sent to, *v. Long.*
....., Debitis (deputy of), *v. Plantagenet.*
... ., lets. dated from, *48–9, 51.*
... ., conspiracy to deliver, to the Emp. or to Francis detected, *Int.* xiii.
Calatrava, town of Extremadura (Spain), 122.
....., Military Order of, 122.
Calmont, *v. Caumont.*
Camail, *v. Campbell* (?).
Camarasa, marq. de, *v. Cobos* (Diego de los).
Camarino, duchy of, in the Rom. States, 107, 153, 164, 169, 173, 186, 209.
....., the du. of Urbino, Guidobaldo della Rovere, in possession of, having married Giulia Varana, dau. of the last du., 139.
....., to be invaded by the Papal army, unless surrendered under certain conditions, 92, 98, 102, 403.
....., Pope Paul wishing to give it to his son, Pier Luigi, 158.
....., ..., or to his grandson Ottavio, married to the Emp.'s dau. Margaret, 158, 291.
....., ..., though at one time he intended it for Horazio Farnese, his brother, 122.
....., Ottavio finally invested with it, 428.
... ., du. of, *v. Varana* and *La Rovere.*
....., do. du., *v. Cibo.*
Camberlen (Millour), gov. of Guisnes, arrives at Calais (18 March 1539), 135.
....., lord Chamberlain, *v. Sandys.*
Cambray, in Flanders; Henry's objection to the General Council being held at, 65.
....., Pope Paul being of the same opinion, and preferring Mantua or Ferrara to, 398–9, 401–2.
....., k. Francis refusing to go to, 399.
....., Eleanor and Mary of Hungary to meet at (Sept. 1538), 29, 33 *n.*
....., interview of Francis and Mary the q. of Hungary announced, 14–5, 72.
....., proposed for the meeting of the General Council, on account of its being an Imp. city, subject to its prelate, and conveniently situated for England and France to send their representatives thither, 398.
....., treaty of, alluded, 238, 297, 302, 350, 353.
....., the provostship of St. Thomas at, 58.
....., chapter of, 149.
....., dean of, *v Maioris.*
....., do. q. of Hungary at (Nov. 1538), 72.
Camillo, capt., an Italian, comes to London (March 1542), 484; *v. Orsini* (?)
Campbell (Sir John), Scotch amb. in England, expected in London (Dec. 1540), 302, 547.
Campeggio (Alessandro), bp. of Bologna (1526–54), vice-legate at Avignon, 121, 143, 286, 426.
..... (Laurencio, Lorenço), card., 286, 426.
..... (Thomaso), bp. of Feltre, appointed by Paul for the conferences in Germany (Nov. 1540), 286.
Campo, village of Naples, to be bought for Margaret's dowry, 165.
..... (Pedro del), Imp. officer, 234.
.... di Fiore, a place of resort and gossip in Rome, 266.
....., Medina del, in Spain, *v. Medina.*
Canarias (Canaries, Canary Islands); a Portuguese ship meeting with French privateers in the, 294.
Cancy (Mons. de), *v.* under *Cossey* and *Coucy.*
Candia, island, 9, 88.
....., gov. of, *v. Moro.*
....., Venetian proveditor at, 175.
....., Barbarossa defeated by the inhabitants of, 9.
Cano, Spanish commander (1541); his report on the Algiers expedition, 415.
Cante-Croix, co. de, *v. Perrenot* and *Chantonnay.*
Cantelmo (Cesare), a Neapolitan outlaw (*fuoruscito*), on a mission of k. Francis to Constantinople, accompanied by Rincon (1538–9), 78, 162, 177–9, 185, 192, 199, 533.
....., working against a general truce rather than in favour of it, 166.
....., returns to Paris (July 1539), 78, 176.
....., the result of his mission to the Turk having been made known, suspicions are entertained of his not being sincere in the matter, 184–5.
Canterbury, the du. of Norfolk and lord Cromwell to wait for Anne de Clèves (Nov. 1538) at, *Int.* x.
....., abp. of, *v. Cranmer.*
Capello (Vincenzo), Venetian proveditor and captain-general of the sea; superseded, 116.
....., returns to Venice so weakened by disease that he cannot do much service (Feb. 1539), *ibid.*
....., accuses Doria of not having acted well at Castilnovo, *ibid.*
Capisucci (Paolo), auditor at the Rota, in Rome, 122.
Capitano di Giustizia, or chief magistrate in Milan, ordered by Gasto to make inquiries about Fragoso's disappearance, 336–8.
....., one to be appointed for Siena, 424.

Capo di Ferro (Hieronymo), Paul's datary, sent to France as Papal Nuncio (May 1541), 322.

....., ..., belonging to the Orsini faction, *ibid.*

....., ..., ..., with a view, as it is rumoured, to promote the marriage of the Pope's grand-daughter [Vittoria Farnese], 329.

....., ..., ..., and make a league with France and Venice against the Emp., *ibid.*

Captives, Christian; money bequeathed by the Empress Isabella for the redemption of, 292.

Capua, in Naples, prior of, *v. Strozzi.*

Caracciolo (card. Marino), chancellor of Milan, 417, 520.

....., let. to the Emp. (1540), *260.*

Caraffa (Gian Pietro), surnamed "Il Brundusino," *i.e.*, from Brindisi, afterwards Pope Paul IV., *q. v.*

Cardinals, creation of, by Clement VII. alluded, 56.

... ., ..., by Paul III. (in 1539), 138, 397.

....., three Spanish, dying in a very short space of time (Borja, Manrique, and Santacroce) (Oct. 1540), 280.

....., ..., some rumour afloat that the two former had died from poison, *ibid.*

....., Sacred College of, 186, 206, 216, 280, 405, 419, 518–9.

....., in Consistory, 142, 519.

....., French, too numerous in it already, 184, 218.

....., ..., no less than eleven, besides the Italian, who follow Francis' party, 400.

....., ..., whilst Spain has only four, *ibid.*

....., ..., Pope Paul showing too much partiality for that nation, *ibid.*

....., two to be appointed for the reformation of the clergy in Germany, 399.

....., *hats*, 34, 138, 143, 160, 169, 173, 186, 206, 210, 400, 402, 405.

....., ..., the Emp.'s application for, not attended to as he might have wished, 169.

....., ..., ecclesiastics of the stamp of the bp. of Paris, a restless and ambitious man, ought never to be raised to the purple (wrote the Emp. to Aguilar in July 1539), *ibid.*

....., ..., whilst urgently asking for one for the abp. of Geneva, and another for Francesco Colonna, *ibid.*

...., Napoleone Orsino, the ex-abbot of Farfa, not to have his, though greatly in favour with Mme. Costanza, 208.

....., ..., ..., but, on the other hand, if the Pope can resist that lady's importunities, Colonna will not be appointed, *ibid.*

Carlo III., du. of Savoy, *v.* under *Savoy.*

Carlos V., Emp., *v. Charles.*

....., prince Don, son of Philip II., alluded, *Add.* and *Cor.* 550.

Carne (Dr.), colleague of Wriothesley in the embassy to the Low Countries (Oct. 1538), a learned man, 52.

....., to be sent to Flanders to treat of Henry's marriage to the do. du. of Milan, *ibid.*

....., ..., sent again (July 1541), 333.

....., ..., ..., for the purpose of adjusting differences in trade matters, *ibid.*

Carondelet (Jean de), abp. of Palermo (1520–44), pres. of the Council in the Low Countries, 199.

Carpi (Hyeronimo de), chamberlain of the du. of Florence (Alessandro de' Medici), 355, 421.

....., ..., delivered from prison by the Imperialists (1541), 526–7.

..... (Rudolfo), *v. Pio da Carpi.*

Carreton, meaning of the Span. word, 230 *n.*

Cartagena, in Spain, 243.

....., stores of provisions at, for the Algiers expedition, 377.

....., corregidor of, *v. Davalos* (Andrés).

....., the Emp. arrives at, on his return from Algiers (Dec. 1, 1541), 407 *n.*, 420, 425, 427–8.

....., one of the Imp. galleys foundering in sight of (Dec. 1541), 431.

Casarello, 91 *n.*; *v. Cafarello.*

Cásim baxá (Kásim Basha), Persian general, 293.

....., deserts the Sophi of Persia and goes over to the Turk (1539), 293.

....., goes back to Persia at the head of four sangiacs or regiments, *ibid.*

Castelalt (Castelalto?), colonel of German infantry, 54.

Castellamare, in Naples, to be purchased for Margaret's dower, 291.

Castellar, a town of Valencia (Spain), marq. de, *v. Arias de Saavedra.*

Castelnau (Antoine de). bp. of Tarbes, in Gascony; French amb. to Spain, 37, 45 *n.*, 48, 76, 100–1, 145, 178, 180–1, 236, 239, 495, 513, 520, *Int.* ix.

....., what passed between him and Granvelle in Spain, 180–1.

...., death of (1539), 413.

Castille (Castilla), levies of men to be made in (Jan. 1540), 220.

....., Cortes de (States General of), 446–7, 491.

....., contagious fevers in, 245.

....., High Commander of the Order of Santiago in, *v. Cobos.*

....., Council of, at Madrid, 366.

Castillon, in Languedoc (France), *Int.* iv *n.*

....., sieur de, *v. Perreau* (Louis).

Castilnovo, (Castel-Novo), in Dalmatia, taken from the Turks (1538), 58, 87, 89, 96–9, 106, 116, 178, 232, 234–5.

....., ought to be dismantled, 156, 160.

....., tax imposed by the Venetians for the defence of, 117.

....., garrison appointed for, four thousand Span. infantry, 88, 161.

....., supposed design of Barbarossa on (June 1539), 120, 163.

....., too strong to be carried by a "coup de main," 163.

....., the Venetians claiming possession of, according to agreement, 90, 162, 164, 172.

....., again besieged by the Turks, 139, 166, 176.

....., relieved by Joannetino Doria, 173.

....., again claimed by the Venetians, 172, 175.

....., Doria's opinion that it ought to be delivered immediately to them on condition of their paying the arrears of pay owed to the Span. garrison, 163.

....., ..., who certainly will not give it up unless they are paid beforehand, *ibid.*

....., 15,000 duc. to be paid by the Venetians as indemnity, 171.

....., the delivery of, to the Venetians finally affected (July 1539), 172.

....., no truce nor peace to be made with the Signory until, is surrendered unconditionally (said Solyman's Grand Vizier), 176.

....., again besieged by Barbarossa, 176.

....., conversation of the Imp. amb. in France with k. Francis on the, business (Aug. 1539), 178–9.

....., taken (Aug.–Sept. 1539), 186, 191.

....., Span. gov. of, *v. Vargas* and *Sarmiento.*

....., bp. of, 89.

Castro, du. of, *v. Farnese* (Pier Luigi).

....., du. of, *v. Orsino* (Hieronima).

Castroconiano, in Poland, 515 *n.*

Catalina, *v. Catharine,* and *Katharine.*

Catalonia, 220, 243, 278, 392.

....., the coast of, threatened by the Turks (Oct. 1539), 193.

....., transport-ships for the expedition to Algiers to be procured in the ports of, (Jan. 1540), 220–1.

....., viceroy of, *Hurtado de Mendoza* (Diego).

Catharine (Katherine) of Aragon, q. of England, first wife of Henry VIII; alluded, 67, 356, 454–5, 549.

....., of Austria, second dau. of the k. of the Romans [Ferdinand], married to Francesco II. Gonzaga, du. of Mantua (1549), 514 *n.*

Catharine—*cont.*

..... (Catalina), sister of Charles, the Emp., and wife of k. Joaõ III., of Portugal, 5, 111.

....., Howard, q. of England, *v. Howard.*

Cattaro, in Dalmatia, 163.

Cauchoire (la), bridge of, near Ardres (Eng., Cowbridge), *Int.* xix.

Caumont (dep. Calvados), 10.

Cavanilles, gov. of Valencia (Oct. 1541), 376.

Cefalonia, *v. Cephaloniă.*

Celdran, deputy treasurer of Aragon, 267.

Cenaga, *v. Sinán-Agá.*

Centurione (Adam), Genoese banker, 140, 149.

Cenys (Lassigny ?, Mr. de,) French amb. to Scotland, has an audience from k. Henry (Aug. 1538), 25.

Cephalonia, one of the Ionian islands, 173.

....., damage done by Barbarossa in (1538), 58.

Ceri (Paolo da), condottiere; his engagements with k. Francis (1541), 415, 422, 426.

..... (Renzo da), father of Paolo, 415.

Cerrage (seraglio), that of Barbarossa, 234.

Cervini (Marcello), bp. of Nicastro (1539); of Reggio (1540); card. (1541), 218, *Add.* and *Cor.* 534, 536; *v.* also *Marcello.*

....., in Spain, 218.

....., as card. Santa Croce, 387–9, 397, 401.

Cesarini, Cesarino, card. Alessandro, writes a letter to the Emp. on the peace with France (1538), 41, 44.

....., the Emp.'s answer to (Sept. 1538), *14.*

Cesis (Paolo de), Paul's referendary, 58.

Chabot (Jacques), 531.

..... (Philippe), sieur de Brion, High Admiral of France, *v. Brion-Chabot.*

Chabote, *v. Brion-Chabot.*

Chalons-sur-Marne, bp. of, *v. Lenoncourt.*

Champagney, sieur de, *v. Perrenot* (Frederic and Jerôme), *Int.* xxii *n.*

Champigna, *v. Compiegne.*

Chancellor, French, *v. Prat* and *Bourg.*

....., English, *v. Audeley.*

....., of Saxony, *Int.* xii.

Chancery, in England.

....., foreign merchants choosing to remain in England to inscribe their names and nationality in the books of the, 318.

....., all business to be suspended for some days in, and in the Exchequer Court until k. Henry assumes the titles of k. of England and Ireland, 342.

Channel, 318, 320, 449, *Int.* v.

....., two thousand men sent by k. Henry across the, 319–20.

Channel—*cont.*
....., ..., a rumour spread in France that the force amounts to 20,000, 320.
Chantilly, in France, the High Constable, Montmorency, staying at (Aug. 1539), 177.
Chantonnay, sieur de, *v. Perrenot* (Thomas).
Chapuys (Eustace), Imp. amb. in England, 15–7, 66, 353–4, 376, *Int.* vi, ix.
....., ..., has audience from k. Henry (Aug. 1538), 19–22.
....., ..., his conferences with Cromwell, 23–4, 51–3, 69.
....., ..., to remain in London after Mendoza's departure, 31.
....., ..., attending court conjointly with Mendoza, 65, 168–70.
....., ..., Pope Paul asks the Emp. to recall (2 Jan. 1539), 97.
...., ..., and to stop at once the intercourse of trade with England, 97.
....., ..., ..., since he is determined to excommunicate k. Henry, 97.
...., recalled by q. Mary, 125–6, 129.
....., ..., applies for his "congé" (March 1539), 125.
....., ..., k. Henry wishing him to remain in England until the Emp.'s will should be known, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., or until the appointment of another amb. to succeed him, 126.
....., ..., ..., lest people should think that the old friendship and confederacy between him and the Emp. was diminishing, 126.
....., ..., sends an express messenger to q. Mary, 128.
....., ..., quits England (March 1539), 135–6, 142.
....., ..., ..., conjointly with the French amb. Castillon, 142, *Int.* iv.
....., ..., arrives at Calais (19 March), 137.
....., ..., in Flanders, 199.
....., ..., is succeeded by Maioris (Philippe), dean of Cambray, 129–31.
....., ..., ..., a learned and middle-age personage, the best qualified to represent the Emp. in England until his pleasure should be known, *ibid.*
....., ..., returns to London (July 1540), 259, 281, *Int.* vi.
....., ..., Marillac's account of, *ibid.* vii–ix.
....., ..., announces to Granvelle the new ordinances on navigation and trade promulgated in England (3 Sept. 1540), 260.
....., ..., summoned to Hampton Court (24 Dec. 1540), 296.
....., ..., is introduced to the King's presence by Lord Parr, *ibid.*
Chapuys (Eustace)—*cont.*
....., ..., the earl of Herfort to keep him company whilst the Privy Council assembles, *ibid.*
....., ..., negociations for a treaty of closer alliance begin (June 1541), 332.
....., ..., his conversation with k. Henry, 332–3.
....., ..., ..., in the Privy Council discussing matters of trade (Aug. 1541), 349.
....., ..., slightly indisposed and suffering, like some of his household servants, from the sweating disease, *ibid.*
....., ..., generally in bad health, 351, 368, *Int.* xviii.
....., ..., ..., having fits of gout, 351.
....., ..., continually applying for the settlement of his arrears, as he says he has no money nor credit, 328, 339, 353, 368, 506 *n.*
....., ..., ..., and the dearth of provisions in London is very great, 368.
....., ..., does not dispatch couriers as he cannot pay them, 328.
....., ..., is losing both health and spirits, as well as honor and reputation, from his being unable to pay his creditors, 451, 453.
....., ..., bribes Marillac's sec. (July 1541), 341–2.
....., ..., ..., who puts into his hands copies of his correspondence with k. Francis and his ministers, 344, 360–1, 364–5, 367–8, 376–9, 409–10, 413, 419, 421, 452, 464, 469, 471–5; *v. Honz* (Jean).
....., ..., has a confidential and most reserved audience from k. Henry at Greenwich (Dec. 1541), 430–51.
....., ..., ..., who tells him to speak without reserve, as nothing said in the room will be reported in French quarters, 432.
....., ..., his memorandum and report on French intrigues in England (1541), *233.*
....., ..., ..., most likely on information furnished by Jean de Honz, Marillac's sec., 453–5.
....., ..., holding frequent and long conferences with Henry's lord Privy Seal, 416.
....., ..., ..., one lasting upwards of two hours on Dec. 26, 1541; 437.
....., ..., asks for his recall, and recommends that a fit personage from Spain or Flanders be appointed to succeed him (Dec. 1541), 449, 452.
....., ..., ..., as the air of London disagrees with him, and the Emp. has not been pleased to increase his salary, 453.

Chapuys (Eustace)—*cont.*

....., ..., informs the Emp. of the progress of the negociations (Feb. 1542), 470.

....., ..., is confident that the privy councillors are all in favor of the alliance, 471.

....., ..., ..., but fears that as long as there is a chance of war between the Emp. and France, k. Henry will make difficulties, *ibid.*

....., ..., ..., for, in the first place, he dislikes being put to expense, *ibid.*

....., ..., ..., and if the Emp. wants him, his terms will be much harder, *ibid.*

....., ..., praised by the Emp. and the q. do. of Hungary for his dexterity in conducting negociations with England (March–April 1542), 480.

....., ..., is to receive fresh powers and instructions from q. Mary of Hungary, 481.

....., ..., ..., to whom they will be forwarded by sea through a discreet and trusty personage [Mr. de Courrières ?], *ibid.*

....., ..., ..., who has orders to cast them into the sea should the vessel be boarded by the French, 480–1.

....., ..., another set of powers and instructions sent by way of Italy, 485.

....., ..., ..., as well as the Queen's credentials for the King's ministers, *ibid.*

....., ..., ..., when received, to enter at once into formal negociation, and try to ascertain what Henry's real intentions are (March 1542), 482.

....., ..., should the K. in any manner resent the measures lately taken in Flanders and Spain in matters of trade and navigation, is to propose that a new treaty of commerce be made, 486.

....., ..., has another audience from k. Henry (April 1542), 491–505.

....., ..., ..., whom he addresses in the most flattering terms, following the advice of Fitz William, the Privy Seal, 493.

....., ..., ..., the man in England who knows best the King's nature and temper, *ibid.*

....., ..., exhibits his powers, 494.

....., ..., ..., the bps. of Durham (Tunstall), and Winchester (Gardiner), with sec. Wriothesley deputed to examine them, 497.

....., ..., ..., not being considered sufficiently special and full, is requested to apply home for fresh ones, 502.

....., ..., ..., fancies, when received, that they will give very little or no satisfaction at all, 507.

Chapuys (Eustace)—*cont.*

....., ..., ..., the document itself being so deficient that it will be useless as to instructions, *ibid.*

....., ..., corresponds regularly with Granvelle, 259–60, 360–1, 410–1, 414–20, 451–4, 467, 506, *Int.* ix.

....., ..., ..., and with the marq. de Aguilar at Rome, 99.

....., ..., papers and correspondence belonging to, left in the lodgings that he occupied in London before 1539, *Int.* vii., ix.

....., ..., ..., said to have been found by Marillac in a closet, *ibid.*

....., ..., his secretaries, 342, 346, 349, 353, 359, 378–9, 409, 430–1, 436–7. 440, *Int.* viii, ix.

....., ..., ..., one of his most confidential, employed in treating with the French sec. (Jean de Honz), 364, 368–9, *Int.* xviii.

....., ..., ..., will not intrust his deciphering key to any one of them, 365, 451.

....., ..., his pensions on bprics. of Spain and Flanders, 453.

....., ..., lets. to the Emp., (1538) *7*, (1540) *135*, *145*, (1541) *156*, *161*, *173*, *175*, *195*, *207*, *209*, *213*, *215–6*, (1542) *224*, *228*, *230*, *232*, *234*, *236*, *239*, *244*, *250*.

....., ..., ..., to the q. of Hungary, (1538) *21*, *134*, *136*, *143–4*, *146–7*, (1541) *148–55*, *157–9*, *162–3*, *166–8*, *174*, *177–8*, *186*, *196*, *199*, *201*, *204*, *210*, *220–1*, (1542) *225*, *231*, *235*, *240*, *246–7*, *250*.

....., ..., ..., to Granvelle, (1539) *121* *127*, *190*, *203*, *211*, *222*, (1542) *229–30*, *245*, *251*.

....., ..., the Emp.'s lets. to, (1541–2) *227*, *237–8*, *243*.

....., ..., the q. of Hungary's, (1538) *16*, (1539) *44*, (1542) *241–2*.

Charles V., of Germany, I. of Spain, 1–4, 12–3, 34–6, 47, 51, 142–3, 305, 309, 341, 410, 416, 421, 437, 519–21, 526, 543.

....., ..., his voyage from Nizza to Genoa in company with the Pope, 5.

....., ..., lands at Barcelona on his return from Italy (18 July 1538), 34.

....., ..., leaves Valladolid for Toledo to hold the Cortes convoked thereat (22 Sept. 1538), 48.

....., ..., begins to make preparations for his campaign against the Turk (Sept. 1538), *ibid.*

....., ..., ..., though, on certain considerations, he will not give publicity to his plans, *ibid.*

....., ..., sends Don Luis de Zuñiga on a mission to Paul (Oct. 1589), 191.

....., ..., decides to go to Flanders (Oct. 1539), 167, 191, 195.

Charles V., of Germany—*cont.*
....., ..., sends Praët on a mission to k. Francis (Nov. 1539), 197, 201.
....., ..., ..., to announce his intention of passing through France, 196, 206, 209.
....., ..., writes to Paul that he cannot go to Italy until the following spring (Nov. 1539), 204.
....., ..., arrives in Paris (6 Jan. 1541), 222.
....., ..., ..., his account of the journey thither, 212–4, 222–3.
....., ..., reaches Valenciennes (Jan. 1541), 304.
....., ..., enters Brussels (29 Jan.), 293.
....., ..., about to leave for Germany, 304.
....., ..., in a hurry to return to Spain to prepare for his African expedition (Jan. 1541), 305.
....., ..., at Regensburg holding a diet, 345.
....., ..., in Italy with 7,000 lanskennets (Aug. 1541), 345.
....., ..., sails from La Spezzia for the Algiers expedition (28 Sept. 1541), 374, 376.
....., ..., with a fit of the gout at the Bocca di Bonifacio (Oct. 1541), 374.
....., ..., sends for Idiaquez, and for Vazquez de Molina, and makes his will, *ibid.*
....., ..., at Menorca (9 Oct.); at Majorca (Mallorca), 18 Oct.; in sight of Algiers (21 Oct.), 372, 377.
....., ..., the Imp. fleet being dispersed at sea, the expedition fails altogether, 411.
....., ..., at Bugia (Nov. 1541), 407 *n.*, 411, 414–5, 420, 425.
....., ..., lands at Cartagena on his return from Algiers (1 Dec. 1541), 411, 427, 431, 437.
....., ..., his manifesto or declaration on the League against the Turk (Oct. 1538), *22.*
....., ..., ministers in Italy, 169, 192, 337, 369; *v. Aguilar, Gasto, Toledo.*
....., ..., ..., not one of them (writes Gasto) has had a hand in the Fragoso affair, 337.
....., ..., ..., in France, 411; *v. Scepper* and *St. Vincent.*
....., ..., ..., in Spain, *v. Tavera, Loaysa, &c.*
....., ..., his wife, the Empress, *v. Isabella of Portgual.*
....., ..., his sons and daughters, *v. Phillip, Joanna,* and *Maria.*
....., ..., his lord Privy Seal (Guarda-Sellos), *v. Perrenot de Granvelle.*
....., ..., his Master of the Horse (*Caballerizo Mayor*), *v. Bossu.*
....., ..., secs., *v. Cobos* and *Idiaquez.*
Charles V., of Germany—*cont.*
....., ..., lets. to Pope Paul, (1538) *9, 47.*
....., ..., ..., to the marq. de Aguilar at Rome, (1538) *10, 15, 45–6,* (1539) *73, 82–3, 87,* (1540) *137.*
....., ..., ..., to Lope de Soria, at Venice (1538), *11.*
....., ..., ..., to card. Cesarino (1538), *14.*
....., ..., ..., to the abp. of Toledo, (1539) *95,* (1540) *102, 105.*
....., ..., ..., to Mons. de St. Vincent, his amb. in France (1539), *108.*
....., ..., ..., to Eustace Chapuys in England (1542), *227, 237–8, 243.*
Charolois, county of, in Burgundy, 236.
Chasteauneuf, receptor, bearer of dispatches to England (Apr. 1542), 508; *v. Gellimard.*
Chastillon (Châtillon) sur-Loing (dep. Loiret, France), *Int.* iv *n.*
....., sur-Marne, *ibid.*
....., sieur de, *v. Coligny* (Gaspard de).
..... (Mr. de), French amb. in England (1533–9), sent as amb. to Portugal (Oct. 1540), 280.
....., ..., ..., to ask for the hand of the Infanta Doña Maria, *ibid.*
....., ..., mistaken for Castillon, *Int.* iii–iv.
....., ..., ..., whose real name was Louis Perreau, sieur de Castillon, q. *v.*
..... (Odet de Coligni, card. de) (b. 1515, d. 1571), son of Gaspard I. de Coligny, 545.
Chavaignes, lets. dated from, *183–4.*
Chefalonia, *v. Cefalonia.*
Chelles (dep. Seine et Marne), convent of nuns at, *Add.* and *Cor.* 529.
Cheney, *v. Cheyne.*
Cheri, Chieri (Paolo da), *v. Ceri.*
Cherubino (Miçer), agent of the du. of Florence, Alessandro de' Medici, at the Imp. Court, 1 *n.*, 50, 165.
Chestanceaux, Shestanceaux, *v. Hurstmonceaux.*
Cheyne (Sir Thomas), amb. to France, 1522–6; groom of the Chamber, 1526; treasurer of Calais and knight of the Garter, 1539; treasurer of the Royal Household, 1540–7; warder of the Cinq-Ports, 1540; 540.
Chichester, bp. of, *v. Sampson.*
Chieri, *v. Ceri.*
Childare, *v. Kildare.*
Chisis (Paolo de), 58; *v. Cesis* (?).
Chivas (Chivasso), in Piedmont, 336.
Chivitella, *v. Civitella.*
Christendom threatened by the Turk, 167, 514.
Christians, new, "moriscos," or newly-converted Moors of Spain, 364.

Christians—*cont.*
....., of Portugal. Placards containing the most detestable heresies fixed by the, in three churches of Lisbon (Feb. 1539), 108.
....., ..., having a quatrain underneath stating that all inquiries about the authorship would be vain, as they were not the work of a Castillian, French, Italian, or Portuguese, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., but of an English-born subject, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., believed, however, to have been composed by a literary Jew, *ibid.*
....., ..., had not k. Joaõ of Portugal been at Lisbon at the time, a rising of the people against them would certainly have taken place, 110.
....., ..., ..., and a massacre, as under the reign of Dom Manoel, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., all owing to there being no inquisition in Portugal, and to the Pope having granted to them several breves, &c., *ibid.*
....., of Valencia, 364.
Christiern I., co. of Oldenburg and k. of Denmark (1448–81), 436.
....., ..., father of Frederic III., du. of Holstein, q. *v.*
..... II., k. of Denmark, surnamed the "Nero" of the North; dethroned 1523; 436.
Christierna, princess of Denmark, *v. Christina.*
Christina of Denmark, dau. of Christiern II., k. of Denmark and Sweden; do. du. of Milan, and Bari; her marriage to k. Henry negociated, 46, 48, 66, 96, 114–5, 530.
....., Henry's proposal that she should go to Calais accompanied by the q. of Hungary, 24.
....., vague report of her having been engaged to the prince of Orange, 40.
....., her dowry discussed, 66, 68.
....., should she be married to k. Henry, her sister's rights to the crown of Denmark to be made over to her, *ibid.*
....., ..., the Emp. promising to use all his influence to that effect, 66.
....., du. of Bar-le-Duc in Lorraine, owing to her marriage to the marq. de Pont-à-Mousson and du. of Bar-le-duc [François de Lorraine], 349 *n.*
Church, Catholic. Morone's and Brundusino's mission to the princes of Germany for the reintegration of the, 516.
....., ..., who are not to make any treaty or concession injurious to the Holy Apostolic See, 517.
....., ..., to have two sets of instructions, *ibid.*
....., ..., not to reveal to any one of the princes, except to the k. of the Romans, what is the real object of their mission, *ibid.*
Church, Catholic—*cont.*
....., ..., ..., for fear the Lutherans, as they have done at other times, should construe the Pope's wish into a sign of weakness and fear, *ibid.*
....., English. Priests holding benefices from the, several of them in the conspiracy of the Northern Counties, 321.
Cibo (Caterina), do. du. of Camarino, widow of Gian. Battista Varana, 98, 146, 160.
....., ..., refuses to accept 16,000 crs. and a palace at Rome in exchange for her rights to Camarino, 146.
..... (Inocenzio) card., 50, 98, 146, 160.
....., ..., not on good terms with Cosmo de' Medici (Jan. 1540), 217.
Cicogna (Cavalier), a Milanese, sent by the marq. del Gasto on a mission to the Emp. (in July 1541), 337.
Cid (el) campeador; alluded, 288.
Cipher, generally used by the Imp. ambs. in their despatches, 46, 341.
....., Chapuys will not intrust the, to his own secretaries, 365, 451.
....., ..., but will cipher and decipher his own despatches, *ibid.*
....., that with the Low Countries ought to be changed, *ibid.*
....., *French*, used by k. Francis and his ministers to correspond with ambs. abroad, 362, 368.
....., several alphabets procured by Chapuys to decipher Francis' despatches to Marillac, 368, 379, 548.
Cisneros (——), capt. of the Viceroy's body-guard at Naples, 460.
Civille, in Spain, *v. Sevilla.*
Cività di Penna, in Naples, 165.
..... Vecchia, in the Rom. States, Doria at; leaves it in disgust at his not having found there money for the pay of his galleys, 172.
....., ..., Pope Paul at (Nov. 1539), 204.
Civitella, in Naples, 161, 165.
Clarence, du. of, 331.
Clement VII., Pope; alluded, 287, 525, 528.
....., his niece, *v. Caterina de' Medici.*
Clergy, reform of the, in Germany; Pope Paul appoints commissioners for the, 280, 399.
....., in Spain, protest against the bull of the Half-fruits, 221.
Clerk (Dr. John), bp. of Bath, sent to Clèves as ambassador, *Int.* xiv.
....., to go first to France and enquire about the du. of Clèves' marriage to Jeanne d'Albret, *ibid.*
Clesi, Clesis (Bernardo de), bp. of Trent (1514–39), death of (Sept. 1540), 515 *n.*
Clèves, duchy of, league made for its defence (1540), 276, 438.
....., ..., Henry's amb. to, *v. Clerk.*

Clèves, duchy of—*cont.*
....., ..., several lords from, arrive in London (Jan. 1540), *Int.* xii.
..... (Anne of, Mme. de), sister of du. Guillaume; wife of Henry VIII., 544, 548, *Int.* xiv.
...., her marriage first spoken of (Oct. 1539), 199, 200.
....., ..., safe conduct applied, for her passage through Flanders (Oct. 1539), *ibid.*
....., ..., at Calais, *Int.* x.
....., ..., reception in London (Jan. 1540), *Int.* xi.
....., ..., at Greenwich, *Int.* xii.
....., ..., picture of, by amb. Marillac, *Int.* xi–ii.
....., ..., married (Jan. 1540), 210, *Int.* viii–x.
....., ..., sent to Richmond (July 1540), 482, *Int.* xiii.
....., ..., repudiated (July 1540), 210, 245, 537, *Int.* xiv–xv.
....., ..., recalled to Court (Jan. 1541), 305.
....., ..., sends a present to the K. as a New Year's gift (Jan. 1541), *ibid.*
....., ..., goes to Hampton Court, *ibid.*
....., ..., how received by q. Catharine Howard, 306.
...., ..., rumours of the K. taking her back (May 1541) reach the queen's ears, 328.
....., ..., ..., interrogated by Catharine about it, Henry declares that had he to marry again he would never retake, as his wife, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., which Chapuys thinks most likely, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., though, on the other hand, fears of k. Francis making war upon Henry, at her brother's solicitation and with k. James' help, might possibly bring on a reconciliation, *ibid.*
....., ..., said by k. Henry to be the real and legitimate wife of the marq. de Pont (June 1541), 333.
....., ..., ..., who, therefore, ought not to have married (as he did) Christina, the do. du. of Milan, 332.
....., ..., greatly rejoicing at q. Catharine's disgrace (Nov. 1541), 396.
....., ..., a rumour current in the Low Countries that, considering her age, her being fond of wine and indulging in other excesses, her repudiation by k. Henry was to a certain extent justifiable, 408–9.
....., ..., two honest citizens of London sent to prison for saying in public that after all, was the King's lawful wife, 414.
....., ..., ..., and that she had left London in a family way by the K., *ibid.*
Clèves (Anne of, Mme. de)—*cont.*
....., ..., should k. Henry wish to take her back (writes the Emp. to Chapuys), all means should be employed to prevent it (March 1542), 483.
....., ..., ..., no fear of that (answers Chapuys), for since Catharine Howard's execution the K. is not in a humour to marry again, 385, 408–9.
....., ..., again vague rumours of her reconciliation to Henry, 385, 462.
....., ..., ..., in the truth of which Marillac believes, 385, 549.
....., (Guillaume de La Mark), du. of, and Julliers; his marriage to a French princess talked of (Aug. 1538), 10, 248.
....., ..., ..., effected, *Add.* and *Cor.* 544, 548.
....., ..., aspiring to the duchy of Ghelders (1538), 18, 35, 62, *Int.* ii, xiii.
....., ..., ..., of which he takes possession after the death of Charles d'Egmont, the last du., 105.
....., ..., ..., having means at his disposal (says Henry) to carry on war for two years, *ibid.*
....., ..., much favored by k. Francis, with whom he makes a league against the Emp., 276–7, 282, 413, 421, 427, 480, 548.
....., ..., amb. of, in France, commissioned by k. Francis to enlist lanskenets in Germany (Sept. 1540), 261.
... ., ..., marries Jeanne d'Albret, 247–8, 276, 344–5, 548, *Int.* viii.
....., ..., ..., the marriage annulled, *Add.* and *Cor.* 548.
..... (Henrietta de), du. of Nevers and Rethel, daughter of François du. de Nevers; married to Luigi Gonzaga, 13 *n.*
..... (John or Jean III.), du. of, father of du. Guillaume and Anne, Henry's q., 541.
Clipsa, *v. Clyssa.*
Cloth, woollen; imitation (falsos paños), from England not to be introduced into Spain, 227.
....., manufactured and woven in England to be forbidden in the Low Countries, 326.
....., ..., the measure strongly recommended by amb. Chapuys in retaliation for the English statute on Navigation, *ibid.*
....., ..., then the inhabitants of the Low Countries would no longer be deceived, *ibid.*
....., should it be properly woven and of the right sort, the importers to pay one florin of gold for each piece, *ibid.*
....., ..., which would amount almost to a prohibition, *ibid.*

Cloth, woollen—*cont.*
....., those of English manufacture to pay two florins per piece in Brabant, 285.
Clyssa, in Dalmatia; the gov. of, laying siege to Salona, 145.
Coban (Sir, Monsieur) *v. Cobham.*
Cobham (Sir John Brooke), lord, 17 *n.*, 468.
....., sister of, Henry takes a fancy to the (Feb. 1541), 468.
....., ..., repudiated wife of Sir Thomas Whyatt, *ibid.*
Cobos (Diego de los), marq. de Camarasa, du. de Sabiote; adelantado de Cazorla (1543); son of Francisco, the Emp.'s principal secretary, 374.
..... (Francisco de los), lord of Sabiote; High Commander of Leon in the Order of Santiago; the Emp.'s principal sec., 49, 87, 140, 268–9, 272, 363, 374 *n.*, 383, 425, 489, 537, 543.
....., ..., Paul's mistrust of, 263.
....., ..., lets. to the Emp., *109–10.*
....., ..., ..., to Granvelle, *127, 133.*
....., ..., ..., to Luis Sarmiento de Mendoza, *17, 141.*
....., ..., ..., to the marq. de Aguilar at Rome (1540), *114.*
....., ..., ..., to sec. Juan Vazquez de Molina (1540), *111–2, 115.*
....., ..., ..., to sec. Idiaquez (1540), *126.*
....., ..., ..., to the marq. del Gasto, gov. of Milan, *181.*
....., ..., ..., from Valençuela to, *194, 205.*
....., ..., ..., from Vazquez de Molina to, *116, 119, 198.*
....., ..., ..., from D. Diego de Mendoza to (1538), *13.*
....., ..., ..., from sec. Idiaquez to, *183, 191.*
....., ..., ..., from the marq. de Aguilar to, *42, 65, 75, 124–5.*
....., ..., ..., from Lope Hurtado to, *71, 123.*
....., ..., ..., from Lope de Soria to, *72.*
....., ..., his wife *v. Mendoza* (Da. Maria de).
....., ..., his barber, 268.
....., ..., drafts of despatches, with corrections in his own hand, 151 *n.*
Coimbra, in Portugal, 241 *n.*
Cola (Nicola), capt. or gov. of Barletta; arrives in Venice (Nov. 1541), 406.
....., ..., with news from Constantinople and the Levant, *ibid.*
... ., ..., and of the alliance of k. Francis with the Turk, *ibid.*
Colibra, Colibre (Collioure), a port of the Span. Roussillon, 36.
Colocia (Kolotcha, or Kolocza), in Hungary, abp. of, *v. Frangipani.*
Coligny (Gaspard I. de), *Int.* iv.
Cologne (Colonia Agrippina, Kohl), abp. of, *v. Wied.*
Colonna, Roman family, hostile to the Pope, 397.
....., ..., the Emp. interceding for the, 401, 404–5.
..... (Ascanio II.), 59, 92–3, 156, 161, 216, 268, 391, *Int.* xxv.
....., ..., insists upon placing his differences with the Pope in the Emp.'s hands, 139.
....., ..., his suit with the Prince of Sulmona, 153, 170, 391, 401, 403.
....., ..., at variance with the Pope, who makes war upon him and confiscates his estates, 405–6.
..... (Camillo), takes charge of Imp. despatches (Feb. 1539), 116, 169.
..... (Fabricio) (1513), *Add.* and *Cor.* 536.
....., ..., son of Ascanio II. (1513), *Add.* and *Cor.* 536.
..... (Francesco), abp. of Rossano, 156, 536.
....., ..., proposed for a cardinal's hat (1539), 208, 280.
....., ..., not accepted by Pope Paul, 290.
..... (Da. Isabel), du. of Traietto, widow of Luigi Gonzaga, 156.
..... (col. Pirro), bearer of messages from Gasto to the Pope on the Fragoso business, 335, 340, 392–3.
..... (Stefano, Stephano), prince of Palestrina, 530.
..... (Vespasiano), son of Isabel or Isabella; talk of his marrying one of the daughters of Costanza Farnese, 156.
....., ..., inherits from his mother the principality of Sulmona, 153.
..... (Vittoria), do. marq. of Pescara, widow of the marq. D. Fernando Davalos, 219 *n.*, 536.
....., ..., dau. of Fabricio and sister of Ascanio; her confessor? 219, 536.
Commacchio in the Roman States (Ferrara), *v. Commaggio?*
Colpepper, Master of the King's bed-chamber, hung and quartered, 395, 407–8, 412.
Columbus (Christopher), discoverer of the New World, 545.
Commaggio (?) an Italian, sent by Francis to the Turk, 464.
....., *v. Maggio* (Vincenzio).
Commerce, treaties of, with the Emp.'s subjects in the Low Countries, discussed, 52, 59, 60, 350, 353, 357, 388, 445.
....., ..., those of 1506 and 1520 being considered injurious to the Low Countries, *ibid.*
....., ..., a fresh one to be negociated by Chapuys, 349–51.
Commissioners, deputies, &c., *English*, in Brussels, 350.
....., *Flemish*, for commercial treaties with England in 1506 and 1520; 446.

Commissioners, &c., *Flemish—cont.*
....., ..., had not the least idea of rendering them perpetual, *ibid.*
Compiegne, Francis' court at, 9, 15, 53, 201, 204.
....., let. dated from, *92.*
Concordia, co. della, *v. Pico della Mirandola.*
Conières, Conyères, sieur de, *v. Odet de Selve.*
Consistory, Papal, 142, 521.
....., a let. from the Papal Legate in Spain, read in, 322–3.
Conspiracy, to deliver Calais to the Emp. or to Francis through the agency of card. Pole, *Int.* xiii.
....., in the Northern counties, revealed to Henry (Apr. 1541), 318, 320–1.
....., ..., its authors being in hope of help from Scotland, 321.
Constable, High, of France, *v. Montmorency*, (Anne de).
Constancia, Madame, the Pope's dau., *v. Farnese* (Costanza).
Constantinople, 8, 9, 11, 119, 141, 145, 160, 162–4, 166–7, 177, 179, 192, 211, 229, 232–5, 247, 337, 340, 361, 371, 420.
....., the Turk retreating to (Dec. 1549), 419.
Contareni, Contarini (card. Gasparo), Venetian amb. at Rome, 55, 58.
....., ..., his conferences with the Imp. amb. (Jan. 1539), 161, 267.
....., ..., proposed by Paul for the reformation of the clergy in Germany, 280, 389.
....., Venetian proveditor; four galleys under, said to have been captured by Barbarossa (July 1539), 173.
..... (Marco Antonio), Venetian amb. in Rome (1537), 54.
Contareno, *v. Contareni.*
Conyères, sieur de, *v. Odet de Selve.*
Cook (Hughes), better known as Farrington; executed, *Int.* x *n.*
Copper, the export of, from the Low Countries to England, prohibited (Aug. 1541), 346–7.
....., Eng. vessels laden with, embargoed in the ports of Flanders, 128.
....., ..., their release strongly advised by Chapuys, 353.
....., ..., as the measure will considerably help the negociations for the closer alliance, *ibid.*
Coral fisheries, 229.
Cordoba, city of Andalucia (Spain), 280.
....., bp. of, *v. Manrique* (Pedro Fernandez).
..... y Velasco (D. Martin Alfonso de), co. of Alcaudete, 373.
....., consulted by the Emp. respecting his African expedition (Oct. 1541), *ibid.*
Corfu, island of, 56, 230.
....., the canal of, 173.
Corfu—*cont.*
....., the fleet of.
....., Venetian proveditor at, 172.
Coria, in Extremadura (Spain), 244.
....., bpric. of, 244, 543.
Cornaro (card. Andrea), Venetian amb. in Rome, 58, 161, 267.
Coron in Morea, taken by the Turks, 133.
Corsica, island of, the Emp. sailing from La Spezzia to (28th Sept. 1541), 371.
Cortes (General States) of Aragon; assembled at Monçon, 447.
....., of Castille, the Pope's breve to the, exhorting them to grant a service in money to the Emp., 36, 403, 446, 491.
....., ..., grant made by the, to Charles, 494.
....., a town of Spain, 270.
....., marq. de, *v. Navarra.*
Cortona, in Tuscany, 289, 290.
Cortray, *v. Courtray.*
Coruña, del Conde, anc. Clunia, in Castille, 48 *n.*
....., co. de, *v. Suarez de Mendoza.*
Cossé-Brissac (Charles de), marshal of France; lord High Chamberlain; French amb. to Spain, on a mission to Barcelona (July 1538), 17, 75, 93, 100–1, 117, 178, *App.* 529.
....., sent again to Spain (Nov. 1539), 203 *n.*, 236, 239.
....., articles brought from Spain by (1538), *252;* 513.
Cossey (Mons de), French amb. to the Low Countries (1538), *v. Coucy.*
Costanza, widow of Cesare Fragoso, 335–6, 521–6.
....., message of, to the marq. del Gasto, *ibid.*
....., dau. of Pope Paul, *v. Farnese.*
Coucy (Jaques de), sieur de Vervins, French amb. to the Low Countries (1538), 9 *n.*, 25 *n.*
Council General of the Church, 138, 160, 354, 389, 391.
....., Henry insisting, through his amb. Wyatt, that nothing is to be undertaken against him at the future (July 1538), 3.
....., ..., and upon the Emp. taking an engagement to that effect, *ibid.*
....., ..., Granvelle answering him that the demand is unreasonable, *ibid.*
....., ambassadors from the du. of Saxony and langraf of Hesse to Francis, asking him not to consent to the, 7.
....., k. Henry working against its meeting, 47, 68.
....., ..., asking that it may not be held at Cambray, 65.
....., ..., if he is to make alliance with the Emp., 68.

Council General of the Church—*cont.*

....., the Emp. to promise that nothing injurious or detrimental to Henry shall be said or acted in the, 65, 67.

....., the k. of England fears nothing so much as the meeting of the, 75.

....., three motions in Consistory respecting the (Apr. 1539), 142.

....., ..., the majority of the cardinals voting at first for the opening, *ibid.*

....., ..., ..., some for the suspension, and others for the closing, 142, 168.

....., Card. Santa Croce being sent to Vicenza to announce its prorogation, 143.

....., ..., though the Pope, as it is rumoured, has almost decided for the closing, *ibid.*

....., its prorogation officially announced, *ibid.*

....., the Pope's reasons for proceeding slowly with it, and waiting for events, 157.

....., the Emp. agrees to the suspension, though recommending its speedy assembly as the only remedy in matters of Faith (July 1539), 168.

....., Pope Paul to be officially informed that the Emp. and his brother, Ferdinand, have never ceased to advocate for and recommend the meeting of a (Sept. 1539), 186.

....., Granvelle's mission to Rome concerning the meeting of the (Nov. 1541), 396–9.

....., ..., the question debated with cardinals Farnese and Santa Croce, 398.

....., Pope Paul strongly objecting to the, being held in Germany, 597.

....., ..., not even in Trent, because of its being an Imperial fief, *ibid.*

....., ..., Mantua, Ferrara, and even Cambray proposed, *ibid.*

....., ..., to select Mantua would be offensive to the Separatists, 398.

....., ..., the proposition rejected by Granvelle and Aguilar as equally offensive to the Catholics and Separatists of Germany, who will not hear of the, assembling out of their country, 399.

....., ..., Cambray, though an Imperial city, will not do either, *ibid.*

....., ..., Ferrara still less, that city being no fief of the Emp. but of Rome, 398.

....., What will the Pope do, asks Granvelle, if k. Francis refuses altogether to go to Cambray? 399.

....., the Pope (said Cardinals Farnese and Santa Croce to Granvelle) has done everything in his power to promote the meeting of the, *ibid.*

....., a report of the conference submitted to Paul by cards. Farnese and Santa Croce, 401.

Council General of the Church—*cont.*

....., the Pope's unsatisfactory and vague answer to the questions asked by the Imp. commissioners, 401–2.

....., If peace cannot otherwise be secured, the only remedy is the meeting of a (said the Pope to Granvelle), 401.

....., ..., I promise that the indiction will be fixed for the Pentecostes of 1542; 405.

....., k. Henry's Privy, 281–4, 296–8, 304, 307, 334, 343–4, 347, 349, 351–2, 406, 421, 432, 439, 444–5, 449, 451, 457–8, 463, 477, 479, 481, 483, 496, *Int.* vii.

....., ..., Chapuys in the (June 1541), 332.

....., ..., ..., discussing the treaty of closer alliance, 332–3.

....., ..., the principal members of k. Henry's, obtaining permission to go to their own houses in the country for change of air (Oct. 1541), 375.

....., ..., Chapuys in the, presided over by the K. in person (April 1542), 497–505.

....., ..., clerk of, friend of Chapuys, and in frequent communication with him, 408, 409, 429, 462; *v. Paget.*

....., ..., hall or rooms of the, 21, 384, 406, *Int.* xiv.

....., the Emp.'s Privy, in Spain, *Consejo de Estado*, 348, 352, 415, 535.

....., ..., deliberation of the, on general politics (Dec. 1538), 87–95.

....., ..., consultations at Toledo for writing despatches to Italy (April 1539), *52.*

....., ..., ..., on the league against the Turk (Sept. 1539), *84, 86.*

....., ..., ..., on Paul's proposals conveyed by Card. Farnese (July 1539), 167–70.

....., ..., its members (said k. Henry to Chapuys) so immeasurably proud that they do not care a fig for the rest of the World (Feb. 1541), 437.

....., ..., ..., indeed, they would rather that the Emp. got rid of Flanders than have him go thither so often, and spend so much treasure, *ibid.*

....., *of the Indies* (*Consejo da las Indias*), to deliberate and report on certain proposals of Hernando Pizarro respecting the grant in money demanded by the Emp. from Peru (June 1540), 241–2.

....., of Castille (Conseja de Camara), 366.

....., of Regency, 171 *n.*

....., of Finances (*de Hacienda*), 271.

....., of State in Flanders, 63 *n.*, 348.

....., ..., members of, appointed to treat with Henry's deputies, 350.

Council of State in Flanders—*cont.*
....., ..., two of its members (said Norfolk to Chapuys' sec.) so decidedly French in their inclinations that they will do everything in their power to prevent the Emp. and k. Henry from making an alliance (Aug. 1541), 358.
....., ..., how composed, 515.
....., of Pregay, in Venice, 329.
....., of the Ten (*Dieci*), 117.
....., Francis' Privy, gives opinion on the projected treaty of League against the Turk, 203.
....., ..., ..., the negociations for it to be carried out in his and the Emp.'s name exclusively of the Pope, the Venetians, or any other power (Oct. 1539), 204.
....., of the Grand Turk at Constantinople, 231.
Councillors, Henry's. Two of them (the Admiral and the lord Privy Seal) calling on Chapuys to ascertain what may be the object of the audience he has applied for (Oct. 1540), 281, 384, 464.
....., ..., said to be favorably disposed to forward his views (Dec. 1540), 295.
....., ..., Chapuys' negociations with the, 281, 296–8, 332, 343–4.
....., ..., the majority in favor of the revocation of the statute on trade, 327.
....., ..., most of them out of town (Aug. 1541), 343–4, 349.
....., ..., ..., the rest away with the K., 357.
....., ..., one, strongly rebuked by Chapuys (Aug. 1541), 353.
....., ..., summoned to return; meet in the Chancellor's rooms (12 Aug.), *ibid.*
....., ..., three appointed to treat with Chapuys—the bps. of Durham and Westminster, and Sir Ralph Saddler, 497.
....., ..., ..., invite him to dinner (April 1542), *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., dine next day at the Imp. embassy, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., examine his powers and proceed with the nogociation of the treaty, 498.
....., the Emp.'s, in Spain; prefer the despatches to be written in Spanish, 425.
....., ..., state their opinion that the Emp. is not bound to observe the commercial treaties with England, 352.
....., one of k. Francis', writes to Marillac (July 1541), 341.
Courrieres, sieur de, *v. Montmorency* (Philippe de).
Couriers, messengers, bearers of despatches, &c.:
....., *Bavarian.* One from Münk, in Bavaria, to Rome in six days (Jan. 1539), 106.
Couriers, &c.—*cont.*
....., *English.* Several despatched to Spain to recall sec. Mason (Jan. 1541), 308.
....., ..., several of k. Henry's despatched to France in great haste (July 1541), 342.
...., one express sent by the Privy Council to k. Henry (11 Aug. 1541), 353.
....., *Florentine.* One of Cosmo de'Medici to the Emp. (Jan. 1542), 459.
....., *French.* One from France to Rome, 322.
....., ..., several from England to France sent in succession by Marillac (May 1541), 320.
....., ..., ..., his own cousin among them, *ibid.*
....., *Imperial.* Several, going to England by France, detained, 369.
...., one taking instructions and powers for Chapuys to go to Calais by sea, and thence to Guisnes (March 1542), 480.
....., ..., ..., should he meet with French cruisers, he is to throw his despatches into the sea, *ibid.*
....., *Portuguese.* One of k. Dom Joaõ of Portugal takes to Spain Granvelle's report of his negociations at Rome (Dec. 1541), 414.
....., ..., one from the French amb. in Venice to k. Francis concerning Rincon's mission to the Turk (July 1541), 340.
....., *Roman.* One from Pope Paul to the Emp. (Aug. 1538), 34.
Courtney (Henry), marq. of Exeter, 334, *Int.* x, xi.
Courtray (dep. Nord, France), let. dated from, *137.*
Covos, High Commander, *v. Cobos.*
Cowbridge, between Guisnes and Ardres, in Picardy; possession of, disputed between the English and French, *Int.* xix; *v. Cauchoire, La.*
Cranmer (Thomas), abp. of Canterbury, dares no longer open his mouth in favor of Cromwell (June 1540), 539.
....., his intervention in q. Catharine Howard's case (June 1541), 384, 549, *Int.* x.
Cremona, in Lombardy, bp. of, *v. Sfondrato,* 424, 550.
Crestien, *v. Christina of Denmark.*
Croatia, 515.
Croix (Mons. de la), *v. Cruz* (Antonio de la).
Cromwell (Sir Thomas, lord), Henry's lord Privy Seal, 17–9, 40–4, 65, 69, 594, *Int.* vi, xii–iii, xvii–viii.
....., addresses a let. to Mary in the K.'s name, 25.
....., ..., as if it were an answer to one written by her complaining of the Emp.'s indifference in the matter of her marriage, *ibid.*

Cromwell (Sir Thomas, lord)—*cont.*
....., his conferences with Chapuys, 51–3.
....., apparently in favor of Henry marrying the do. du. of Milan, 53.
....., ..., though he has passed many sleepless nights and met with a thousand reproaches on account of it, *ibid.*
....., his fall, 243, 537–42.
....., his sec., 128.
....., correspondence with German Lutheran princes said to have been found at his house, 540.
....., his arrest and execution, 200, 540.
....., ..., account of, by Marillac, *Add.* and *Cor.* 540–2.
....., amount of property confiscated from, 540.
....., no titles to be given to him in conversation or writing, 541.
....., not to be called otherwise than Thomas "the Shearer of Cloth," *ibid.*
Croy (Eustace de), a Belgian, pension to (1538), 58.
..... (Philippe de), du. d'Aarshot, lord high chamberlain to the Emp. in Flanders, 52, 63 *n.*, 127, 132, 223.
....., ..., appointed commissioner to treat with the English ambs. (Nov. 1538), 79.
Cruz (Ana de la), 271–2; *v. Ponce de Leon.*
.....(Antonio de la), *v. Albret* (Antoine d').
..... (Mons. Antoine de la), natural son of Henri I. d'Albret, 248, 272, 544; *v. Albret* (Antoine).
Cruzada (Crusade), breves and bulls for the, 122, 154, 157.
Cueva (D. Beltran de la), third du. of Alburquerque, 267, 271 *n.*
..... (D. Diego de la), his business at Rome (Jan. 1539), 224.
..... (Da. Maria), daughter of D. Beltran, du. d'Alburquerque, and wife of the co. d'Ureña, 271 *n.*
..... (D. Pedro de la) high commander of Alcantara, 267, 278.
..... (?) (D. Pedro), 276, 278–9, *v. Guerra.*
Curbino, *v. Cherubino.*
Çunoguera (D. Miguel de), taken prisoner at Avignon, 426.
Çornoza (Martin), Imp. consul in Venice 147 *n.*
Çuñiga, *v. Zuñiga.*

D

Dacres of Shenstanceaux, (Hurstmonceaux?) lord, nephew of the du. of Norfolk; a cousin of q. Catherine Howard; twenty-three years old, well-conditioned and a man of letters; executed (June 1541), 334–5.
Dade, *v. Agde d.'*
Daghilara, *v. Aguilar* (marq. d').
Dalmatia, 145.
....., the Venetians arming in (June 1539), 166.
Dampley (Adam), *Int.* xiii.
Dantzig, in Prussia, 61.
Dardanells (the castles), on the passage from the Mediterranean into the sea of Marmara, 229.
Darfort, co., *v. Hertford.*
Dargot, the Corsair, *v. Dragut.*
Datary at Rome, Paul's, *v. Ardinghello*, Capo di Ferro; *Jacobazzi.*
Davalos (Andrés), "corregidor" of Cartagena, 377.
Davalos d'Aquino (Alfonso), marq. del Vasto and Pescara, gov. of Milan, 90–1, 137, 139, 192–3, 217, *Int.* xxvii.
....., ..., goes to Genoa to visit Andrea Doria, 140.
....., ..., about to leave for Venice, 203, 205.
....., ..., arrives and negociates with the Venetians (Nov. 1539), 203, 209, 217.
....., ..., leaves Milan for Genoa on a visit to prince Doria (Nov. 1540), 211.
....., ..., reprimanded for his prodigality and costly living (1540), 267.
....., ..., challenged by a Spanish officer named Quiñones (Feb. 1541), 309.
....., ..., his opinion on the quartering of the Span. infantry (Dec. 1541), 416.
....., ..., seriously implicated in the murder of Fragoso and Rincon, 338, 340, 523.
....., ..., ..., which he is said to have ordered, 523, 552.
....., ..., ..., various opinions on that point, *Int.* xxvii–xxix.
....., ..., wife of, *v. Aragon.*
....., ..., lets. to the Emp., *169–70.*
....., ..., ..., from du. Cosmo, *140.*
..... (Ferrante or Fernando), marq. de Pescara, Imp. general in Italy (d. 3 Dec. 1525), alluded, *Add.* and *Cor.* 536, *Int.* xxvii.
....., ..., his wife, the marchioness, *v. Colonna* (Vittoria), *ibid.*
Debitis, *i.e.* deputy, 137 *n.*, *Int.* xii *n.*
....., of Calais, *v. Lisle* and *Plantagenet.*
Decimas, the tithe, granted by Paul to the Venetians, 427.
Dencaster, *v. Doncaster.*
Denia, town of Valencia (Spain), 245 *n.*
....., marq. de, *v. Sandoval y Rojas* (D. Bernardo de).
Denmark, k. of, *v. Christiern* and *Frederic.*
....., princess of, *v. Christierna* and *Dorothea.*

Denmark and Norway, 57, 61, 436.
....., the right to the crowns of, to be made over by Dorothea to her sister Christina, in the event of the latter being married to Henry VIII. (1538), 59, 60–3.
....., should k. Henry become k. of, by his marriage to Christina, care should be taken that his son or sons should not incorporate those kingdoms in the crown of England, 61–2.
Derby, earl of, *v. Stanley.*
Derham (Francis), gentleman usher to q. Catharine Howard's apartments, 384.
....., confesses his guilt, 408.
....., tried (Dec. 1541), *ibid.*
....., ..., sentenced and executed, *ibid.*
....., erroneously called *Durem* and *Durham.*
Descalzas Reales, convent of nuns at Madrid, founded by Joanna, 549.
Destampes, *v. Etampes* and *Pisseleu.*
Devereux (Sir Walter), *v. Ferreys.*
Diana, natural daughter of Henri III., k. of France, married to Horazio Farnese, *Add* and *Cor.* 533.
Diaz (Ruy), about to sail for the Algiers expedition (1541), 273.
Dières, island close to Marseilles, *v. Hières.*
Diechsristein, co., councillor in Flanders, 152.
Diets, the German. Should the Separatists get the uppermost in Germany, they are sure to out-vote the Catholics in the, 78, 355.
....., one to be held at Posen, in Hungary, of the subjects of k. Ferdinand and those of the Waywode (Feb. 1539), 119.
....., Henry fears not the decisions of the, 304.
....., ..., as long as the Emp. attends them, *ibid.*
....., the Pope, however, much afraid of them (May 1521), 322–3.
....., one of Francis' privy councillors writes a letter to Marillac concerning the, 341.
....., ..., where (says he) the Emp. could not obtain assistance against the du. of Clèves, 345.
....., should the result of the, be favorable to Germany, Pope Paul is sure to take the part of France, 341.
....., that of Augsburg, 286, 304, 389.
....., of Francfort, 305.
....., of Regensburg, 304, 345, 389.
....., of Spiers, 389, 400, 404, 432, 461.
....., of Worms, Granvelle going to, as the Emp.'s representative, *v. Worms.*
Dijon, in Burgundy, provost of, 14.
D'Inteville (Jean), bailli of Troyes; French amb. in England; sent by Francis to Rome, 1 *n.*, 176.
Dobla, *v. Dover.*
Dodieu (Claude), sieur de Velly, French amb. at the court of Charles, 521, *Int.* xxii.
..... (Guillaume), his cousin, 113, 521.
....., ..., in Rome (Feb. 1539), 113.
Doncaster, town of Yorkshire, 361.
....., prior of, *v. Fetherston.*
Doria (Andrea), prince of Melfi; admiral of the Imp. fleet, 36–7, 54, 87–9, 139, 161, 163–4, 197, 209, 291.
....., ..., in Genoa (July 1538), 13.
....., ..., sails for Messina (Aug. 1538), *ibid.*
....., ..., to pass the winter at Melfi (Naples), 88–9.
....., ..., enters Rome (16th Jan. 1539), and has a conference with the Pope, 106–7, 112.
....., ..., hated by the Venetians, owing principally to his being a Genoese, 106.
....., ..., ..., accused by them of having acted badly in the Castilnovo affair, 116.
....., ..., Barbarossa's offers submitted to, 116–7.
....., ..., his opinion of them, 210–1.
....., ..., ..., and of the maritime armaments against the Turk, 197, 214.
....., ..., ordered to go to Barcelona, 198.
....., ..., visited by Gasto (Apr. 1539), 140.
....., ..., in Naples, 170.
....., ..., at Civitta Vecchia, 172.
....., ..., at the taking of Susa and Monestir on the Barbary coast, 293.
....., ..., again in Genoa (Jan. 1540), 107, 209, 211, 214.
....., ..., pawns his plate for the pay of his galleys, 211.
....., ..., providing to the defence of Castilnovo, 153.
....., ..., sails for the Levant, 217.
....., ..., sends Joannetino in search of the corsair Dragut, 243.
....., ..., anchors at Messina (July 1540), *ibid.*
....., ..., expected at Genoa on his return from the Algiers expedition (Dec. 1541), 414.
....., (Joannetino, Juan, Giovannino), sea captain, nephew of Andrea, and his lieutenant (1539–41), 107.
....., ... report of his being a prisoner of Barbarossa (July 1539), 172.
....., ..., ..., which turns out untrue, for he was safe at Messina with his 20 galleys in July 1539, 173
...., ..., and had already relieved Castilnovo, *ibid.*
....., ..., in Rome with despatches from the Emp. (Feb. 1532), 212.
Dormer (Sir Michael), lord Mayor of London (1541); present at the co. of Salisbury's execution, with 150 notable persons (27th May), 331.

Dorothea of Denmark, dau. of Christiern II., k. of Denmark and Norway, and wife of the Palatine Frederic, 3, 59 *n.*, 66.
....., her rights to the crown after her father's death, 60, 66, 68.
....., ..., to be made over to her sister Christina, in case of the latter being married to Henry VIII., 66, 68.
Dorset, marq. of, *v. Grey.*
Doubloons, false, in circulation, 279, 292.
Dover, k. Henry at (Sept. 1538), 39, 41.
....., ..., attending to the repair of the harbour and fortifications (March 1541), 314–5.
....., ..., again going thither in April 1542, 508.
....., ..., ..., and perhaps also to Calais for the same purpose, *ibid.*
....., ..., wherever he goes (writes Francis to his amb.) the King's movements must be closely watched, *ibid.*
....., castle of, 40.
Dragut (Arraez), the Corsair, 243.
Duarte (Francisco), proveditor (*proveedor*) to the Imperial fleet, 87–8, 89, 122, 274, 291, 293.
....., let. of cap. Vergara to, on his visit to Barbarossa, 107.
Dubrines Los, German family in the service of Alessandro de' Medici; said to have advised Margaret of Austria to quit Florence, 162.
Dunkerke, Dunkirque, Dunkerk, in Flanders, 42, 135.
....., Eng. deputies to meet the Belgian at, 60.
....., a deputation from the people of, comes to England, 334, 346.
....., lieut.-governor of, orders to the, respecting the route to be taken by the English ambs. in Flanders, returning home (March 1539), 136.
Duranti, bp., sent by Paul III. to visit the Emp's. dau. Margaret, already married to Ottavio Farnese (Aug. 1540), 252.
Durazzo, in European Turkey, 56.
Durem, *v. Derham.*
Durham, bp. of, *v. Tunstall.*
Duynekerke, *v. Dunkirke.*
Dyon, Diyon, *v. Dijon.*
Dyonisius Beneventanus (Magister), general of the Order of the Servites; created card., 208, 536.

E

East, intelligence from the, brought to France by amb. Marillac (Aug. 1538), 11.
....., *v.* also under *Levant.*
Easterlings, 326, 436.
Edward, prince of Wales, son of Henry VIII., 25, 324, 331, 396, 455, *Int.* xviii.
....., the prettiest child possible; visited by the Imp. ambs. (Aug. 1538), 26, 62, 396.
....., a marriage between, and the Emp.'s dau. proposed, 65.
....., slightly indisposed (April 1542), 508, 553.
..... IV., k. of England (1461–83), *Int.* xii *n.*
Egmond, Egmont (Charles d'), du. of Ghelders; the last of his family, 18, 35.
....., ..., after his death in, 1538, his duchy is occupied by Guillaume de La Mark, du. of Clèves and Juliers, 548.
....., ..., ..., who pretends a right to it, *ibid.*
....., (Floris d'), co. of Buren, commander-in-chief in Flanders (1542), 52, 488.
Egypt, the bashaw, governor of, 339.
Eleanor (Leonor), Charles' elder sister; widow of Dom Manoel, k. of Portugal (1521); married to k. Francis (1526), 5, 9, 10–4, 30, 33, 72, 91, 94, 102, 104, 109, 192, 201, 203, 207, 368, 433, 494.
...., ..., interview with her sister Mary at Cambray (Sept. 1538), 33 *n.*
....., ..., much praised for her endeavours to procure peace between her brother and the K. her husband, 78.
....., ..., intent upon the marriage of her dau., Maria of Portugal, 79, 102–3, 110–1.
....., ..., ..., sending agents to that effect, 79, 182, 433; *v. La Guiche* and *Lordres.*
....., ..., very ill, almost on the verge of death (Oct. 1541), 368, 381.
....., ..., dau. of the k. of the Romans, married to Guglielmo Gonzaga, du. of Mantua, 514 *n.*
Elizabeth, dau. of Henry and Anne Boleyn, to be excluded from the succession, 64, 356, 454.
Embassy. One sent by k. Henry to q. Mary of Hungary, 31–3.
Encinasola, in the prov. of Seville (Spain), 269.
Enciso (Juan de), and his commandery (Sept. 1540), 268.
Encomienda, a commandery in one of the four Military Orders of Spain (Santiago, Alcantara, Calatrava, and Montesa), *ibid.*
Engineer, a master, of k. Henry projecting a line of defence along the Scotch borders (Jan. 1541), 459.
England, the attitude of, and of the Lutherans, a cause of apprehension for Paul (Feb. 1539), 112, 198–9.
....., proposed alliance of, with the Emp., 114.
....., marriage of Henry to the do. du. of Milan, 115.

England—*cont.*
....., the Emp's. answer to the overtures said to have originated in, *ibid.*
... ., a rumour current in Venice (Feb. 1539) that the Emp., in union with k. Francis and the Pope's consent, is to invade, and, when conquered, bestow it on the du. of Orleans, and have him married to Mary, the Princess, 117.
....., ..., card. Pole's departure for the Imp. court being (as Soria thinks), the origin of the rumour, *ibid.*
....., the French and Imp. ambs. leaving together the court of (Feb. 1540), 142.
....., ..., from which the Pope infers that k. Francis and the Emp. have agreed to suspend the trade with, *ibid.*
....., k. Francis assuring the Pope through his amb. [L'Esleu d'Orange] that he approves entirely of his views respecting (May 1539), 151–2.
....., ..., and is determined to act in the affair conjointly with the Emp., *ibid.*
....., card. Pole to be sent to, 186.
....., ... , after visiting the Emp. and k. Francis at their respective courts (Sept. 1538), *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., that people may see that both those princes are agreed, *ibid.*
....., the affairs of, discussed at Rome, 184-6, 210.
....., Papal Nuncio trying to persuade the Emp. that his journey to, and Germany was a matter of necessity, 186.
....., ..., if the relative evils in those countries were to be remedied, *ibid.*
....., highly inconvenient (remarks Aguilar) to proceed against, before settling the affairs of Germany, 184.
....., news of, and of Cromwell's execution, sent by commander Cobos to the marq. de Aguilar (July 1540), 243.
....., the fleet prepared by Mr. de Bossu in Zeeland, said by Henry to have been destined for the invasion of, 439.
....., ..., no arguments of the Imp. amb. could persuade him of the contrary, *ibid.*
..... an invasion of, likely to be attempted by Francis according to Chapuys, 438.
....., ..., conjointly with the Turk, 395, 448.
....., ..., ..., to whom he has already ceded a portion of the spoil, 448.
....., the ports of, to be shut against the Emp.'s subjects (March 1539), 128, 444–5.
....., all merchants and skippers from the Low Countries arrested in England, 128.
....., fears entertained that Chapuys will not be allowed to quit, *ibid.*
....., ..., and hence the cause of Sir Thomas Wriothesley being requested not to depart from Brussels until Chapuys' return, *ibid.*

Engronland, *v. Groenland.*
Enriquez de Cabrera (D. Fernando), fifth co. of Modica; first du. de Medina de Rioseco (1538), *Add.* and *Cor.* 532.
Envers, *v. Antwerp.*
Epirus, the coast of, 31.
Erasso (Francisco), senator of Milan, "capitano di Giustizia" at Sienna, 424.
Eril (La Señora Da. Juana de), at Mallorca, (1541), 373.
Escoriaza, (Dr.), the Emp.'s chief physician, 267, 545.
....., takes lets. (Sept. 1540), *ibid.*
Esleu, *v. L'Esleu.*
Esperanza, Señora; name of a lady, a captive at Constantinople (April 1541), 234–5.
Estampes, Etampes, du. of, *v. Pisseleu.*
Estatylius, the bishop, 419; *v. Statilius.*
Este (Alfonso d'), du. of Ferrara (1505–34), 401.
..... (Francesco), marq. della Massa, third son of Alfonso (d. 1578); arrives at Rome (Jan. 1539), 99 *n.*
..... (Hercole II.), du. of Ferrara (1534–58), 57, 99 *n.*, 163–4, 525.
....., ..., his agent in Rome, 107–8.
..... (Ippolito d'), card., abp. of Milan, 114, 199, 206.
....., ..., servant or sec. of, arrives at Rome with news of card. Pole, 145.
....., ..., ..., bringing news from France (April 1539), *ibid.*
....., ..., called card. of Ferrara, 333.
Etaples, town of France (dep. Pas de Calais), *Int.* xix.
Europe, 30, 400, 441.
....., in danger of an invasion from the Turk, 448.
Evora, in Portugal, 13 *n.*
....., bp of, *v. Portugal* (D. Alonso de).
Exchequer, Court of the; all private business in the, suspended (July 1541), 342.
Excommunication, k. Henry's, fixed in the churches and towns of Flanders and France (Jan. 1539), 97.
Exeter, let. dated from, 308.
....., marq. of, *v. Courtney.*
Exio, island, *v. Xio* and *Scio.*
Extremadura, prov. of Spain, bad harvest and scarcity of wheat in (Oct. 1540), 276.
Ezcurra, Ezcurren (Mr. d'), a Navarrese gentleman, agent of Henri d'Albret, titular k. of Navarre, 248–9, 257, *Add.* and *Cor.* 544.
....., in negociation with the Imp. amb. in France (1540), 248–9, 257, 544.

F

Faber (John), bp. of Vienna, in Austria; declaration of, at the preparatory meeting of the diet of Spires, 519.

Faenza, in the Rom. States, bp. of, *v. Pio da Carpi.*

Faith, matters of; alluded, 138, 159, 192.

....., memorandum on, in Germany and England, 186.

....., ..., drawn up by Riccio and Poggio and presented to the Emp.'s Privy Council (Sept. 1539), *ibid.*

Faraja (La?), in Cephalonia, Barbarossa's fleet infesting (Oct. 1538), 58.

Faraute, Span. word, meaning an "interpreter," 229.

Farfa, abbot of, *v. Orsino* (Napoleone).

Farnese Family, at Rome, 36, 55, 138, 141, 219, 266, 273.

....., (Pope Alessandro), 1534–50, *v. Paul III.*

....., (card. Alessandro), son of Pier Luigi, and grandson of Pope Paul (b. 1529, card. 1534, d. March 1589), 55, 165, 186, 214, 355, 397, 406, 422, 428, 519, 527, 533.

....., ..., to Spain as Papal Legate, to condole on the death of the Empress, and discuss certain political matters, (April 1539), 141, 147, 157, 159.

....., ..., ..., also bearer of instructions on a most important point, that of Vittoria's marriage, 158.

....., ..., arrives there (June 1539), 167.

....., ..., negociates, 158, 168–70, 218.

....., ..., the abbey of Il Parco in Sicily given to (May 1539), 153, 157.

....., ..., appointed protector of Germany (?), 138, 281, 286.

....., ..., in Paris at the same time as the Emp. (Jan. 1540), 214.

....., ..., returns from his Legatine mission (June 1539), 243.

....., ..., gov. (*prefetto*) of Rome, 263.

....., ..., his sec., *v. Marcello.*

....., ..., to preside over a meeting of learned ecclesiastics in France, and report on the League, the Council, and other matters requiring the intervention of the Apostolic See, 206.

....., ..., to go afterwards to Flanders and reside at the Emp.'s court, 207.

....., ..., and Card. Santa Croce (Marcelo Cervini) holding conferences with Aguilar and Granvelle at Rome (Nov. 1541), 386–9, 396–406.

....., ..., ..., Granvelle's report of those conferences with, *208.*

Farnese Family—*cont.*

..... (Signora Costanza), Paul III.'s daughter; wife, 1°, of Bosio Sforza, co. de Santafiore; 2°, of Stefano Colonna, prince of Palestrina, 140 *n.*, 161, 208, 225, 291, *Add.* and *Cor.* 530–1, 533.

....., ..., her sons, 55.

....., ..., her daughter, 156.

....., ..., her son-in-law dies (Nov. 1540), 291, ; *v. Orsino* (Girolamo).

..... (Horacio), du. of Castro, brother of Ottavio (d. 1553), 160, 533.

....., ..., Pope Paul intending at first to invest him with the duchy of Camarino, 160.

..... (Ottavio), son of Pier Luigi, 2, 49 *n*, 51, 55, 91, 131, 155 *n.*, 530–1, 533.

....., ..., marries Margaret, the Emp.'s natural dau., 51, 55, 91, 99.

....., ..., his matrimonial life anything but happy, 164, 225, 287.

....., ..., his night excursions through the streets of Rome masked and accompanied by ruffians, 218.

....., ..., promising fair to be his father's heir in vice, *ibid.*

....., ..., Paul's attempt to keep back the 300,000 duc. of Margaret's dower, and give to, her husband, the duchy of Camarino instead, 153.

....., ..., ..., the offer rejected, *ibid.*

....., ..., a separation, or even a dissolution of the marriage, proposed, 165.

....., ..., Margaret, his wife, to go to her estates in Naples, 138.

...., ..., he himself to Flanders or Spain, wherever the Emp. may be, 216, 268.

....., ..., is to leave Rome anyhow, lest the existing causes for matrimonial dissent should increase, 216, 218.

....., ..., vain attempts at reconciliation, 218.

....., ..., indisposed (Oct. 1540), 280.

....., ..., appointed "Capitano della Casa" (lord High Steward, to the Emp. ?), 427.

....., ..., visits the Emp., 428–9.

....., ..., the duchy of Camarino, a fief of the Church, given to, 428.

....., ..., the Pope, his grandfather, wishing him to be employed by the Emp. in military matters, 429.

....., ..., ..., as general of the Ital. or Span. infantry, or of the light horse, *ibid.*

....., ..., his sister, Vittoria, *v. Farnese* (Vittoria).

....., ..., visits the Emp. in Spain (?), 428–9.

..... (Pier Luigi), du. of Castro, son of Pope Paul, 2 *n.*, 55 *n.*, 91, 138–9, 155 *n.*, 158, 225, 532–3.

....., ..., at Genoa with the Emp., 364.

....., ..., returns to Rome, 406.

....., ..., his wife, *v. Orsini* (Hieronima).

Farnese Family—*cont.*
..... (Ranuccio), abp. of Ravenna (1530–65), 153.
..... (Vittoria), dau. of Pier Luigi; vain attempts of Pope Paul to have her married in France, 58–9, 139, 287, 289, *Int.* vii; *v. Marriage.*
....., ..., ..., to the son of the du. de Vendôme, 58, 287.
....., ..., ..., to the prince of Orange, 175.
....., ..., ..., to Cosmo de' Medici, 59, 139.
....., ..., ..., to the son of the du. of Guise, 286–7, *Int.* viii.
....., ..., ..., to Emmanuele Philiberto, son of the du. of Savoy (Carlo), 169.
....., ..., ..., to the son of Ascanio Colonna (Fabricio?), 59, 139.
....., ..., ultimately married to Guidobaldo, du. of Urbino, 131 *n.*
Farrington, *v. Cook.*
Faulx Villain, nickname given by the French amb. (Marillac) to k. Henry's lord Privy Seal (Sir William Fitz William), 504 *n.*
Favernay, abbé de, *v. Perrenot* and *Champagney.*
Feltre, in the Tyrol, bp. of, *v. Campeggio* (Laurencio).
Fenelle (?), a damsel of q. Catharine Howard's Privy Chamber; sent to the Tower (Nov. 1541), 384.
Ferdinand (Fernando), k. of Aragon (1479–516), married to Isabel de Castilla. 445 *n.*, 545.
....., k. of the Romans, 3, 34, 36, 45, 64–6, 65–6, 93, 101, 103, 111–2, 147, 157, 168, 176, 180, 186, 200, 208, 246, 323, 342, 344 *n.*, 348, 389, 400, 403, 414, 416, 420, 423, 425, 460, 514–8, 526.
....., ..., his truce with Zapolsky, 113.
....., ..., opposing the confirmation at Rome of the five Hungarian bps., 152.
....., ..., to be helped against the Turk, 348, 375.
....., ..., his ambs. at Rome, *v. Lasso de Castilla.*
Feris, *v. Ferreys.*
Fernandez de Velasco (D. Pedro) IV. co. de Haro; II. du. de Frias; high constable of Castille; his servant or sec. takes lets. from Rome to Spain, 223.
Fernando, *v. Ferdinand.*
..... (Don), *v. Gonzaga* (Ferrante).
Fernés, *v. Farnese.*
Fernesia Casa, 138 *n.*; *v. Farnese Family.*
Ferrara, duchy of, 57; the Pope's agreement with Gonzaga respecting the, and the cession of Modena (Jan. 1539), 107.
....., city of, proposed by Paul for the place of meeting of the General Council, 397.
....., du. of, *v. Este* (Alfonso and Hercole).
....., card. of, *v. Este* (Ippolite d').
Ferrat Agá, a eunuch of Barbarossa, 229.
Ferrer (Beltran), Catalonian merchant residing in Venice; the Emp.'s faithful subject (April 1539), 146.
Ferreys (Sir Walter Devereux), knight of the Garter, meets the Imp. ambs., Chapuys and Mendoza, 17.
Fetherston, Fedrestone (Richard) [prior of Doncaster?], Mary's schoolmaster, executed (June 1540), 542.
Feu Vullien, *v. Fitz William.*
Figueroa, *v. Suarez de Figueroa.*
Firenze, *v. Florence.*
Fitz Gerald (lord Thomas), earl of Kildare (the young count of); escapes from prison, and crosses over to France, 334.
....., ..., and thence to Liège, *ibid.*
Fitz William (Sir William), admiral of England (1538); lord Privy Seal (1540–2); earl of Southampton (1537); 281, 285, 409, 416, 431–2, 446, 493, 497, *Int.* x.
....., on familiar terms with Chapuys, and taking to him occasional messages from the K., 297, 299, 393–6, 419, 421, 463.
....., Sir John Wallop a prisoner at the house of, 314.
....., to be sent to Calais for the delimitation of the English frontier in Picardy (1 May 1541), 320.
...., takes his departure, accompanied by the Admiral (Russel) and the earl of Surrey (May 1541), 323.
....., made knight of the Garter (May 1541), 324.
....., his conferences with Chapuys, 393–6, 406, 409.
....., succeeds Cromwell as lord Privy Seal (June 1541), 539, 540.
....., nickname given to, by Marillac, *v. Faulx Villain.*
....., knows better his master's nature and temper than any man in England, 493.
....., showing great attachment to the Emp., *ibid.*
....., ..., not less than the King's sec., Wriothesley, *ibid.*
Flanders; 24, 35–6, 39, 41, 104, 114, 142, 174, 295, 351, 369, 407, 420–2, 437–8, 444–7, 450.
....., the intercourse of trade between, and England to be stopped, 176.
....., Imp. subjects in, to be assisted by k. Francis during the Emp.'s projected expedition to Algiers (1539), 513.
....., the Emp. decides to go to, passing through France (Dec. 1540), 201, 207, 213–4.
....., ..., Henry having at the time tried to dissuade him from his undertaking, 447.
....., ..., that he might, as Chapuys suspected, have gone thither by sea, and held an interview with him, either at Calais or in London, *ibid.*

Flanders—*cont.*
....., and the Low Countries described by k. Henry to Chapuys as in a dangerous position in case of a French invasion, 437.
....., ..., few men in them capable of commanding an army in time of war, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., had he (said Henry to Chapuys), shown more docility, and accepted the hand of his dau. Magdalen, k. Francis would have given him a share in his conquest of, as he had done a few years previous, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., that being the reason why the Emp. seems to have decided to make them over, to Francis, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., that he may altogether relinquish his claims on Milan, *ibid.*
....., Henry's further advice respecting, 447.
....., the q. Regent of, not absolute sovereign in, and therefore cannot dictate measures injurious to its inhabitants, 347.
....., matters not very smooth in (writes Granvelle to the Emp. (14 Dec. 1541), 416.
....., the dominion of, with the hand of princess Maria for the du. of Orleans, offered by the Emp. to Francis, 420–1, 425, 437–8.
....., ..., who will not accept, unless the treaty of marriage be signed in Milan, 425.
....., to be invaded by the French, 421, 437, 448.
....., mechanics and workmen of every denomination, natives of, and residing in England ought to be expelled from, 445.
....., ..., as they might, in course of time, so multiply and increase as to drive away the English, *ibid.*
....., ..., this opinion of the privy councillors deputed to treat with Chapuys, declared by him to be against the spirit of the commercial treaties, *ibid.*
....., counts of, alluded, 516.
....., regent of, *v. Margaret of Austria*, and *Mary of Hungary*.
....., Half-fruits of the Clergy in, to be applied to the war against the Infidel, 389, 406.
Flandre (Louis de), sieur de Praët, Imp. amb. in England 1523, in France 1534, in Rome 1539, 207–8.
....., at Milan on a secret mission of the Emp. (Jan. 1539), 105.
....., expected in Genoa (April 1539), 140.
....., at Compiegne, in France (Nov. 1539), 201–4, 207–8.
....., on a mission to q. Mary of Hungary, 404.
...., let. to the Emp., *92*.
Fleet, *French*, the, in combination with the Turkish, 332.
....., *Imperial*, 87, 89.
....., ..., under D. Bernardino de Mendoza, in Gibraltar waters, 291.
....., ..., under Doria, 293.
....., ..., ..., to join the Venetian, 39.
....., ..., under Gonzaga, 293.
....., *Portuguese*, in the Red Sea, takes possession of various places of the Turk, 293, 339.
....., ..., to the coast of Malagueta (Oct.–Nov. 1540), meeting with a terrific storm, 293–4.
....., ..., ..., causing the loss of various ships, *ibid.*
....., *Turkish*, threatening Naples and Sicily, 173.
....., ..., under Barbarossa in the Mediterranean (Aug. 1540), 245.
....., ..., stranded on the coast of Alexandria, 339.
....., ..., part of the, wrecked (1539), 107.
....., ..., attempt of the, on Gibraltar, 291.
....., ..., ..., on the coast of Puglia, 355.
....., *Venetian*, 37, 88, 92.
....., *v.* also under *Galleys*.
Flemings, the, or inhabitants of Flanders, the Emp.'s subjects, 305.
....., at variance with the English in matters of trade; *Int.* xviii.
....., great injury done to ten or twelve of them residing in London, 379.
...., ..., Chapuys application for redress (Nov. 1541), *ibid.*
....., a great number of, and other subjects of the Emp. expelled from England, 445.
Flemish, commissioners, appointed to discuss the treaty of commerce of 1520 between England and Flanders, 446.
....., neglect to introduce in it a most important clause favorable to the Low Countries, 446–7.
Florence (Firenze), in Tuscany, the Signory or Republic of, 5, 525.
....., territory of, 50, 55.
....., to be attacked by the French as well as Naples (Dec. 1540), 298.
....., *city*, the castle of, to be strengthened (July 1538), 5.
....., conspiracy of the Strozzi at (1537), 14.
....., the do. du. of, Margaret in, 164.
....., under du. Cosmo de' Medici, 217, 415.
....., another attempt upon, to be made by the Strozzi (July 1539), 339.
....., grant of liberties to, by the Emp., alluded, 441.
....., dukes of, *v. Médici*.
....., let. from, *140*.

Florenges (dep. Moselle, France), 13.
Florentines, said to have offered a large sum of money to the Emp. if he will not restore their city to the Medici, 441.
....., sec. of, *v. Ambassadors.*
Florez (Fath. Enrique), austin friar, his "Reynas Catholicas de España" (Madrid, 1770), quoted, 157 *n.*, *Int.* xxiv *n.*
Foglieta, Foglietta (Agostino), Roman lawyer, 543.
Fonseca (Antonio), bp. of Jaen, 531.
Fontainebleau, 213, 255, 370.
....., lets. dated from, *212*, *215.*
Fontegrant, convent of nuns at, 529.
Formes, Marillac's cousin, 320, 367, 471.
Forne (?) (Thomasso di) (1540), recommended by the marq. del Gasto to Granvelle, 268.
Fossombrone, in the Roman States, *Add.* and *Cor.* 536.
....., bp. of, *v. Ardinguelli.*
Fragoso (Cesare), a Genoese, 37; sent by k. Francis to Constantinople, not so well received at the court of France as he formerly was (Dec. 1538), 78.
....., ..., yet sent again as amb. to Turkey, 166.
... ., spied on his return from Constantinople, 335–6, 359.
....., ..., and murdered, together with Rincon, the Spaniard at the confluence of the Ticino and the Pò by soldiers from the garrison of Pavia, 338, 476.
....., ..., ..., their case considered by Francis a most flagrant infraction of the truce, 339, 361.
....., ..., ..., submitted by Francis to the Pope, 521.
....., ..., ..., ..., and to k. Henry also, 455–6.
....., ..., ..., ..., who gives an evasive answer thereupon, 455.
....., could not be called either a subject or a vassal of the Emp., 456.
....., ..., whereas Rincon was a native of Spain and a deserter, *ibid.*
....., his wife, *v. Costanza.*
....., his brother, 371, 332.
....., his lieutenant, 336.
....., his servant, interrogated by Gasto concerning his master's case, *ibid.*
....., ..., relates what happened, *ibid.*
....., ..., Idiaquez' report to the Emp., *172.*
Fraile (El), the friar of Hungary (?). After leaving a garrison at Buda in Hungary, Solyman returns to Constantinople, taking with him (Oct. 1541), 374.
....., ..., proposing, conjointly with bp. Statilius, a settlement of the differences between k. Ferdinand and the waywod of Transylvania (Dec. 1541), 419.
....., de Roma, *v. Pallavicino, the Friar.*
France, kingdom of, 346, 354, 410.
....., royal family of, 235.
....., all newly imposed war taxes in the, to be suspended by the K.'s order, as a proof of his willingness to abide by the truce of Nizza (Aug. 1538), 10.
....., insecurity on the part of, and bad prospects from Germany and England said by the Pope to be the cause of his not fulfilling his engagements towards the League (April 1539), 137.
....., the Emp. determines to go to Flanders through, 191, 195–6, 206–7, 209.
....., ..., and to hold an interview with k. Francis, 203, 206.
....., ..., ..., at which no political affairs whatever are to be introduced, *ibid.*
....., pensions paid by, to k. Henry, 4, 354, 434.
....., ..., arrears of, to be done away with (writes k. Francis to Marillac), or else to be considered as the marriage portion of Dame Marie on her marriage to the du. of Orleans, 354.
....., bad state of finances in, 434.
....., Don Francisco Manrique's report of his embassy to (Oct. 1541), *197.*
....., king of, *v. Francis I.*
....., High Constable of, *v. Montmorency.*
....., Grand Master of, *v. Montmorency.*
....., High Admiral of, *v. Brion-Chabot.*
....., High Chancellor, *v. Prat*, and *Du Bourg.*
....., Eng. ambs. in, *v. Bryant, Walop, Howard, &c.*
....., Imp. ambs. in, *v. Bonvallot, Sceppe-rus, Marvol, St. Vincent.*
Franche-Comte, in Burgundy; the French boasting that the Emp. has offered the, to them, 438.
Francis I., k. of France (1515–47), 28, 40, 57, 93, 99, 72–5, 142, 289, 338–9, 341, 388–9, 370–1, 387, 390–2, 395, 397, 399, 400, 406–7, 410–1, 421–2, 425, 426–7, 433, 454–6.
....., reconciled with the Emp. (Aug. 1538), 4.
....., ..., and ready to please him in all matters, 6–9, 13–4.
....., suspends all the war taxes newly imposed in his kingdom, 10.
....., ..., revokes the statute of 1537, levying heavy duties on Spanish silks, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., all to prove how ready he is to observe the truce, *ibid.*
....., interview between, and q. Mary proposed (Aug. 1538), 12, 15.
....., should the Emp. consent to part with Milan, which belongs evidently to him, would help him in all his undertakings, 72.

Francis I.—*cont.*
....., is ready to stake his person and kingdom for the service of God and Christendom (Dec. 1538), 74.
....., and to join his forces to the Emp.'s against the Infidel, *ibid.*
....., ..., said to be all the time negociating with the German princes, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., and helping the du. of Clèves to retain the duchy of Ghelders, *ibid.*
....., has always forbidden the du. of Clèves to make a stir against the Emp. (said Brion-Chabot to q. Mary), 75.
....., is willing to help to the reduction of the German Separatists, 78.
....., ..., and of k. Henry also, whose estrangement from the Church richly deserves the Papal censures, *ibid.*
....., willing to receive card. Pole at his court (Jan. 1539), *ibid.*
....., ..., and to follow the Emp.'s steps with regard to England, *ibid.*
....., absent from Paris (Jan. 1539), *ibid.*
....., speaking abusively of k. Henry, whose acts he detests (Jan. 1539), 101.
....., asks for a cardinal's hat for the abp. of Orleans, a relative of Mme. d'Etampes, 113.
....., ..., intimating to the Pope that he intends to be treated in that particular as other princes have been before him, *ibid.*
....., his wavering and inconstant humour not to be depended upon (said Paul to Doria, Feb. 1539), 112.
....., unwilling to help to the expedition against the Turk (said Pope Paul to Aguilar), k., will do everything in his power to prevent it (Feb. 1539), 113.
....., orders Castillon to quit England (March 1539), 142.
....., will be glad (said his amb. to the Pope) to forbid his subjects to trade with England, provided the Emp. does the same (April 1539), 142–3.
....., his ministers in Germany having done little or nothing in the way of obtaining an agreement between Catholics and Separatists (June), 159.
....., ..., from which Pope Paul concludes that he is no longer the Emp.'s friend, *ibid.*
....., Pope Paul writing to his Nuncio in France, to ascertain, if possible, what he, and the Emp. are treating about, 210.
....., his negociations with the Emp., principally directed towards the acquisition of Milan, 159, 235–40, 278.
....., ..., for himself or for his son, the du. of Orleans, 239.
....., the terms and words of his instructions to his ambs. at the Imp. court in May 1540, said to have been unusually intemperate and acrimonious, 235.
Francis I.—*cont.*
...., the Emp.'s answer to them, through St. Vincent and Peloux, 236–40.
....., staying at Chantilly, one of the High Constable's seats (Aug. 1539), 176.
....., gives the Imp. amb. audience (Aug. 1539), 178, 180–1.
....., complains to him of the many lies published about his personal feelings and acts, 179.
....., ..., chiefly by the Papal Nuncio, [Carpi], *ibid.*
....., ..., is not a man to say one thing for the other, *ibid.*
...., will soon let the World know that such falsehoods about his person are exceedingly displeasing to him, 179.
....., ..., the Pope takes little care of the public weal, and thinks of nothing save the aggrandizement of his family, *ibid.*
....., ..., his disagreement with Paul assuming great proportions, *ibid.*
..... , offers his assistance against the Turk, or else to induce him to a general peace with Christendom, 194.
....., ..., in case of refusal, to join his forces to those of the Emp.'s and attack the Infidel in his own dominions, *ibid.*
....., ..., but in making such offers (the Emp. remarks in his secret instructions to Zuñiga), K., counts no doubt upon certain matters being settled in his favor, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., otherwise he would not come forward with such alacrity, *ibid.*
....., in bad health (Oct. 1539), 203.
....., ..., and needing q. Eleonor's assistance more than ever, *ibid.*
....., holding his court at Compiegne (Nov. 1539), 204.
....., ready to co-operate with the Pope and the Emp. against England, 208.
....., goes out to meet the Emp., *ibid.*
....., ..., in a chaise, owing to his being unable to ride, 212.
....., ..., meets him at Loches (12 Dec. 1540), *ibid.*
....., ..., receives him in Paris, *ibid.*
....., suffering from acute pains in the stomach (Aug. 1540), 254.
...., chiefly caused by his too great indulgence in the pleasures of the chase, *ibid.*
....., holding frequent conferences with card. Tournon, 255.
.. .., his damsels, *ibid.*
...., the Imp. amb. obtaining from one of them reliable information respecting his future plans (Aug. 1540), *ibid.*
....., makes a league with the dus. of Clèves and Saxony, and the landgraf of Hesse-Cassel for the defence of Ghelders, 276–7.

Francis I.—*cont.*
....., aiming exclusively at the possession of Milan, not for the du. of Orleans, as before, but for himself (Oct. 1540), 273.
....., a rumour of his trying to procure bills on Germany for the purpose of raising troops there, 280.
....., his practices with the Pope, the Venetians, and the Turk, being a sign that he contemplates making war, 282.
... ., his agents abroad doing bad offices everywhere (Jan. 1539), 293.
...., especially in Hungary and at Constantinople with the Turk, *ibid.*
....., will be glad of the truce being prorogued until he himself is in a condition to break it, for he has no money at present (Nov. 1541), 381.
....., the murder of Fragoso and Rincon, his ambs. to the Turk, made the excuse for his breaking the truce of Nizza, 335–9, 345, 355, 360, 363, 371, 382, 521.
....., proposes to Venice an alliance against the Emp. (July 1541), 338, 437.
....., ..., the proposition rejected, *ibid.*
....., ..., even if the Venetians were to be ruined through it (said some senators to Mendoza), the Signory will remain the Emp.'s friend throughout, *ibid.*
....., intending to invade the Low Countries in the spring of 1542, 361.
....., ..., ..., for he has, as it were, the du. of Clèves under his orders, *ibid.*
....., almost daily hunting, 371, 383.
....., orders a general muster of his household servants and body guard, 383.
....., ..., in order that the Imp. amb. may witness it at Lyons (Nov. 1541), *ibid.*
....., after the Emp.'s failure at Algiers, renewing his offers of friendship to k. Henry (Dec. 1541), 411.
....., ..., lest the English should think that his affection for them has diminished in consequence of that sad event, *ibid.*
....., interrogated by the Papal Nuncio (Ardinghelli) whether he intends or not to observe the truce made with the Emp., 421.
....., ..., returns a rather unsatisfactory answer on that point, *ibid.*
....., ..., intending to declare war in the spring of 1541, and attacking the Emp. on every frontier of his dominions, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., and especially in Flanders, as he counts upon the assistance of the du. of Clèves and other allies of his in those parts, *ibid.*
....., refuses the offer of a marriage of his son (Charles) to the Emp.'s daughter (Maria), with the dominion of Flanders, 425.
Francis I.—*cont.*
....., ..., unless the contract be signed within Milan, *ibid.*
....., very little chance at all of his keeping the truce, 426.
....., soliciting an interview with k. Henry (Dec. 1541), 435.
....., in close intelligence with the German princes, 437.
....., assures Henry that, notwithstanding the incalculable loss sustained by the Emp. in Africa, he himself is as desirous as ever of the English alliance, 448.
....., preparing to make war on the Emp. (Jan. 1542), 464.
....., makes alliance with the k. of Denmark, *ibid.*
....., assembles a council to deliberate on the best means of carrying on war against the Emp. (Jan. 1542), *ibid.*
....., ..., Marshal Hannebault's opinion, *ibid.*
....., ..., St. Pol's and the Admiral's (Brion-Chabot), *ibid.*
....., declaration respecting the truce of Nizza (1539), *252.*
....., his ministers, 235, 238.
....., his queen *v. Eleanor.*
....., his sons, (Francis, the Dauphin, Henri, and Charles), *v. Valois.*
....., ..., daughters, *v. Magdalen* and *Margaret.*
.. .., his chancellor, *v. Du Bourg* and *Prat.*
....., lets. to the Emp., *79.*
....., ..., to his amb. in England [Charles de Marillac] (1541), *165, 176, 180, 189, 192, 212, 248.*
Franciscans, Order of the; generals of at Rome, *v. Lunel* and *Quiñones.*
Frangipani (Francesco II.), bp. of Kolotscha in Hungary (1540–3); amb. of k. John at Rome, 113 *n.*, 116.
Frankfort, the diet of, 180, 305.
....., ..., motion said to have been introduced at the, by co. Wilhelm von Furstenberg at the request of k. Francis, 180.
Frederic, co. Palatine of the Rhine, raised to the rank of duke, 3.
....., ..., married to Dorothea of Denmark, 59 *n.*
....., ..., in Paris (July 1539), 176.
..... III., du. of Holstein, afterwards k. of Denmark, 62–3, 435–6, 438.
....., ..., makes a league with France, 438.
....., ..., deputies of, negociating at Spa (April 1542), 487.
....., ..., his uncle, *v. Christian I.*, 436.
French, the, described as generally proud and vainglorious, 27.

French, the—*cont.*
....., ..., and, as a nation, naturally inclined to deceit (said Chapuys to k. Henry, quoting Mons. de Montreuil), 438.
....., practices and intrigues; allusion to the, in England, 419, 432, 448, 456.
....., ..., memorandum of Chapuys on the subject, *223*.
....., ..., with the Turk, 394.
....., ..., in Denmark and Sweden, 433–6.
....., ..., in Piedmont (Dec. 1541), 422.
....., turbulent spirit of the, 420.
....., represented as generally opposed to the marriage of the du. of Orleans with the Princess (Mary), 454.
....., ..., though apparently wishing for it, *ibid.*
....., ..., their only aim being to deceive k. Henry and make him forsake the Emp.'s alliance, 458.
Frenes, Frenesi, Frenesio, *v. Farnese.*
Frossombrone, in Italy, *v. Fossombrone.*
Friar, the, of Hungary, *v.* under *Fraile* and *George.*
Frias, IV. du. of, *v. Fernandez de Velasco.*
Froude (James Anthony) quoted, *Int.* v.
Fruchsiis (Otho de), gentleman-in-waiting to Pope Paul, on a mission to Ferdinand, k. of the Romans, 525.
Fucares (Fuggers), bankers of Augsburg, 209.
Fuorusciti, *i.e.*, the banished from a country, Span. *foragidos:*
....., ..., from Florence, 227, 290.
....., ..., from Naples, 160, 533.
....., ..., from Perugia, 290.
....., ..., from Siena, 227.
....., ..., from Spain, 533.
Furstenberg (co. Frederic von), in the Emp.'s service (1541), 54.
....., ..., 15,000 lanskenets under his orders refuse to march, 359.
..... (co. Wilhelm von), his motion at the Francfort diet, 180, 305.

G

Gacino, cap.; news of Barbarossa (Jan. 1540), 222.
Gaddi, card.; his pension on Naples stopped, 13.
....., his property sequestered, 251.
....., ..., orders sent to Naples for its release, *ibid.*
Gaeta, in Naples, 138.
....., abp. of, *v. Lunel.*
Gachard (Mons.), quoted, 527.
Galapago, a term of fortification, 230 *n.*
Galeon, that of the Emp., sailing from Genoa to Messina (Aug. 1538), 14.
Galeota, name generally given to a large Turkish galley, 228, 230 *n.*, 245, 279.
Galeote, a galley-slave, 171.
Galicia, kingdom of, in Spain; Portugese vessels wrecked on the coast of, 293.
Gallego (Juan, Master Joan), purveyor to the Imp. fleet (1538–41); his interview with Barbarossa, 211, 221, 229, 234–5.
....., appointed governor of San Salvador, 235.
Galleys, *English.* K. Henry sending to Italy for experienced shipwrights to build (July 1541), 342–3.
....., ..., ..., on a model of which he himself is the inventor, 343.
....., *French*, under St. Brancars, 91.
....., ..., four that took q. M. to Scotland getting ready to proceed to the Levant (Sept. 1538), 14.
....., *Genoese*, 89, 372, 414.
....., *Imperial*, 215, 245, 276, 377, 425.
....., ..., report of the Council on the, 89.
....., one sailing for Carthagena with the Emp.'s jewels, 373.
....., of *Naples*, 372.
....., *Papal*, in bad order and scantily provided, 14, 89, 137, 291.
....., *Sicilian*, under Gonzaga, 88, 414.
....., *Turkish*, 162, 279, 355.
....., ..., eighteen fustees infesting the coast of Puglia (Aug. 1541), 527.
....., ..., 80 under Barbarossa sailing for Negroponte (Nov. 1541), 404.
....., ..., ..., believed to be bound for Algiers (Nov. 1541), 396.
....., *Venetian*, 171.
Gallipoli, strait of, 230.
... ., a strong tower to be erected by Barbarossa at the point called Our Lady of, *ibid.*
Gamage (Margaret), wife of lord William Howard, 412, 484.
....., sent to the Tower as implicated in Catharine Howard's case, 412.
Gambara (Prothonotary Uberto di), bp. of Tortona and card., 207, 228, *Add* and *Cor.* 536.
Gams (Pius Boniface), his *Series episcoporum*, &c., quoted, 140 *n.*, 175 *n.*, 419 *n.*, *Add.* and *Cor.* 550.
Gand (Ghent), 279, 449.
Gandavi, Latin name of Ghent, q. *v.*
....., lets. dated from, 137.
Gandia, du. of, *v. Borja.*
Gante, *v. Ghent.*
Garance (grain), the exportation of, from the Low Countries to be forbidden, 325.

Garard, Garrard, Dr., *v. Garret.*

Garaud, Garraud, *v. Carew* (Sir Nicholas).

Gardiner (Stephen), bp. of Winchester, amb. to France, 12 *n.*, 295, 297.

....., ..., to the Emp. in Flanders (Jan. 1541), 304, 507–8, 492, 494.

....., ..., returns (Oct. 1541), 368.

....., is well received by k. Henry, 376.

....., ..., in the Privy Council, 393–4, 410, 444.

....., his house in town, 384.

....., the first, according to, to propose the above alliance, 498.

....., his conference with Granvelle, 491–3.

Garret (Dr. Thomas), theologian, executed (June 1541), 542.

Garter, Order of the, conferred by Henry on four English noblemen, 324.

Gascons, French infantry mostly composed of, 381.

Gascony, a merchant from, Marillac's familiar friend, assures Chapuys that the interview of Henry and Francis at Calais is a settled thing (Dec. 1541), 435.

Gasto, marquis del., *v. Davalos d'Aquino* and *Vasto.*

....., his mission to Venice, 137, 205, 217.

....., ..., to go thither with Hannebault, 205.

Gaul, Gallia, or ancient France, 440.

. ....., Gellimard (Guillaume de), sieur de Chasteauneuf, admiral Brion-Chabot's sec. ; *v. Chasteauneuf.*

Gendarmerie, Gendarmes, men-at-arms, French, a body of, under the command of Marshall Hannebault, sent to Piedmont (Aug. 1541), 345.

Genealogies Historiques, quoted, 529.

Geneste (Margaret), *Int.* xx.

Geneva, in Switzerland, 204, 355, 376.

....., bp. of., *v. La Baume.*

Gennes, *v. Genoa.*

Gennevra, Ginebra, *v. Geneva.*

Genoa, the Signory or Republic of, 525.

....., Imp. amb. to, *v. Suarez de Figueroa.*

....., city of, 1, 100, 112, 116, 197, 204, 355, 369, 418, 423, 482.

....., the Emp.'s departure from (July 1538), 34, 36, 46.

....., to be included in the treaty of Aigues-Mortes, 100.

... ., to enjoy all the privileges of the truce, *ibid.*

....., the Emp.'s interview with the Pope at, alluded, 143.

....., Doria expected at, with his galleys (Dec. 1541), 414.

....., news from, sent by the Imp. agent, *v. Suarez de Figueroa.*

....., great precautions to be taken about, considering that the French insist upon taking possession of it, 524–525.

....., advices from (June 1539), *69.*

Genoese. All safe-conducts and trade licenses granted to the, revoked in France owing to the excessive price of silk, 100.

....., very sorry at the failure of the Algiers expedition, 423.

....., fickle and inconstant, 525.

....., sending ambs. to k. Francis (Jan. 1542), who grants them pensions, 167.

....., some, the late Fragoso's relatives and friends, apply to k. Francis for permission to trade freely with France (Nov. 1541), 381.

....., ..., if granted (they say), possession of Genoa may easily be obtained by some of the gates or towers in the walls, *ibid.*

....., ..., their petition granted, *ibid.*

George, the Hungarian friar, 419.

Georgians, join the Persians and Tartars against the Turk, 9.

Germany, 17, 36, 157, 209, 371, 385, 389.

....., k. Francis' ministers in, having done little or no good with the Separatists, 159.

....., affairs of, discussed at Rome and in Spain between the Emp. and card. Farnese, 141, 168.

....., the Catholic league of, to be helped with money, 186.

....., 50,000 duc. to be sent to, by the Pope, *ibid.*

....., ..., bills to that amount said to have been deposited at Fuggers' bank in Augsburg, 209.

....., a rumour afloat that k. Francis is trying to procure bills on, for a sum of 600,000 duc., 280.

... ., ..., no foundation whatever for it (writes Granvelle from Rome, Oct. 1540), *ibid.*

....., the Emp.'s purpose to visit (Nov. 1540), 293.

....., the protectorate of, at Rome to be conferred on card. Farnese (Sept. 1541), 364.

....., a force to be raised in, against the Turk (1541, 371.

....., diets in, 402, 404, *v.* under *Francfort, Regensberg, Spires,* and *Worms.*

....., state of politics in (1542), 416.

....., news from, 420.

...., French intrigues in, 421.

....., card. protector of, at Rome, *v. Manrique* (Francisco).

....., *doctors* in Divinity from ; eight come to London to attend the meetings of Parliament (April 1539), 13, 150.

....., ..., said to be chiefly from Saxony and Lubeck, 151.

....., ..., ..., and to have publicly preached their Lutheran doctrines in German, 13.

....., *lanskennets* of ; thousands of, recruited by Francis in, 427.

Germany, *lanskennets* of—*cont.*
....., ..., the Emp. making levies of, in, 523.
....., ..., the Emp. going to Italy at the head of 8,000 of them, 345.
....., ..., levies of, in Sept. 1541, said to be intended exclusively for the defence of Christendom against the Turk, 523.
....., *prelates* of; proposed reformation of the, 389, 399.
....., ..., will attend a General Council out of their own country, 389.
....., ..., the Pope is sure of their coming to Italy for that purpose, 398.
....., ..., ..., whilst the princes and electors will not, 36, 103, 398.
....., ..., ..., which opinion Granvelle does not share; neither the Catholics, nor the Lutherans will have the Council out of, 398.
....., ..., to be induced to pay two-thirds of the expenses of the Catholic League, so that the Pope may only contribute with a sixth, 403.
....., *prince electors* of; French gentleman on a mission to the prince electors of, suspected of having worked against the Emp.'s interests, 102–3.
....., ..., ..., and of being in treaty with co. Wilhelm von Fustenberg and other German noblemen, 180.
....., ..., convoked for the diet of Spires, 400.
....., ..., k. Francis' intrigues with the, 460, 480.
....., Paul's legates and Nuncios in, 516–8.
Ghelders (Geldern, Gueldres), duchy of, 74–5, *Int.* ii.
....., the du. of Clèves takes possession of the, 18, 62, 105.
....., ..., though it belongs to the Empire, 35.
....., Eng. ambs. at Brussels depart for (March 1539), 126, 130.
....., league for the defence of, against the Emp., 276.
....., the du. of Lorraine's pretensions to part of the, 333.
....., cession of, to k. Francis, *ibid.*
....., du. of, *v. Egmond.*
Ghent, in Belgium; in Latin "Gandavi," 579.
....., the castle of, to be fortified in haste (July 1540), 243.
....., Granvelle's departure from (Oct. 1540), 279.
....., a fresh revolt against the Emp. much feared, 449.
....., ..., suppressed by force, 515, *Int.* ix.
....., the Emp.'s manifesto and sentence against the people of (30 April 1540), 254.
Ghinucci (Girolamo), bp. of Worcester and card. (1539), 144.
Giberti (Gian or Giovan Matheo), bp. of Verona, 280, 286.
....., his appointment to the Diet of Worms revoked, 280.
Gibraltar, damage done by the Turks at (1540), 279, 291.
Gie, Giez (Mr. de), of Francis' chamber; amb. at Rome (1539), to explain to the Pope the motives of the Emp.'s journey to Belgium through France, 203.
....., ..., as well as the result of the negociations about the League, 206.
Gilberte, Giliberte (Commander Gilbert ?) succeeds Andalot in the office of lord chamberlain to Margaret, 304.
....., death of (Nov. 1541), 385.
Gioachino (Giovan), a Genoese; his ciphered lets. from Venice intercepted, 138; *v. Jocquin.*
Giocchi (Giovan Maria), card., afterwards Pope, 550; *v. Julius III.*
Giron (Commander), inspector (*veedor*), to the Spanish fleet, 113, 116, 118, 131, 140, 153, 276.
..... (D. Juan Tellez), *fourth* co. de Ureña, 271–2.
..... (D. Pedro), *third* co. de Ureña (d. 1531), *ibid.*
Girona (Gironda r.), 145.
Gironde (La), riv. and dep. in France; card. Pole's arrival at, 145.
Giusticia, capitano di, chief magistrate in Milan, 337, 424.
....., ..., ..., in Siena, 416.
Glasgow; four French galleys take the q. of Scotland to, 14.
Glastonbury, in Somersetshire, abbot of, *v. Whiting* (Richard).
Goderfinguer (Joachim), of Nürenberg, agent of the Palatine Philip, arrives in London (April 1541), 324, 424.
Gold from New Spain, 110.
Golden Fleece, Order of the, 515.
Goleta (La), near Tunis, menaced, 167, 173, 221, 251, 275.
....., gov. of, *v. Tobar.*
Gomez (Alvar), naval commander; re-called, 275–6.
Gonzaga (Ferrant, Ferrante, Fernando), co. de Guastalla; du. de Molfetta; viceroy of Sicily, 13, 37, 87, 89, 90, 140, 170, 173, 209–11, 216–7, 221, 230, 234, 274–5, 291, 293, 414.
..... (Francesco I.), fourth marq. of Mantua (1484–1519), 13 *n.*
..... (Francesco III.), du. of Mantua (1540–50), 514 *n.*
....., ..., marries Catharine, daughter of the k. of the Romans (1549), *ibid.*
..... (Frederico, Frederigo), marq. and first du. of Mantua (d. 1540), 87 *n.*, 401.
..... (Guglielmo), du. of Mantua (1550–88), 514 *n.*
..... (Luigi), 13 *n.*, 530.

Gonzaga (Luigi)—*cont.*
....., ..., lets. to the Emp., *5*, *6*.
..... (another), co. de Rethel; du. of Nevers (d. 1595), 13 *n*.
..... (Hercole or Ercole), abp. of Mantua, brother of du. Frederic, 401.
....., canon in Venice, offers his services to the Emp. (Feb. 1539), 119.
Gracia (Doña), wife of sec. Idiaquez, 267.
Gramont, Grammont (Antoine de), bp. of Tarbes, (1534 9), French amb. in England till April 1538, 37 *n*.
Granada, Inquisition of, 241.
....., abpric. of, pension on the, 543.
Grand Seigneur (le), title first given to Soliman, the Turk, by the French, 295.
Grandvelle, Grantvelle, Granvelle (Mr. de), the Emp.'s Privy Seal (*Guardasellos*), *v. Perrenot* (Nicolas).
Gratia, Port of (Hâvre de Grace), in Normandy, 254.
Gravelinges (Gravelines), in Flanders, 136–7.
Greece, the begler-bey of, at Sophia (July 3, 1539), 167.
....., ..., to sail with 4 sangiacs, or regiments, for Castilnovo, *ibid.*
Green Turbans or caps, the Khan or prince of the, *v.* Tatars.
Greenwich, the Court at, 16, 39, 314, 331, 346, 379, 396, 420–1, 429–31, 497, *Int.* xii–iii.
Gregory XIV., Pope (1590–1), 551; *v. Sfondrato* (Nicolao).
Grey (Elizabeth), viscountess of Lisle, *Add.* and *Cor.* 468, 552, *Int.* xiii.
....., ..., another (Christina?), dau. of Thomas, V. marq. of Dorset, and wife of lord Audeley, 334.
..... (Henry), the young marq. of Dorset, in the Privy Council, 19.
..... (Sir Leonard), executed (June 1541), 334.
Grignan, co. de, *v. Adhemar de Monteil* (Louis).
Grimaldo (Amaldo), banking house in Rome and Genoa, 144, 168.
Grimano (Marco), commander of the Papal galleys, 107.
Griñan, *v. Grignan*.
Gritti (Andrea), doge of Venice, 38, 117, 120.
..... (Lorenzo), bastard son of Andrea the Doge, obtains permission from Doge Lando to go to Constantinople for the purpose of recovering the property left by his two brothers (Feb. 1539), 117.
....., ..., ..., ..., or, as publicly said in Venice, to avoid criminal prosecution, owing to his own wife having been found hung in a room of his palace, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., whilst others maintain that he is going thither to treat of peace with the Turk, 117, 120.
....., ..., ..., the fact denied by the Venetian amb. in Rome, 120.
Gritti (Lorenzo)—*cont.*
....., ..., his journey to Constantinople considered by Aguilar a further proof of Venice being in treaty with the Turk, 138, 140, 145, 162, 166–7.
....., ..., he himself owning that he has at last concluded peace between Solyman and the Venetians, 145, 162, 166–7, 172, 176, 178, 180.
..... (Giorgio), 117.
..... (Luigi), son of Andrea, the Doge, *ibid.*
Gröenland, island of the Arctic regions, 326.
Grotta (Nostra Signora della), in Sicily, 231.
Guastalla, co. de, *v. Gonzaga* (Ferrante).
Guast, Guasto, marq. del, *v.* under *Vasto* and *Davalos d'Aquino*.
Guennebet, 464; *v. Kennebet* and *Knyvet*.
Guerra (D. Pedro de la), 276, 278–9; *v. Cueva*.
Guiche (Claude de la), bp. of Agde, in France; French amb. to Portugal, sent on a mission to k. Joaõ III., to promote the marriage of the du. of Orleans to the Infanta of Portugal (Dec. 1541), 433 *n*.
Guidichon (Guidiccione), Bartholomeo, Vicar of Rome (1539), made cardinal, 207, *Add* and *Cor.* 536.
Guienne, duchy of, in France, claimed by k. Henry, 441.
Guiennes, Guyenes, a corruption for *Guisnes* or *Guînes, q. v.*
Guignones (Dez), *v. Quiñones*.
Guillaume, Milort, *v. Howard* (Lord William).
Guînes, *v.* under *Guisnes*.
Guipusque (Guipuzcoa), one of the Basque provinces of Spain, 366.
....., gov. of, ordered to prepare against an attack of the French, 278.
....., the inhabitants of Biscay and, apply to Prince Philip, the Emp.'s son, for the revalidation of their ordinances in matters of navigation and trade (Sept. 1541), 386.
Guise (Mr. de), *v.* Lorraine (Claude de).
....., du. de, *v. Lorraine* (Claude de).
..... (Jean de), *v. Lorraine* (card. Jean de).
..... (Marie de), dau. of the du. Claude and q. of Scotland, *Int.* xxv.
Guisnes, county of, in Picardy; account books of, *Int.* xix.
....., Guînes ou Guignes (dep. Pas de Calais), 135.
....., ..., some dispute likely to arise between the English garrison of, and that of Ardres, 323, 407.
.. .., ..., Span. despatches for Chapuys forwarded by way of, and the Low Countries, 480–1.
....., ..., gov. of, *v. Camberlen* and *Sandys*.
....., ..., the towns and castles of Flanders bordering on, and Calais fortified by the Emp.'s order, 407.

Gurk (Mathew), abp. of *Saltzburg*; death of, recorded, 243.

Gustav Vasa, k. of Sweden (1523–60); his agreement with the du. of Holstein, 435–6.

Guzman (Da. Juana), of the house of Medina-Sidonia, 270.

..... (Da. Mariana), her dau., 271.

Guzman (D. Pedro de), first co. de Olivares, 272.

....., "El Bueno" (D. Juan de), tenth du. de Medina-Sidonia, 272.

H

Hagenao, Haghenau (Haguenau), in Alsace, Diet of, 279.

....., the k. of Romans at (July 1540), 243.

Haigrefort, Hangrefort, lord, *v. Hungerford.*

....., executed (23 June 1539), *Add.* and *Cor.* 542.

Halberdiers of the Imperial guard (Jan. 1540), 215.

Half-fruits of the Clergy in Spain, 152, 169, 244.

....., ..., the Emp. urgently applying for a Papal bull to defray the expences of his expedition to Algiers (March 1539), 134.

....., ..., ..., no progress whatever being made in the negociation thereof, 152, 155, 169, 173.

....., ..., ..., as the Pope will not grant the bull for any other purpose but the invasion of England, 155.

....., ..., Paul's breves and bull relating to, 197, 210.

....., ..., the Span. prelates protesting against (April 1540), 230.

....., in Flanders, 389, 406.

....., in France. Application made by k. Francis for the, 359.

Hampton-Court, 296, 304–5, 384.

....., Anne de Clèves at (Jan. 1541), 305.

....., amb. Marillac setting people to watch in the neighbourhood of (June 1541), 549.

....., ..., for the purpose of ascertaining what proceedings were being taken against q. Catharine Howard, *ibid.*

Hannaërt (Jean), sieur de Likerke; viscount of Lomberg; Imp. amb. in France, 63, 76.

....., appointed Imp. Commissioner at Brussels, 79, 127.

Hannebault (Claude d'), baron de Retz et de la Hunaudaye, lieut.-gen. in Piedmont; marshal of France, 202, 345, 370–1, 415, 522 *n.*, 551.

Hannebault—*cont.*

..... (Jacques), bp. of Lisieux, *Add.* and *Cor.* 545, 551.

Hanyšao, *v. Hannebault.*

Harlen (Haarlem), in Holland, 308, 543.

Hartford, earl of, *v. Hertford* and *Seymour.*

Harvel (Edmund), English amb. in Venice, 495.

Harvest in Spain; that of 1541 very deficient, 270.

Hassán (Muley Hazen), k. of Tunis, 251, 274, 291, 293.

Hatfeld, Hatfield, Hatfild (York), description by Marillac of a stag hunt in, near Doncaster (Sept. 1541), 361.

Hazemabey (Hasen Bey), Barbarossa's chamberlain, 229.

Hedam (Mr de), recommended to the Emp. (Aug. 1538), 13.

Hellin? (Mons. de), 520, 553.

Hèmard Denonville (Charles), bp. of Macon, amb. in Rome (March 1538), 553.

Henri II., k. of France (1547–59), *Add.* and *Cor.* 533.

....., ... natural daughter of, *v. Diane.*

Henry IV. of France (Henri de Bourbon), alluded, 13 *n.*, *Add.* and *Cor.* 5 .

Henry VIII., *k. of England*, 355–6, 481–3, *Int.* ix, xi.

....., proposing to marry in France (July 1538), 6, 529.

....., ..., and offering to cross over to Calais, 8.

....., ..., whither k. Francis might send some princesses of his Royal family for him to choose a wife among them, *ibid.*

....., ..., the proposal indignantly rejected, 10.

....., ..., high words between, and the French amb. on the subject, 28.

....., at Ampthill in Bedfordshire (Aug. 1538), 17.

....., ..., visited there by Chapuys and Mendoza, to whom he gives audience, 19–24.

....., sadly put out (the Imp. ambs. write) at the interview of Aigues-Mortes, 24.

....., ..., not knowing exactly how the Emp.'s affairs with k. Francis will turn out, 25.

....., showing indifference about the proposed marriages (Aug. 1531), *ibid.*

....., ..., his own with Christina of Denmark, and his daughter's (Mary) with the Infante Dom Luiz of Portugal, *ibid.*

....., sends an embassy to Flanders to treat again of the double marriage, 31–3.

....., ..., negociations for it carried on at Brussels (Sept. 1538), 46–8.

Henry VIII.—*cont.*
....., thanks q. Mary for the kind reception made to his ambs. (Oct. 1538), 51–3.
....., still proposing to marry Christina, but making no mention at all of his daughter's marriage to the Infante Dom Luiz, 59.
....., the advice tendered by an anonymous councillor of Flanders respecting the matrimonial alliance proposed by, *24.*
....., ..., memorandum on the subject, *25.*
....., ..., another drawn by Mendoza of the negociations carried on in England, 65–69.
....., ..., the first idea of it having originated with Cromwell, who proposed it to Chapuys, 65.
....., said to have solicited k. Francis to join him in an attack against the Emp. (Nov. 1538), 57.
....., ..., and to have been admonished by him to return to the obedience of the Roman Church, *ibid.*
....., will be glad to help against the Turk provided the Emp. declares against the Pope, 64.
....., refuses to declare the legitimacy of the Princess, *ibid.*
....., ..., will, nevertheless, declare her heiress to his crown in the event of his dying without legitimate children, male or female, *ibid.*
....., negociations for his own marriage with the do. du. of Milan still prosecuted at Brussels (Nov. 1538), 65–9.
....., ..., as well as for that of his dau. Mary with the Infante of Portugal (Dom Luiz), 66.
....., ..., should this last not take place, his own with the do. du. of Milan to be urged, 67.
....., conditions stipulated by, for his own marriage, 66.
....., ..., the dower of Christina to be 100,000 crs., *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., besides an allowance of 15,000 crs. annually to be consigned on the Treasury of Flanders, *ibid.*
....., ..., the Emp. to defend him against the Pope, 65.
....., the Imp. ambs. promising to, that every effort shall be made to reconcile him with the Holy See, 66.
....., should there be an understanding (said the admiral of France to q. Mary of Hungary) between the Emp. and my master, will be compelled to pay obedience to the Church (Dec. 1538), 75.
....., every day growing more inhuman and cruel (Jan. 1539), 99.
....., the very same offers of closer friendship which his amb. is making in Spain are daily repeated in France (Jan. 1539), 101.
Henry VIII.—*cont.*
....., the same answer, however, is returned to him in France as in Spain, *ibid.*
....., ..., his only aim being evidently to introduce discord between the Emp. and Francis, *ibid.*
....., considering his tyrannical rule and his acts against the Church (writes Marillac, the French amb.), there would be no difficulty in satisfying on that point the Pope, the Emp, and k. Francis, 101.
....., Pope Paul on the point of fulminating ecclesiastical censures against (Jan. 1539), 101.
....., Francis speaking ill of him, *ibid.*
....., should the Emp., France, the Low Countries, and Scotland join the Pope in an attempt against, the partition and distribution of England would not be a difficult task (said the Imp. amb. in Paris to Montmorency in Jan. 1539), 102.
....., proceedings at Rome against, continue, 105.
....., deprivation decreed (Jan. 1539), *ibid.*
....., applying for a definitive answer respecting his own marriage with the do. du. of Milan [Christina of Denmark] (Feb. 1539), 114.
....., ..., the Emp. still wishing that it could be effected with sufficient security, 115.
....., ..., ..., but unluckily it cannot be so, for in the first place a Papal dispensation will be needed, 115.
....., ..., ..., and even if, himself, in virtue of the ecclesiastical superiority he has assumed in England, could dispense, the dispensation would never satisfy the duchess and the children of her marriage, *ibid.*
....., the negociations entirely broken, 126.
....., preparing for war (April 1539), 150.
....., card. Farnese's conversation with the Emp. (at Madrid, July 1539) concerning, and the affairs of England, 168.
....., to be again exhorted by ambs. from Charles and Francis to return to the obedience of the Pope, 168.
....., ..., before card. Pole is sent on his mission (3 July, 1539), *ibid.*
....., his marriage to Anne of Clèves first reported (Oct. 1539), 200.
....., ..., effected (Jan. 1540), *Int.* ix, xi–iii.
....., ..., repudiates her (July 1540), 210, 245, 257.
....., to be proceeded against (said the Pope to the Imp. amb. in Rome), as he is daily spreading his venom in all quarters (Nov. 1539), 205.
....., an Italian physician attached to the household of, acting as a spy on Chapuys (Oct. 1540), 285.

Henry VIII.—*cont.*
....., ..., insinuating to him that the Emp. ought to marry again, *ibid.*
....., marries Catharine Howard, 295–6, 305–6.
....., his principal secretary sent to the Tower (Jan. 1541), 308, *Int.* xvii.
....., and Catharine visit prince Edward and Mary on the same day (10 May 1541), 324.
....., divorces his q. and has her executed, 384, 548–9.
....., hunting in Lincolnshire, at a distance of 60 or 80 miles from London (July 1541), 343, 353.
....., in Greenwich (Aug. 1541), 346.
....., his deputies in Brussels refuse to attend Christina's wedding (Aug. 1541), 349.
....., returning from his long tour in the Northern Counties (Aug. 1541), 359.
....., expresses regret for the Hungarian disaster, 375.
....., in York, waiting for k. James of Scotland (Oct. 1541), 367.
....., takes Catharine Howard's case more patiently than most people think (said Fitz William to Chapuys), 396.
....., ..., had he not been on the point of leaving town, and spending five or six days in chase and sport to relieve his mind from past troubles, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., he would certainly have granted an audience to (19 Nov. 1541), *ibid.*
....., sporting and amusing himself in the neighbourhood of London, to divert his sorrowful thoughts (Nov. 1541), 408, 410–1.
....., ..., and escape from the labours of administrative business, 419.
....., expected back in Greenwich (Dec. 1541), 419, 421, 429.
....., ..., arrives there on Christmas Eve (Dec. 24), 430.
....., gives Chapuys audience, and expresses his views on general politics, 431–51.
....., ..., and most particularly on the proposed alliance against France, 433–8, 440–2.
....., flattering words and remarks addressed by Chapuys to, 432.
....., ..., according to the advice of Fitz William, who tells him that such incense is always agreeable to the K. his master, *ibid.*
....., very sensible to flattery (says Chapuys), 432.
....., ..., liking to hear that he is much experienced in matters of internal administration and government, *ibid*, 520.
....., ..., ..., and that he has besides great literary attainments, *ibid.*
....., in high spirits through such flattery, *ibid.*
Henry VIII.—*cont.*
....., ... and apparently most ready to enter into a closer alliance with the Emp., 440.
....., ..., yet being asked by Chapuys how much he intended to contribute to the expenses of the Turkish war, 442.
....., ..., answers that he will make no declaration on that point unless he sees first the ambassador's powers to treat of an alliance against all enemies, *ibid.*
....., ..., has already been cheated and turned into ridicule, both by the Emp. and k. Francis, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., owing to his having declared beforehand what his intentions were, *ibid.*
....., his friendly advice about the education of prince Philip, the Emp.'s son, and the government of the Spanish kingdoms (Dec. 1541), 446–8.
....., his urgent solicitations for an alliance with the Emp. (says Chapuys) are only caused by the fear of an understanding between France and the Empire, 463.
....., ..., all his efforts being directed towards sowing discord and mistrust between the two princes, *ibid.*
....., ..., as to persuading, to effect some sort of reconciliation with the Holy See, there is no chance at all, *ibid.*
....., ..., ... the article referring to it ought, therefore, to be put on one side, *ibid.*
....., his body guard of archers, 540.
....., ..., captain of, *v. Wingfield* (Sir Robert).
....., his chief physician, an Italian, 285.
....., his ministers, 482–3, 485; *v. Norfolk* (du. of), *Fitz William*, *Russell*, *&c.*
....., lord Privy Seal, *v. Fitz William.*
..... his Grand Esquire or Master of the Horse, *v. Browne.*
....., his comptroller of the household, *v. Paulet* (Sir William).
....., lord Chamberlain, *v. Sandys.*
....., gentlemen of his Chamber: various, 432; *v. Whyatt*, *St. Leger*, *Knyvet*, and others.
....., Admiral, *v. Russell.*
....., treasurer, *v. Norfolk* (du. of).
....., let to the q. of Hungary, *91.*
Henriquez, *v. Enriquez.*
Herault, dep. of France, 433.
Hercole, *v. Porto-Ercole.*
Hernando, du. Don, *v. Aragon* and *Villahermosa.*
Hertford, co., *v. Seymour* (Edward).
Hesdin, in Flanders, to be restituted to Charles, as well as St. Pol, St. Amand, and other towns, 238.
Hesse-Cassel, langraf of, *v. Philip of Hesse.*
....., amb. of, in England, *Int.* xii.

Heychron (?) Rayschak, German colonel, 54.

Hières, Hyères, isles d'Hyères, on the coast of Provence; Mr. de Granvelle obliged to put up at, for fear of French cruizers (1542), 482.

Hierosme, Hierôme, *v. Jerome.*

Hierro (El), gulf of, in Sardinia, 372.

Hildesen (Hildesheim), in Hannover, bp. of, *v.* 170.

Hobin (Philip), English messenger, 457.

Hochstrate (Hoochstrate), co., 127.

Holgate (Robert), bp. of Llandaf, gov. of the Northern Counties, 318, 320.

Holland, 36, 130, 243.

Holstein, duchy of, 438.

....., du. of, *v. Frederic III.*

Holles, lord mayor of London (May 1539), 150.

Hons, Honz (Jean de), sec. of amb. Marillac, procures Chapuys copies of his master's despatches, 341–2, 360–1, 364–5, 367–8, 378–9, 409–10, 413, 419, 421, 452, 464, 467, 469, 471.

....., a good Latin and Greek scholar, well versed in legal matters, 365.

....., highly recommended to the Emp. 364–5.

....., a pension to be granted to, 462.

....., lets. to Chapuys, *187–8.*

Hops not easily procured anywhere but in Flanders, 312.

....., should the exportation of, from the Low Countries be forbidden, the English will be obliged to buy their beer in Flanders, and come to terms, 312, 325.

Horses, bought in Flanders for k. Henry, 308.

....., ..., by the gov. of Guisnes (Sandys), *ibid.*

....., in Germany better and more abundant than anywhere else, 54.

Hostia, in the Roman States, *v. Ostia.*

Howard (Catharine), q. of England, fifth wife of Henry VIII., 295–6, 305–6, 341, 384–5, 395–6.

....., ..., not yet in a family way (Jan. 1541), 305.

....., ..., to Greenwich through London, 314.

....., ..., on a visit to prince Edward (May 1541), 324.

....., ..., first rumours of k. Henry wishing to divorce her (April 1541), 384, 548–9.

....., ..., arrested and tried, 384–5.

....., ..., confesses her guilt, 395.

....., ..., ..., Anne of Clèves rejoicing at it, 396.

....., ..., the du. of Norfolk, her uncle, wishing her to be burnt alive, *ibid.*

....., ..., talk of her being confined for life to a nunnery near Richmond, *ibid.*

Howard (Catharine)—*cont.*

....., ..., at Syon House (Dec. 1541), 408.

....., ..., to show clemency in her case, k. Henry, as it is believed, will make no innovation until Parliament meets and decides what her fate is to be, *ibid.*

....., ..., ..., as he is bearing the blow more patiently than people had reason to believe of him, 410.

....., ..., ..., ..., though he is said to have felt the case much more than the faults, loss, or divorce of his former queens, *ibid.*

....., ..., still at Syon House (Dec. 1541), 452, 465.

....., ..., ..., making good cheer, fatter and handsomer than ever she was, and taking great care of her person, 465.

....., ..., ..., well dressed and much adorned with jewels, *ibid.*

....., ..., ..., ..., and more imperious and commanding, nay, more difficult to please, than ever she was, *ibid.*

....., ..., tried and sentenced by Parliament, 452, 462, 465, 483.

....., ..., conducted to the Tower (10 Feb. 1541), 472.

....., ..., executed (13 Feb.), *ibid., Int.* x.

...., since the execution of, k. Henry in better spirits than before, 473.

....., ..., ..., banqueting and feasting, *ibid.*

....., ..., ..., ..., though not in a hurry to marry again, *ibid.*

..... (Lord Edmund), father of q. Catharine, fifth wife of k. Henry VIII., *Add.* and *Cor.* 549.

..... (Henry), son of the preceding and brother of q. Catharine, *ibid.*

....., ..., earl of Surrey, son of Thomas, III. du. of Norfolk, sent to Calais by k. Henry, 323.

....., ..., ..., the Order of the Garter conferred on, 323–4.

..... (Thomas), III. du. of Norfolk, 307, 323, 334, 358, 549, *Int.* vi–ii, x–i, xvii–viii.

....., ..., about to leave for the Borders (6 Feb. 1541), 308.

....., ..., takes his departure (Feb. 1541), 308.

....., ..., returns to London after inspecting the fortifications on the frontier (March 1541), 314.

....., ..., his niece married to the handsomest and best bred gentleman in England, only 25 years old, 334.

....., ..., his sister, a cousin of q. Catharine Howard, and mother of lord Dacres, *ibid.*

...., his relations with Chapuys, 344.

Howard (Thomas)—*cont.*

....., ..., negociates with Marillac respecting Mary's marriage to the du. of Orleans, 354, 356, 454.

....., ..., ..., well disposed to favor it, 356.

....., ..., ..., the rest of the privy councillors being against, owing to the French amb. having only communicated with him, *ibid.*

....., ..., applies for leave of absence from Court (Nov. 1541), 379.

....., ..., one of his men having died of the plague (sweating disease), dares not go to Greenwich, but returns to London, *ibid.*

....., ..., what he is reported to have said on hearing of q. Catharine Howard's arrest, 396.

....., ..., leaves for his estate in the country (Nov.–Dec. 1541), 412.

....., ..., ..., not of his own accord, as presumed, but in order to be away whilst Catharine's case is before the Privy Council, *ibid.*

....., ..., in frequent communication with Marillac, the French amb., 484.

....., ..., his behaviour towards Cromwell, 539–40.

....., ..., his sister, mother of Lord Dacres, 334.

....., ..., his niece, 334.

....., ..., ordered not to attend Council whilst q. Catharine Howard's case is being tried, 452.

....., ..., occasionally venturing to improve upon his instructions when treating with foreign ambs. (says Chapuys), 474.

....., ..., reported to have sent a message to Mme. d'Albret, through amb. Marillac, that he wished he had a fortune to spend in the acquisition of the kingdom of Navarre for her, 479.

..... (lord William, Guillaume), the du. of Norfolk's stepbrother; amb. to France (Jan.–Nov. 1541), 305, 308.

....., ..., a good young gentleman, but not at all suited for business, 307.

....., ..., to leave for his embassy in a day or two to replace Wallop (4 Jan. 1541), 307–8.

....., ..., alarming news sent by (May 1541), 323.

....., ..., returns therefrom (Dec. 1541), 412.

....., ..., sent to the Tower, 412, 452.

....., ..., lady, his wife, *v. Gamage.*

... ., ..., his sister, 452.

Hoyet, Huet, Huyet, *v. Whyatt* (Sir Thomas).

Hull (Yorks.), a place of some importance, and having a good harbour, 466.

....., a gentleman of the K.'s Chamber appointed gov. of (Jan. 1542), *ibid.*

Hunaudaye, baron de la, *v. Hannebault* (Claude).

Hungary, kingdom of, 305, 382, 400, 418, 420, 422, 515.

....., Turkish camp on the frontiers of, 11.

....., a Frenchman from the, brings to Paris news of Solyman's intended invasion of that country (Aug. 1538), 11.

....., Francis' amb. to, doing no good at all, but working against the Emp.'s interest (Jan 1539), 102–3.

....., bps. of, appointed by the Waywod Zapolski; their confirmation solicited at Rome, 113, 144, 156, 170.

....., ..., should it be refused by the Pope, it might become an excuse for the introduction of Lutheranism in that country, 113.

....., ..., the Imp. amb. at Rome particularly instructed by the Emp. and by his brother, Ferdinand, to prevent it, 156.

....., ... , granted by Paul on certain conditions (1540), 515.

....., in great need of assistance owing to the Turk's threatened invasion, 305.

..... invasion of, a certainty (May 1541), 329, 355.

....., ..., yet the intelligence from Venice is that there will be none for some time, 329.

....., miserable state of (July–Aug. 1541), 344, 355.

....., the Turk intending to winter in, 371.

....., k. Ferdinand defeated, 368, 375.

....., the Infidel to be expelled from, at any cost, 402–3.

....., ..., or else Christendom will be in danger, *ibid.*

....., negociations respecting, and the Grand Turk carried on at Rome between the Emp.'s ministers and the Pope (1541), 418.

....., ..., assistance warmly solicited, *ibid.*

....., ..., no chance (writes Granvelle) of getting a favorable answer, 419.

....., news of the Turk having retreated from (Dec. 1541), 420.

....., the patrimonial subjects of the k. of the Romans agree to defend that country against the Turk, 477.

....., k. of, *v. Ferdinand.*

....., titular k. of, *v. Zapoli.*

....., do. q. of, widow of k. John, *v. Mary.*

Hungerford, lord, beheaded (June 1540), 542.

Hurstmonceaux, in Sussex, lord Dacres of, *v.* under *Dacres.*

Hurtado (D. Lope), *v. Hurtado de Mendoza.*

Hurtado de Mendoza (D. Diego), co. de Melito and Aliano, viceroy of Catalonia, 220, 278, 392.
....., ..., Imp. amb. in England, 1538, *v. Mendoza* (D. Diego).
..... (D. Francisco), bp. of Jaen, 290.
....., ..., his death at Spires (1543), *ibid n.*
..... (D. Inigo), co. of Tendilla, *v. Lopez de Mendoza.*
..... (D. Lope), lord High Chamberlain to Margaret of Austria, do. du. of Florence, natural daughter of the Emp., 1, 55, 57, 138, 144, 161–2, 209, 243, 245, 273, 292–3, *Int.* xxiv–xxv.
....., ..., resigns his post (29 June 1539), 164, 219.
...., resignation of, accepted, though he fears that he will not be allowed to quit Rome, 268.
...., accused by Fath. Pallavicino, 263, 273.
....., ..., defended by the Imp. lawyers, 274.
....., ..., his removal from Rome considered by Cobos a wise measure, 268.
....., ..., Andalot to succeed him in his post until another person of greater weight and value be found, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., for Margaret is young and alone, and in daily communication with a devilish set of people, 269.
....., ..., his wife, *v. Rojas* (Margarita de).
....., ..., lets to the Emp. (1538), *19, 71, 99, 103–4, 118.*
....., ..., ..., to the High Commander of Leon (Cobos), *123.*
....., ..., the Emp.'s let. to, *1.*
Hutton (John), English amb. in the Low Countries ; death of (5 Sept. 1538), 42, *Add* and *Cor.* 530.
Huyet, Maistre, *v. Whyatt.*
Hyerosmus (Guillelmus), *v. Jerôme* (William).

I

Ibarra (Pedro de) inspector-general of the Imperial army in the duchy of Milan. The execution of Fragoso and Rincon, said to have been intrusted by Gasto to, *Int.* xxviii *n.*
Ibráhim (Pasha), Solymán's Grand Vizier, 176.
....., replaced by Ayás, *q. v.*, 17.
Iceland, island in the Arctic Ocean ; two ships to be sent to the Northern Seas for the purpose of discovering a passage between, and Groënland, 326.
Iceland—*cont.*
....., the land of ice, name given to North Germany by the Emp.'s physician, *Add.* and *Cor.* 543.
Idiaquez (Alonso), sec. of State to the Emp., succeeds Cobos in the department of Foreign Affairs, 171, 337 *n.*, 340, 374, 527 *n.*, 537.
....., his report on the Fragoso affair, *172, Int.* xxviii.
....., let. to card. Tavera, *263.*
....., ..., to High Commander Cobos, *182, 191.*
Indies, *East.* Portuguese possessions in the, threatened by the French, 292.
....., *West.* French privateers in the, 100.
....., ..., a combined fleet of Span. and Port. war vessels to be provided for the defence of the, 279.
....., ..., the navigation of Portuguese and Spaniards to the, to be made the subject of an article in the future treaty of peace with France (July 1538), 5.
....., ..., ..., the Imp. amb. in Portugal to inform the k. and q. thereof, *ibid.*
....., ..., fears in Portugal of a French privateering expedition to the, 292.
....., ..., ..., no fear for the present (writes Cobos to the Imp. amb. in Portugal) of the French undertaking anything of the sort this winter (Nov. 1540), *ibid.*
Indulto, Quadragesimal or Lenten indulgence, 169, *Add.* and *Cor.* 533.
Infantado, the dukes of, of the family of Mendoza, 1 *n.*
Infantry, *German*, 372–3, 414–6, 461.
....., ..., under three colonels of that nation, 54 ; *v. Lanskennets.*
....., *Spanish*, 54, 88, 161, 220, 275, 359, 414–6, 418, 420, 461.
....., ..., on the return from Algiers to winter in Sardinia, 414.
....., ..., in Sicily, mutiny of, at Palermo: said to have been caused by the ill-treatment of the captains, 108.
....., ..., ..., return to their duty (1539), *ibid.*
....., ..., in Naples and in the Abruzzo ; the Pope wishing to enlist the (April 1540), 228.
....., ..., ..., to serve in the war against the Perugians, *ibid.*
....., *Italian*, in the Emp.'s service, 54, 273, 418.
....., ..., Pope Paul promising to raise 2,000, for the war against the Turk (Oct. 1540), 280, 378.
Inquisition, the, in Spain ; that of Granada, 241.
....., ..., harsh treatment of English by the, 295.
....., ..., ..., k. Henry complains of the, to Chapuys (5 Dec. 1540), 295, 308.

Inquisition, the—*cont.*
....., in Portugal, none yet (Feb. 1539), 110.
....., ..., not k. Joaõ's fault if there is no, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., but the Pope's, and his granting too many breves to the new Christians, *ibid.*
Inquisitor-general in Spain (1539–44), *v. Tavera.*
Interviews. One between the Pope and the Emp. to be held at Lucca, in Tuscany (Sept. 1541), 361, 376, 422, 425.
....., overtures of the French ambs. at the, of Lucca, 386.
....., another of k. Francis and the Emp. proposed by the former in Italy (Aug. 1539), 180.
....., ..., in Spain, Burgundy or Flanders, *ibid.*
....., ..., declined as quite unnecessary and superfluous, as the Emp. will have no time to deliberate, and, moreover, cannot decide without consulting the k. of the Romans first, *ibid.*
....., one of k. Henry and Mary the Regent of the Low Countries proposed by amb. Whyatt at Calais, 67.
....., ..., not to be accepted unless the K. makes beforehand a solemn declaration respecting his views on the Milan marriage, 68.
....., another of k. Francis' and Henry to be held in Calais (Feb. 1542), 474, 495.
....., ..., which k. James ought also to attend, 475.
....., ..., nothing (writes k. Francis to Marillac) will intimidate the Pope so much as to see the three kings united and together, *ibid.*
....., one between k. Francis and the q. of Hungary to be held at Cambray (1538), 12.
....., ..., postponed on account of k. Francis' illness (Sept. 1538), 14.
..... another of k. Henry with k. James of Scotland at York, proposed, 367.
....., ..., which does not take place, *ibid.*
Ireland, 334.
....., Lieut. of, *v. Grey* (Lord Leonard).
....., the States of, convoked (1541), 334, 346.
....., Henry to be called in future k. of, (July 1541), 342.
Isabeau, *v. Elizabeth.*
Isabella (Isabel), q. of Castille (d. 1504), 445 *n.*, 545.
....., the Empress (b. 25 Oct. 1503), 49, 513, 516.
....., ..., dangerously ill (Feb. 1539), 110.
....., ..., death of (1 May 1539), 147, 157 *n.*, 177, 185, *Int.* xviii.
Isabella, q. of Castille—*cont.*
....., ..., bequeaths a sum of money for the redemption of Christian captives in Barbary and Turkey, 292.
....., *of Austria*, eldest dau. of the k. of the Romans (Ferdinand), married to Sigismond II., k. of Poland, 514 *n.*, 516.
..... , dau. of Philip I. and Joanna, and sister of Charles V.; wife of Christiern II., the dethroned king of Denmark, 66.
..... di Monferrato, do. du. of Mantua, *v. Monferrato.*
....., of Poland, dau. of k. Sigismond; married to John Zapolsky, waywod of Transylvania, 118, 419 *n.*, 516.
Italian powers, 369.
....., Charles not choosing to dispose of Milan without the consent of the, 66.
Italy, state of affairs in (1539–40), 289, 326, 337, 428, 495.
....., the Emp.'s journey to, not yet decided upon (Sept. 1539), 186.
....., Pope Paul afraid of the Emp. going to, 322–3.
....., no movement to be apprehended in, as far as the French are concerned (Oct. 1540), 280.
....., lets. to k. Francis, *179*, *185*.
....., ... to Montmorency.
....., k. Francis' lets. to, *165*, *176*, *180*, *183*, *189*, *192*, *212*, *248*.
....., Adm. Brion-Chabot to, 184.
....., Charles leaving Barcelona for (March 1541), 323.
....., ..., in, with an army of 30,000 men, (Sept.), 345, 354.
....., ..., about to hold an interview with Pope Paul at Lucca in (13–4 Sept.), 354.
....., the Emp's. ministers in, 337.
....., dearth of provisions in all (1540), 326.
....., not in danger (Dec. 1541) of an attack from the French, 416.
....., affairs at Rome, and in the rest of, quiet enough, 428.
....., no fear of Francis breaking the truce, for although his answer as to that has been unsatisfactory, Pope Paul will do his best to preserve the peace of, 390.
....., ..., this verbal declaration of his sentiments the Pope declines to put down in writing when questioned by the Imp. amb. about the truce in, 390.
....., ..., ..., nor will he declare what line of conduct he will take if the truce comes to be broken in, *ibid.*
....., in the event of a war k. Francis will be able to recruit in, as many men as he pleases, 437.
....., ..., and get, besides, the assistance of the Pope and the Venetians (said k. Henry to Chapuys, Dec. 1541), *ibid.*
Iviça, island of, one of the Balearic in the Mediterranean, 243.

J

Jacobacis, Jacobatiis (Jacobazzi? card. Christophoro), the Pope's Datary, 58, 244.

....., recommended for the abpc. of Syracusa, 244.

Jaen, town of Andalucia, bp. of, *v.* *Mendoza* (Francisco de).

James, k. of Scotland, 302, 321, 328, 354, 367, 435, *Int.* xvii.

....., his mother, *v.* *Margaret.*

....., wives, *v.* *Magdalen of France* and *Marie de Guise.*

....., his ambs., *v.* under *Campbell*, *Reid*, and *Stewart.*

Janissaries, Barbarossa loses 4,000, at Candia (1538), 9.

Jeanne d'Albret, dau. of Henri II., titular k. of Navarre and Margaret de Valois, *v.* under *Albret.*

Jerôme (William), Romanist priest, executed and burnt (June 1540), 542.

Joanna, q. of Castille, *v.* *Juana.*

Joaõ III., k. of Portugal (1521–57), 2, 5, 63, 109–11, 221.

....., losing all his sons one by one, 294.

....., ..., the only one remaining (Sebastiaõ) being a sickly infant, 294.

....., his fleet, 221.

....., courier of, carries lets. to the Emp., 414.

Joaquino (Giovan), an Italian, *v.* *Gioachin* and *Jocquin.*

Jocquin (Jacques), *Int.* xxxi; *v.* *Gioachino.*

John (Jean), k. of France (1350–64), 440.

....., k. of England (1199–216), defeated by the Dauphin of France (Louis VIII.), 440.

..... Zapoli, waywod of Transylvania, 419.

....., his wife, *ibid.*

....., his son, *ibid.*

Joigny, in France (dep. Calvados), 10, 13.

Juana (Joanna, the Crazy), dau. of Ferdinand and Isabella; wife of Philip I., and mother of Charles V. (b. 1479, d. 1553), 445, 531.

....., ..., visited at Torderillas by her son, the Emp. (Jan. 1543), 462 *n.*

....., ..., Henry's advice respecting her, 447.

..... *de Austria*; dau. of Charles V. (b. 24 June 1535), 245 *n.*

....., ..., another, wife of Joaõ, prince of Brazil; dau. of Charles V. and Isabella of Portugal (d. 7 Sept. 1573), founds a convent of nuns at Madrid, 549; *v.* *Descalzas Reales.*

Judaism; report of a man having died at Valencia openly professing (June 1541), 241.

....., ..., enquiries to be made by the inquisitors of that city respecting, *ibid.*

Juliers, duchy of, 62.

....., du. de, *v.* *Mark*, and *La Mark.*

Juvenale (Latino), chamberlain of Paul III., on a mission to Francis, 114, 151, 154, 289.

....., ..., to Scotland with a cardinal's hat for the archbishop of St. Andrew, 99.

K

Karne (Dr.), *v.* *Carne.*

Katharine (Catalina), of Aragon; alluded, *v.* under *Catharine.*

....., q. of Portugal, wife of D. Joaõ III., 5.

Kaulek (Gerôme), "Correspondence politique de MM. de Castillon et de Marillac"; quoted, *Int.* iii *n.*, xix.

Kennebet, *v.* *Knyvet.*

Kiel, in Denmark, 61, 531.

Kildare, earl of, *v.* *Fitz Gerald.*

Kingston (Sir William), capt. of the K.'s bodyguard; gov. of the Tower, 540.

Kinloss, in Scotland, abbot of, *v.* *Reid* (Robert).

Kirkaldy of Grange, treasurer of Scotland, 335 *n.*

Knybet, Knyvet (Anthony), accused of having slapped the face of a gentleman within the precints of the Royal Palace (1542), 552.

....., ..., pardoned, *ibid.*

..... (Sir Henry), brother of the preceding, Eng. amb. to k. Francis in Dec. 1539, recalled, 464.

....., ..., ..., owing to certain haughty words uttered by him in Francis' presence, *ibid.*

....., ..., appointed to go to the Emp. (Jan. 1542), 464.

....., ..., his sec. arrives in London coming from France, *ibid.*

....., ..., to be replaced by the bp. of London (Boner) (Feb. 1542), 467.

....., ..., ..., Gardener's colleague in Flanders for some time, 492.

Kristiern II., the dethroned k. of Denmark and Sweden, *v.* *Christian.*

Kristierna of Denmark, dau. of the above, *v.* *Christina.*

L

La Baume (Pierre de), bp. of Geneva, designated for a Cardinal's hat (1539), 143, 169, 174, *Add.* and *Cor.* 534.

Labret, Labrit (Mme.), *v. Albret.*

La Cauchoire, the bridge of, near Ardres, *v. Cowbridge.*

La Cerda (D. Gaston de), son of D. Juan; III. du. de Medinaceli; his suit at Rome (1540), 244 *n.*, 266, 544.

..... (D. Juan), second du. de Medinaceli, 244 *n.*, 266, 544.

..... (D. Luis), 544.

La Forest (Jean de), knight of Malta, French amb. to Constantinople (1534–8), *Int.* xx.

....., son or nephew of, said to be cousin of amb. Marillac, 205; *v. Formes.*

La Guiche (Claude), bp. of Agde, 433 *n.*

....., on a mission of Francis to Portugal, 433.

La Marche (Mark, Marck), county of, in Westphalia, 62.

La Mark (Guillaume de), du. of Clèves and Juliers, *v.* under *Clèves* (Guillaume de).

Lambart (——), president in Savoy; his death recorded (bef. Sept. 1541), 524.

Lanchano (Lanciano ?), bp., death of, at Rome (Jun. 1539), 164.

Landaf, bp. of, *v. Holgate.*

Lando (Pietro), doge of Venice, elected (Feb. 1539), 131 *n.*

Landriano (Francesco), sent by the marq. del Vasto to Mr. Du Bellay, to explain the Fragoso and Rincon case (1541), 337, 355, 415–6.

Lan-en-Bresse; let. of k. Francis to Marillac, dated from, *180.*

Langeai, Langeais, sieur de, *v. Bellay.*

Langes (Mr. de), *v. Langeai.*

Languedoc, gov. of, 100.

Lannoy (Philippe de), prince of Sulmona; his law-suit with Ascanio Colonna, 139, 161, 193, 209.

Lanskennets, German, 415.

....., ..., the Emp. going to Italy with 7 or 8 thousands of them, 345.

La Roche, the Emp. at, on his way to Paris, 545.

..... (Mons. de), *v. Rochepot.*

Lascher (Geronimo), 119; *v. Lasco.*

Laschi, Lasco (Hieronimo, Geronimo), amb. of the k. of the Romans at Constantinople, 119, 359.

....., ..., of k. Francis to the Grand Turk, negociating on behalf of the way-wode of Transylvania at Constantinople (Feb. 1539), 119, 359.

Lasqui (Jerome), *v. Lasco.*

Lassigny (sieur de), equerry to k. Francis, amb. to Scotland in 1538; 25.

....., ..., returns therefrom in company with Mme. de Montreuil, 28; *v. Cenys* (?)

Lasso de Castilla, Austrian internuncio at Rome, 154.

....., instructions to, 526.

..... (D. Diego), amb. of the k. of the Romans (Ferdinand) to the Pope; instructions to, *262.*

Latimer, lord, *v. Neville.*

Latino (Miçer), Paul's Chamberlain and Nuncio in France (1539), *v. Juvenale (?).*

Lautrec (Mr. de), son of the Marshal; dangerously ill (Aug. 1540), 254.

Laval, *v. Lavaur.*

La Vaur, Lavaur, in Languedoc, bp. of, *v. Selve* (George de).

League, Italian, defensive, against Francis (1536); alluded, 280.

....., ..., no hope of its being renewed (Oct. 1540), *ibid.*

....., ..., ..., nor of the Pope contributing to its expenses, *ibid.*

....., against the Turk, 34, 57, 88, 90, 210, 403.

....., ..., Cromwell promising in Henry's name to help the (Oct. 1538), 52.

....., ..., estimated amount of the land forces of the, [80,000 infantry, and 5,000 cavalry], 53–4.

....., ..., naval, [200 galleys at least], 54.

....., ..., ..., artillery, *ibid.*

....., ..., the Venetians to have a colonel of their own, provided he be a German, 54.

....., ..., the Emp.'s final resolution on the affairs of the, 134.

....., ..., agreement made at Rome between the Imp. and Venetian ambs. (June 1539), 161.

....., ..., contribution to the, after the taking of Castilnovo, to be fixed, 162.

....., ..., ..., by the Pope (?). Aguilar thinks it will not answer, for in fixing the Venetian quota, Paul must needs fix his own, *ibid.*

....., ..., a new, against the Turk to be made in consequence of k. Francis showing symptoms of wishing to adhere to it, 187.

....., ..., ..., deliberations of the Emp.'s Privy Council concerning its expediency (Sept. 1539), *86.*

....., ..., k. Francis to be invited to join the, 187–90, 203.

....., ..., ..., accepted by him, provided the Pope fixes the terms and conditions thereof, 191.

....., ..., the Venetians to be also invited, notwithstanding their notorious relations with the Turk, *ibid.*

League, against the Turk—*cont.*
....., ..., the negociations for the, to be carried out in the name of the Emp., of k. Francis, of the Pope, and of any other power wishing to join it, 203–4.
....., ..., Venice (said the Pope to Aguilar) cannot do otherwise than join the new, after the bad result of their embassy to the Turk (Nov. 1539), 210.
....., ..., ..., and yet fears are entertained of their deserting it altogether, 203.
....., ..., Praët and St. Vincent, sent by the Emp. to forward the negociations for a new (Oct. 1539), 203–4.
....., ..., should the French amb. in Venice speak privately to the Doge, as he is said to have done in public, no doubt the Venetians will be induced to persevere in the, 206.
....., *Catholic*, in Germany. A new, to be made in Germany, 168.
....., ..., the Pope's resolution to deposit 50,000 crs. towards the, considered by the Emp. both wise and convenient (Sept. 1539), 186.
....., ..., the confirmation of, and the sum with which the Pope is to contribute settled (Oct. 1540), 280.
....., ..., the Pope said to be raising 2,000 infantry in aid of the (Sept. 1541), 363.
....., ..., the ratification of the, urgently demanded by the Imp. amb. at Rome, 389, 397, 399, 402–3.
....., ..., the principal object of the (said Granvelle to the Pope), being to uphold the authority of the Holy Apostolic See, 399, 402.
....., ..., ..., Paul ought to contribute towards the expenses of the, 402.
....., ..., ..., at least with one-fourth, the other three being supplied by the Emp., the k. of the Romans and the Venetians, unless k. Francis comes down with his share, *ibid.*
....., ..., Paul answering that he cannot: he is poor, his treasury is quite exhausted; has received great injury by his being set down at one-fourth of the total expenditure, 399.
....., ..., Pope Paul promising at last to contribute towards the expenses of the, with 5,000 infantry paid by him, 405.
....., ..., provided he is not called upon to pay his share of naval armaments, *ibid.*
....., ..., councillors of the (Dec. 1541), 416.
....., ..., ..., one of them, the du. of Bavaria, *ibid.*
....., ..., the k. of the Romans and other members of the, 4, 526.
Le Brun (Mme.), 41.
Legates, Papal. Two to be sent—one to the Emp., the other to k. Francis—to announce the prorogation of the General Council (April 1539), 143.
....., ..., Paul, changing his opinion, decides not to send the, *ibid.*
... ., at the Imp. court, *v. Farnese.*
....., ..., a let. of his read in Consistory, asking whether in case of the Emp. going to Italy he is to follow him thither or remain at the Diet, 222–3.
....., at the French court, in Nov. 1540, 210; *v. Pio da Carpi.*
....., in Germany (May 1541), *v. Morone* and *Rosario.*
....., vice, at Avignon, *v. Campeggio.*
Leghorn (Livorno), in Tuscany, the castle of, 1, 5.
....., the greater part of the Ital. infantry from Algiers landing at (Dec. 1541), 415.
L'Eleu, L'Esleu, *v. Orange.*
Lenoncourt (Philippe IV. de), bp. of Châlons (1535–43), card. (1538), 113.
Leon, in Spain, High Commander of, in the Order of Santiago, *v. Cobos.*
....., bpric. of, 210.
....., the cathedral church of, protesting against the Papal bull for the half-fruits of the Clergy in Spain, 228.
Leonard (le Sieur, Sir), *v. Grey.*
Leonor, *v. Eleanor.*
Lepanto, the Gulph of; Barbarossa proposes to sail for, 233.
L'Esleu d'Orange, Montmorency's sec., 151; *v.* under *Orange* and *Pellisier.*
Levant, 36, 101.
....., news from the, 173, 209, 293, 329, 416.
....., ..., sent by D. Diego de Mendoza (May 1541), 329, 338.
....., the Imp. fleet sailing for the, 87.
....., projected expedition to the, 100–2, 105.
....., French negociations in the, 11, 177.
Lewis, Louis, du. of Bavaria, 138.
....., in the Catholic League, 416.
Leyva (Antonio de), Span. general; alluded, 525.
Liège, 13, 334, 360.
....., the co-adjutorship of, given to George of Austria, 404, 435, 455, 523.
....., herald sent to the Municipal Corporation of, by Francis, 436.
....., ..., owing to a quarrel or complaint of a certain lady (?), *ibid.*
....., bps. of, *v. Berghen* and *Austria* (George de).
Likerke (Mons. de), *v. Hannaërt.*
Lincoln, archdeacon of, 307 *n.*; *v. Pate.*
....., let. of Marillac dated from, *179.*
Lincolnshire, 408.
....., k. Henry hunting in, 343.

Liorna, *v. Leghorn.*

Lisbon, in Portugal; row between French and Eng. sailors in the port of, 109.

....., inflamatory and heretical placards posted up in the streets of, 109–10.

....., let. dated from, *38.*

Lisle, L'Isle, viscount, *v. Plantagenet* (Arthur).

Livorno, *v. Leghorn.*

Llandaf, *v.* under *Landaf.*

Loaisa, Loaysa (Fr. Garcia), bp. of Osma (1524–32); of Siguença (1532–8); abp. of Seville (1538–46), 223 *n.*

....., in the Emp.'s Privy Council (1540), 122, 223 *n.*, 240, 246.

Loan, a forced, imposed by the Bashaws on the inhabitants of Constantinople (1541), 362.

....., ..., with very little success, since it had only produced 20,000 duc., *ibid.*

....., made by Venice at 13 per cent., 329.

....., obtained forcibly by Francis from the bankers of Lyons, 381.

Lobo (D. Francisco), Portuguese amb. to the Emp. (1539), 109.

Loches, in France, the Emp. arrives at (12 Dec. 1539), 212–8, 545.

Loigny, Luiny, town of France, 13; mistaken for Joigny, *q. v.*

Lombardy, 184, 216.

....., the title of k. of, to be given to Charles d'Orleans in the event of his being invested with Milan, 12.

....., frontiers of, menaced by the French (Dec. 1541), 415.

....., prior of, *v. Sforza* (Carlo).

Lombecq, visc., *v. Hannaërt.*

London, city of, 346, 352, 368, 444, 496.

....., general muster of the inhabitants of, capable of bearing arms to be made by the King's order (April 1539), 150, *Int.* xiv.

....., ..., not yet effected (4 May 1539), 150–1.

....., ..., separate ones to be made instead of one general, *ibid.*

....., Lord Mayor of (May 1539), *v. Holles.*

....., ..., memorial of certain Imp. subjects complaining of the (May 1539), 150.

....., ..., in 1541, made to attend the execution of the countess of Salisbury, 331; *v. Dormer* (Sir Michael).

....., Guilds of, the masters of the (Feb. 1540), in the procession to Westminster, *Int.* xii.

....., ..., in 1540, *v. Roche* (Sir William).

....., Tower (*la Grosse Tour*) of, 16, 31, 164, 308, 332, 352–3, 395, 537–8, 540, 542, *Int.* xvii.

....., bp. of, *v. Boner* (Edmund).

Long (Sir Richard), of Henry's Chamber, and Master of the King's buck-hounds; a personage of certain authority and experience in military affairs; sent to inspect the fortifications of Calais (Jan. 1541), *Int.* xvii.

Longuejoue (Mathieu de), bp. of Soissons (1534–57), to be sent by k. Francis to Germany to persuade the Separatists to return to the Roman Catholic Church (Jan. 1539), 102.

Longueville (François), du. de., *Add.* and *Cor.* 528.

Lopez de Haro (Alonso), genealogist. His "Nobiliario" (Madrid, 1622); quoted, 1 *n.*, 212 *n.*, 244 *n.*, 544.

..... de Mendoza (D. Iñigo I. de), co. del Real de Manzanares, marq. de Santillana, 1 *n.*

....., ... (D. Iñigo II.), first co. of Tendilla, son of the preceding, 43 *n.*

....., ..., ..., second co. of Tendilla and first marq. de Mondejar, *ibid.*

....., ..., ..., capt.-general of Granada, 220.

Lordres (Mr. de), of k. Francis' Chamber, sec.; sent to Portugal by q. Eleanor to promote the marriage of her dau., Maria, 12–3, 37, 45, 48, 79, 93, 177, 182.

Lorencino, *v. Medici* (Lorenzo).

Loreto, Our Lady of; Pope Paul about to visit (April 1539), 146, 184.

Lorraine, the duchy of, not under the sway of Francis, 29.

....., house of, 6, 12, 289.

....., ..., history of, quoted, 529.

....., ..., the Emp. can never expect any assistance from the, against France (said k. Henry to amb. Chapuys), 335.

....., ..., ..., and, therefore, acted unwisely in consenting to the marriage of one of its members [François, marq. de Pont-à-Mousson] to Christina of Denmark, *ibid.*

....., Francis' intrigues in, hardly worth mentioning (said Henry to Chapuys), (Dec. 1541), 437.

..... (Antoine *Le Bon*), du. of (1508–44), 114.

....., ..., Astenay taken by Francis from the (1541), 4, 436.

....., ..., his wife, the duchess (Renée de Bourbon), 114.

..... (Antoinette de), 529.

..... (Claude de), du. de Guise, 14, 28–9, 286, 288–9, 333, 412–3, 529.

....., ..., co. of Aumale, 254, 259, *Int.* viii.

..... (François), du. de Guise, son of Antoine, 288–9.

....., ..., son of the du. Antoine "le Bon," marq. de Pont-à-Mousson, 349, 352, 436.

....., ..., du. de Bar (?), 349, 436.

...., ..., ..., said to have been betrothed to Anne de Clèves, 332–3.

Lorraine (François)—*cont.*
....., ..., ..., marries Christina of Denmark, do. du. of Milan, 332–3, 349 *n.*, 436.
..... (card. Jean de, Monseigneur de), 77, 114, 355, 532.
....., ..., to go with his niece to Calais (Aug. 1538), 25.
....., ..., temporarily replacing Montmorency (Nov. 1539), 203.
....., ..., in the event of Paul's death likely to be elected Pope, 288.
..... (Marie de), dau. of Claude, du. de Guise, and widow of Louis II. of Orleans, du. of Longueville, married to James, k. of Scotland, *v. Guise* (Marie de).
..... (Renée de), third dau. of Claude, du. de Guise (1522–1601), nun at St. Pierre de Reims, *Add.* and *Cor.* 529.
Louis, dauphin of France, afterwards Louis VIII., *Cœur de Lion* (1223); alluded, 440.
..... XII., k. of France, 1498–514, 547.
Louvain, in Flanders, 274.
Lovayna, *v. Louvain.*
Low Countries (Netherlands, Pays d'en bas), &c., 33 *n.*, 43, 61, 83, 101, 126, 130, 279, 281, 296–7, 306–8, 346–8, 350–2, 390, 408, 410, 423, 437–9, 440–6, 438–9, 440, 481–2, 485–7, 492.
....., the inhabitants of the, complaining of the Navigation laws promulgated by Henry, 296–7.
....., ..., the skippers of the, much injured by them, 284.
....., the investiture of the, to be given to the du. of Orleans on his marriage with the Emp.'s dau., Maria, 239.
....., q. regent of the, for the Emp., *v. Mary of Hungary.*
Loys, *v. Luyz.*
Lubeck, deputies from, arrive in England to be present in Parliament, 151, 436.
....., a capt. (Marcus Meyer?) from, storms a castle on the frontier of Norway, *v. Warberg.*
Lucca, Signory or Republic of, 388–90, 525.
....., city, the inhabitants of; Charles' interview with Paul at (Sept. 1541), 376, 388, 397–8, 422, 425, 527 *n.*
....., overtures made by the French amb. at, in the Pope's presence, 386.
....., the people of, to harbor and support, together with the Florentine, 2,000 Germans returning from Algiers, 415.
....., deputies from Siena call on the Emp. at Lucca, 418.
Luceria, abbey of, 99.
Luis, Luys, the Infante Dom, 294; *v. Portugal.*
Luna (D. Alvaro de), co. de Santisteban; du. of Trujillo, High Constable of Castille, and favorite of Juan II. (d. 1453), 211 *n.*, 426.
Luna (D. Alvaro de)—*cont.*
....., ... (another, the II.), capt. of the body-guard of Ferdinand, the Catholic, second son of Pedro, 211 *n.*
....., ... (another, the III.), son of the preceding; gov. of the castle of Milan, writes the chronicle of his great grandfather (Milan, 1546), *ibid.*
..... (D. Antonio de), third son of Pedro, *ibid.*
..... (D. Carlos de), 426.
....., ..., son of the preceding, prisoner at Avignon, *ibid.*
..... (D. Juan de), warder of the castle of Milan, 210, 217, 416, 418, 423, 427.
..... (Da. Maria), wife of D. Pedro de Luna y Mendoza, 211 *n.*
..... (D. Pedro), son of Alvaro, the High Constable of Castille, *ibid.*
....., co. de, *v. Fernandez de Quiñones* (D. Francisco).
... . y Mendoza (D. Juan de), 211 *n.*
Lund, Lunden, town of Sweden, abp. of, *v. Tornberg-Bilde.*
Lunel, town of France (dep. Herault), 254.
..... (Antonio de), brother of Fr. Vincencio, the general of the Franciscans, 543.
....., ..., presented for the archbishopric of Gaeta, 244, *Add.* and *Cor.* 543.
..... (Fr. Vincencio), general of the Franciscans at Rome, 244, *Add.* and *Cor.* 543, *Int.* xxiii.
Lunelli (?), *v. Lunel.*
Luther (Martin), 113.
....., his doctrines predominating in Germany, 174.
Lutherans, 57, 62, 113, 387, 422, 449, 496, *Int.* xii.
....., the German, send an embassy to England and preach in the churches of London, 13.
....., k. Henry, as reported, intending to help the (Jan. 1539), 106, 113.
....., ..., making levies of men, 107.
....., not to be over-irritated (said Aguilar to the Pope) until the expedition to Algiers has been carried out (July 1539), 174, 305.
....., ..., for fear of their preventing the enterprize against the Infidel, 305.
....., ..., the Emp. being inclined to grant them a truce on the same terms as those stipulated in the Francfort Diet, *ibid.*
....., afraid of a peace being made between the Emp. and k. Francis (Feb. 1539), 112.
....., represented as ready to make overtures at Rome through the marq. of Brandenburg, 12–3.
..... in the dungeons of the Span. Inquisition, 382.
....., k. Francis trying to secure the friendship of the, against the Emp, 422.

Lutherans—*cont.*
....., ..., and likewise that of the Turks, *ibid.*
Luys, Luyz (Dom), Infante of Portugal, son of k. Dom Manuel, *v. Portugal.*
Lyons, Francis' court at, 228, 368, 370, 421, 426.
....., the Avignon prisoners said to have been taken to, or Marseilles, 426; *v. Avignon.*
....., lets. dated from, *196–7.*
....., forced loan imposed by Francis upon bankers of, in order to recruit men in Germany, 381.
Lyt, Lyte, *v. Lisle* and *Plantagenet.*

M

Macon, in Burgundy, bp. of, *v. Hémard Denonville.*
Madeira island, 294.
Madeleine de France, dau. of k. Francis, *v. Magdalen.*
Madrid, present capital of Spain, 170, 409, 462 *n.*, 537.
....., treaty of (152), alluded, 239.
....., the Emp.'s court at (Oct. 1538), 49.
....., ..., his departure from (27 Jan. 1539), 174.
....., lets. from, *73, 110–12, 115, 202.*
....., in France. Palace so-called in the Bois de Boulogne, near Paris, 545.
...., ..., the Emp. received by k. Francis at, *ibid.*
Magdalen of France, dau. of k. Francis (b. 10 Aug. 1520), her hand offered to k. Henry (?), 457.
....., married to James V. of Scotland (1536), 14.
....., ladies of her suite returning to France after her death (Sept. 1538), 41.
Maggio (Vincentio), an Italian; French agent in Constantinople (1541); on a mission of k. Francis to the Grand Turk, 539.
....., ..., conjointly with Paulin (?), 464.
Magra (?) (Antonia), maid of honor to the du. Margaret, natural dau. of Charles, 219.
Mahometana (La Mahometa), on the coast of East Africa; viceroy Gonzaga at (1540), 291.
....., the k. of Tunis conveyed by Gonzaga, the viceroy of Sicily, from, to Monastir, *v.* also *Monasterio* and *Hassán.*
Mahon, capital of Menorca, 372.
Mahona, a large oared-barge, 230 *n.*
Mai (Miçer, Miguel), Imp. amb. at Rome, alluded, *Int.* xxx–ii, 543.
Maioris, Majoris (Philippe), dean of Cambray, Imp. amb. in England, 126, 129, 134, 137, 149–51, 537, *Int.*
Maioris, Majoris (Philippe)—*cont.*
....., lets. to the q. of Hungary, *48–9, 51, 60–1.*
Malaga, port of S. Spain, 243, 276.
...., bp. of, *v. Manrique.*
....., "corregidor" of, 220.
Malagueta, the coast of, in the gulf of Guinea; Portuguese possessions on the, 292–3.
Maldonado (capt. Rodrigo), sent to Florence on a message to the do. du. Margaret, 49–50.
....., in Rome (June 1540), 243.
Malespina, co.; Spanish and German infantry to be quartered on the estate of (Dec. 1541), 415–6.
Malfi, du. of, *v. Amalfi* and *Melphi.*
....., prince of, *v. Doria.*
Mallorca (Majorca), one of the Balearic islands, 243, 276, 372, 377, 407 *n.*
....., Palma de, the Emp. landing at (9 Oct. 1541), 372, 392, 425.
....., let. dated from, *198.*
Malta, Order of, 309.
....., ..., Grand Master of the, *v. Omedes.*
Mancebia, a brothel or house of prostitution in Spain, 10 *n.*
....., Padre de, the keeper of such a house, *ibid.*
Manners (Thomas), lord Ross, (1513–23), earl of Rutland (1525), d. Sept. 1543; his dau. married to Sir Thomas Whyatt, *Int.* xvi.
Manoel, Manuel (Dom), k. of Portugal, *v. Portugal.*
Manrichus (Joannes), latinized name of the Imp. amb. at Rome, *Manrique* (Juan Fernandez), *q. v.*
Manrique (D. Bernardo), bp. of Malaga (1540–64), 453.
..... (D. Francisco), Imp. amb. extraordinary to France (1541), 369, 376–7, 387–8.
....., ..., reaches Lyons (Sept. 1541), 368.
....., ..., has audience from k. Francis, 369–71.
....., ..., ..., proposes to him five articles in the Emp.'s name, 387.
...., ..., lets. to the Emp., *197, 202.*
....., ..., reports on his negociations (Nov. 1541), 376.
..... (D. Juan Fernandez), co. of Castañeda; marq. de Aguilar; Imp. amb. at Rome (15), 1, 45–6, 48–51, 55–9, 105, 140–6, 147, 151–64, 167–70, 172–5, 183–5, 185–7, 191, 193, 197–200, 204–10, 224, 227–8, 243–4, 250, 262–6, 268, 288, 355, 386–93, 396–403, 519, 534–5, 537.
....., ..., negociating the League against the Turk (March 1539), 90–1, 131, 134, 205.
... ., concerning the duchy of Camarino (April), 138, 146.

Manrique (D. Juan Fernandez)—*cont.*
...., instructed to do all he can for the speedy termination of the affair on favorable conditions for the du. of Urbino, 138–9.
....., ..., has audience from Paul (April 1539), 140–4.
...., discusses the action against England, 141–3.
...., interrogated whether the Emp. will lend his aid for the execution of the monitory letters to Henry, and take up arms, 142.
....., ..., ..., answers vaguely that his master's zeal for religion, and for the honor of the Apostolic See, are such that he will never be found in fault, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., as he (the Emp.) is animated with the same sentiments as the Pope respecting the remedy needed for English affairs, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., yet nothing can be done in the matter without Francis' co-operation, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., unless the Most Christian sends his own opinion in writing, the Emp. will not take any engagement in the matter, *ibid.*
....., ..., his relations with the French amb., Mr. de Grignan, 160.
....., ..., his conference with the Pope and the Venetian amb. concerning Castilnovo (June 1539), 161–3.
....., ..., leaves for Civittà Vecchia, where Pope Paul is (Nov. 1539), 204.
....., ..., ..., negociates with him on general affairs, and particularly the Eng. one, 205–10.
....., ..., reports on the mission of D. Luis de Zuñiga, 204–6.
....., ..., at Rome with a fit of the gout, whilst the Pope was at Viterbo (Aug.–Sept. 1540), 262.
....., ..., Granvelle joining him on a mission from the Emp. to Paul (Oct. 1540), 280.
....., ..., his brother, the Cardinal, dies (Oct. 1540), 280, 286, 288, 290.
....., ..., resigns (Nov. 1540), 286.
....., ..., his resignation accepted, but ordered to remain at his post until the Emp.'s return from his expedition to Algiers (Sept. 1541), 364.
....., ..., helping Granvelle in his mission to Paul (Nov. 1541), 386.
....., ..., ..., report of the conferences they both had with him, 387–93.
....., ..., lets. to the Emp. (1538) *23, 34,* (1539) *37, 39, 54, 55, 57, 62–4, 66–8, 70, 74, 76, 80, 90, 93, 106, 124–5, 132–3, 139, 160, 206, 208, 217–8, 219.*
....., ..., ..., to High Commander Cobos (1538) *42, 65, 75,* (1540) *124–5.*
Manrique (D. Juan Fernandez)—*cont.*
....., ..., ..., to the do. du. of Florence, Margaret of Austria (Sept 1538), *18.*
....., ..., to sec. Vazquez de Molina, *115.*
....., ..., the Emp.'s lets. to (1532), *10, 45–6, 73, 76, 80, 82–3, 87, 137.*
....., ..., Cobos' to (1540), *114.*
....., ..., Esquire D'Andalot's to, *129.*
....., ..., notice of, *Int.* xxiii–viii.
....., ..., his christian name *Juan* not *Luis,* xxiii *n.*
..... (Pedro Fernandez), bp. of Cordoba (1540); card. of St. John and St. Paul (March 1538); protector for Germany (Dec. 1538); brother of the Imp. amb. in Rome, 223 *n.*, 280.
....., ..., death of (Oct. 7, 1540), 280, 286, 288, 289 *n.*, *Int.* xxvi.
Manriquez, *contador* (accountant), 244.
Manoel (Dom), k. of Portugal, *v.* under *Portugal.*
Mantua, city, 12.
....., countess residing at, 160.
....., ..., L'Esleu d'Orange waiting for her confinement in order to represent k. Francis as sponsor of the child (June 1539), 160.
....., the General Council of the Church to meet at, 397–8, 401.
....., dus. of, *v. Gonzaga* (Frederico) and *Monferrato* (Isabella di).
....., abp. of, *v. Gonzaga* (Ercole).
Manuel (D. Juan), el Infante; grandson of k. Ferdinand III. of Castille, 489 *n.*
....., ..., another, lord of Belmonte (d. 1546), 383 *n.*
..... (D. Lorenzo), of the Emp.'s Chamber, 489.
Manzanares, Real de, co. del, *v. Lopez de Mendoza* (Iñigo I.).
Maran, Marano, in the Frioul, taking of, 460.
Marcello (Antonio), auditor at Rome; bp. of Nicastro; sec. to card. Farnese, 169–70, 184, 218, 406, *Add.* and *Cor.* 519.
....., recommended for a cardinal's hat, 207.
....., appointed card. Santa Croce, 396.
....., elected Pope (1555), 550.
....., *v. Cervini.*
Marchenilla, the fortress of, in Andaluçia; residence of Da. Juana de Guzman, 271.
Margaret of Austria, daughter of Emp. Maximilian I.; gov. of Flanders and the Low Countries (d. Dec. 1530); alluded, 348 *n.*
..... (Margarita) of Austria; do. du. of Florence, subsequently of Parma; the Emp.'s natural dau. (b. 1522, d. 1586), 1, 2, 55, 57, 138, 144, 158, 204, 209, 215–6, 242–3, 257, 287, 355, 385, 406.
...., ..., revokes the powers given to the Imp. amb. at Rome for her marriage by proxy to Ottavio (10 Oct.), 49 *n.*, 51, *Int.* xxvi.

Margaret (Margarita), of Austria—*cont.*
....., ..., intemperate and disrespectful let. of the marq. de Aguilar to, on the occasion (7 Oct.), 49.
....., ..., her dower discussed and finally settled, 36, 153–4, 165, 224, 406.
....., ..., arrives at Rome and writes a let. to the Emp. complaining of his amb. (Nov. 1538), 55–6.
....., ..., ..., makes her public entrance there, 55–6, 91.
....., ..., married to Ottavio Farnese (4 Nov.), 56, 99.
....., ..., her dowry deposited in Ansaldo's bank, 144.
....., ..., slightly indisposed and with fainting fits (April 1539), 146.
... ., ..., in better health and spirits since she is residing by herself in the Palace of the Medici (May 1539), 156
....., ..., which is repaired at her own expense, 226.
....., ..., her law-suit at Florence respecting the property of the late du. Alessandro referred to the Emp., 155.
....., ..., ..., who has it suspended, and ultimately decides against her, and in favor of du. Cosmo, *ibid.*
....., ..., childish quarrels with her husband, a mere boy 14 years old, 164–6, 217–20, *Int.* xxv.
....., ..., asks for a separation, and to be allowed to go to her own estates in Naples, 164, 219.
....., ..., ..., or to retire to a monastery, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., which her father will never allow, *ibid.*
....., ..., a reconciliation with her husband attempted in vain, 217.
....., ..., writes to the Emp., her father, in despair (Jan. 1540), *ibid.*
....., ..., should Ottavio quit Rome, as proposed, much progress would be made towards family peace, 224.
....., ..., ..., but unluckily the Emp.'s ministers in Rome are doing all they can to retain him at Rome (writes Hurtado, Jan. 1540), *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., passion and strife having since risen so high between the parties that her soul and body are in danger, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., the Pope only looking to the succession of his own family, and his son's estates going to a male, *ibid.*
....., ..., invited to a bull-fight and comedy at Rome by the du. of Castro (Feb. 1540), 225.
....., ..., in debt and borrowing money upon a jewel of hers (Feb. 1540), 226.
....., ..., ..., though the Pope pays regularly every year into the hands of her treasurer the 6,000 ducats of her dowry, *ibid.*

Margaret (Margarita), of Austria—*cont.*
....., ..., some of the French cardinals asserting that she will never live with Ottavio, 218.
....., ..., has many reasons to complain of the Imp. ministers in Rome, 224.
....., ..., said to be in danger of life (Jan. 1540), *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., and that a philter is to be administered to her, 225.
....., ..., staying at Tiboli (Sept. 1540), 263.
....., ..., discontented and on bad terms with her husband's family, 287.
....., ..., ..., a separation becoming necessary, *ibid.*
....., ..., to go to her own estates in Naples, 209, 219.
....., ..., ..., whilst Ottavio goes to the Emp.'s Court, 209.
.. .., ..., her chamberlains and other officers of her ducal household, *v. Hurtado* (Lope), *Gilberte, Valençuela.*
....., ..., report of k. Henry having applied for her hand in 1537, soon after the death of Jane Seymour, *Int.* xxiv.
..... (Marguerite) of France, dau. of k. Francis (b. 5 June 1523), 240 *n.*
....., ..., her hand offered to Charles V., 167, 184.
....., ..., ..., to Prince Philip, the Emp.'s son (Sept. 1538), 45, 240.
... ., ..., ..., to k. Henry, 457.
..... of Navarre, sister of Francis, and wife of Henri II. d'Albret, titular k. of Navarre (b. 1492, d. Dec. 1549), 9, 12, 413 *n.*, 529.
....., ..., discontented, 94.
....., ..., advised by the Imp. amb. not to dispose of the hand of her dau., Jeanne, without letting him know first, 277.
....., ..., her agent, *v. Ascurren* or *Ezcurren.*
....., ..., in correspondence with the du. of Saxony (Dec. 1541), 413.
....., ..., ..., who sends her the portrait of his wife and of the rest of his family, *ibid.*
....., ..., the du. of Norfolk offering his services to (1542).
....., Tudor q. of Scotland, death of (1541), recorded, 413.
..... (Marguerite) de Valois, *v. Margaret of Navarre.*
....., do. du. of Salisbury, the last of the Plantagenets, *v.* under *Salisbury.*
Maria, Infanta of Spain, eldest dau. of Charles V. (b. 21 Jun. 1528), 43, 245 *n.*, 549.
....., ..., her hand said to have been offered to the du. of Orleans, 391, 422, 514.

Maria, Infanta of Spain—*cont.*
....., ..., ..., with the sovereignty of Flanders as a dower, 391.
....., ..., ..., ..., and refused by Francis I., 392.
....., ..., a most desirable marriage, said Paul to Granvelle (Nov. 1541), 390.
....., ..., ..., as by its means the Milan question might immediately be settled, and peace between the Emp. and k. Francis secured, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., Pope Paul telling Granvelle that he wonders why so advantageous an offer has not been accepted, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., Granvelle's answer, 390–1.
....., ..., ultimately married to Maximilian II. in 1548, 549.
..... of Portugal, dau. of k. Dom Joaõ III. and Catharina, the sister of Charles (b. 1527), 112.
....., ..., betrothed to Charles de Valois, du. of Orleans, 550.
....., ..., dies single in 1577, *ibid.*
....., ..., another; daughter of k. Dom Manoel and q. Eleanor, the Emp.'s sister, 12, 147–8.
....., ..., her hand offered to the eldest son of the k. of the Romans, 45, 110–1, 239.
....., ..., ..., asked by k. Francis for the Dauphin, his son, 147.
....., ..., ..., ..., and after the death of the latter (1536), for the du. of Orleans (Charles), 111, 280, 433.
....., ..., ultimately married to Philip, son of Charles V., in Nov. 1543, 550.
..... (Marie), co. of Flanders; dau. of Charles " le Temeraire," co. of Flanders, and wife of Maximilian I., Emp. of Germany; alluded, 516.
....., ..., grants privileges to the people of Ghent (1476), *ibid.*
....., dau. of Ferdinand the Catholic and Isabella of Castille (b. 1498); wife of Dom Manoel; q. of Portugal (d. 1517). When the brief dispensing for her marriage to her cousin the K. was applied for at Rome it could not be found, 148.
..... (Dcña), wife of Cobos, 262.
Marillac, Marillach (Charles de), groom of Francis' Chamber; French agent in Turkey (1537–8), *Int.* xx.
....., returns from his mission to Barbarossa (1538), 8, 9, 11.
....., French amb. in England (1538–43), 283, 305, 320, 341–2, 360, 407–8, 420–1, 433, 444, 447–8, 537, 549.
....., arrives in London (Aug. ? 1538), *Int.* xxi.
....., has orders from k. Francis to communicate with the Imp. amb. in England on all matters of importance (May 1539), 151.
Marillac, Marillach (Charles de)—*cont.*
....., his relations with Philip Maioris, *Int.* vi *n.*
....., ..., with Eustace Chapuys, *Int.* vi–viii.
....., ..., joins the latter in a protest against the measures adopted in England in matters of foreign trade (Oct. 1540), 283.
....., ..., ..., which contravene (as he pretends) the commercial treaties between England and France, *ibid.*
....., in frequent communication, and apparently on good terms, with the Imp. amb., [Chapuys], 295.
....., ..., sends him the sad news received from France of Ferdinand's defeat at Buda, and the progress of the Turkish arms (Dec. 1540), *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., and tells him that Solyman, thus disengaged, will shortly invade Hungary and help the son of k. John, *ibid.*
....., goes to Court and presents to k. Henry three venison pies (Jan. 1541), 307.
....., his official correspondence with k. Francis and his ministers betrayed by his own sec., and put into the hands of the Imp. amb. in England, 311, 335, 341–2, 344–5, 354, 419–20.
....., ..., a copy of the cipher he himself uses for his despatches obtained in the same manner, 332.
....., has orders from France to inquire into the reason of Henry's armaments at Dover, and of Eng. troops being sent to Calais (April 1541), 316.
....., ..., Henry's answer when interrogated on the subject, *ibid.*
....., frequently sending his own cousin to France with despatches, 320, 474, 509; *v.* under *Formes.*
....., falls from his horse (July 1541), 342.
....., visits lord Audeley on some mysterious business, which Chapuys cannot at first unravel, *ibid.*
....., ..., but which the Imp. amb. is afterwards able to discover through the intercepted correspondence of, *ibid.*
....., ..., so as to secretly inform the Emp. and the q. of Hungary in Flanders (Oct. 1541), 364–5.
....., his negociations with the du. of Norfolk, 354, 356–7, 364.
....., ..., chiefly about Mary's marriage with the du. of Orleans, 354, 356–7.
....., gives his opinion about certain difficulties in the proposed marriage and the manner of surmounting them, 356–7.
....., the negociations not to fall into any other hands than those of the du. of Norfolk, writes k. Francis to (7 Sept. 1541), 360.

Marillac, Marillach (Charles de)—*cont.*

....., his secret and mysterious negociations in England said to be merely for the purpose of preventing the reported alliance of k. Henry and the Emp. (Chapuys writes), 364.

....., ..., detected by Chapuys, by means of the French sec. [Jean de Honz], 365.

....., ..., who procures him not only the amb.'s original ciphered despatches, but likewise an alphabet to decipher them, *ibid.*

....., said to have bribed people to go to k. Henry and tell him that the Emp. is urging the Pope to convoke the General Council, 378.

....., ..., and that Granvelle remained at Rome for no other purpose (Nov. 1541), *ibid.*

....., goes to York (Oct.–Nov. 1541), 374.

....., calls on Chapuys (Oct. 1541) on his return, and dines with him, 375.

....., ..., tries in vain to sound him, *ibid.*

....., writes home, announcing Anne of Clèves' repudiation by k. Henry, *Int.* xiv–xvi.

....., ..., but believes in her speedy reconciliation with k. Henry, 385.

....., again treating of the marriage between the du. of Orleans and princess Mary (Oct. 1541), 374.

....., Fitz William assuring Chapuys that whatever, may say to the contrary, there has been no proposal nor acceptance on the part of k. Henry of the marriage in question, nor a desire to entertain it (19 Nov. 1541), 393.

....., said to have received fresh powers and instructions from home to treat of the marriage (Dec. 1541), 409.

....., ..., which (he says) he has the means of promoting effectually, *ibid.*

....., ..., ..., as well as of preventing it altogether, *ibid.*

....., ..., Chapuys ordered by the Emp. to ascertain what those means are (Jan. 1542), 462.

....., goes to Court, and has a cold reception (27–8 Dec. 1541), 448.

....., in the Council room, sad and dejected, 448.

....., ..., in consequence of the bad turn his master's affairs are taking (Dec. 1541), *ibid.*

....., notwithstanding the information of his secretary, Chapuys cannot believe that he really has powers from his master to treat of the marriage, 448, 481.

....., ordered by k. Francis to propose formally the marriage of the du. of Orleans (Charles de Valois) with princess Mary, 454.

Marillac, Marillach (Charles de)—*cont.*

....., ..., suggests it in his own name (Dec. 1541), *ibid.*

....., ..., negociates with the du. of Norfolk, 454–6.

....., ..., k. Henry taking the offer into consideration, as by that means he may perhaps get part of the money owed to him by France, 458.

....., ..., ..., whereas (observes Chapuys) the French imagine that through the Princess' dower they can diminish their own debt to England, *ibid.*

....., in making such an offer through, k. Francis' idea is only to deceive Henry, *ibid.*

....., half in despair about the ill-success of the negociation and preparing to leave England (Jan. 1541), *ibid.*

....., complains bitterly of his last reception at Court, and asks for his recall (Jan. 1541), 458.

....., making again most brilliant offers (Feb. 1542), 471.

....., about to start for France to report verbally on the progress of the negociations (Feb. 1542), 474.

....., receives two different sets of powers to treat with Henry's ministers, 475, 481, 503.

....., ..., to be used discretionally. Should he be pressed to exhibit them in the Privy Council, he is only to give up the copy, not the original, 475.

....., applies home for further instructions, 477.

....., ..., as well as for a copy of the treaty of 1527 between England and France, 478.

....., has frequent conferences with the privy councillors (Feb. 1542), *ibid.*

....., more work has been done in the last forty-eight hours (March 5, 1542) than in four months before, 478.

....., ..., and yet (says Chapuys), nothing will come out of it; the du. of Orleans will not marry the Princess, *ibid.*

....., ..., all k. Henry wants is to render the Emp. jealous, *ibid.*

....., his discontent with Henry's ministers reported by Chapuys to the Emp., 483.

....., the Emp. and q. Mary of Hungary almost daily apprized by Chapuys of, negociations with k. Henry and his privy councillors, 4, 84.

....., asks for instructions respecting k. Henry's projected journey to Dover and Calais to inspect the fortifications of those places (April 1542), 508.

....., ..., is he to go to Dover or remain in London? *ibid.*

....., ..., he is to go thither with the king or remain behind, as he pleases, *ibid.*

Marillac, Marillach (Charles de)—*cont.*
....., ..., ..., but should k. Henry cross over to Calais, he is to accompany him thither and report, *ibid.*
....., sends his cousin to France (1542), 509.
....., ..., for certain papers and documents which, he says, are wanted to prosecute the negociation about the marriage, 509.
....., his account of Cromwell's fall and execution (June–July 1540), 537–43.
....., notice of, *Int.* ii, iii, v, x.
....., abstracts from his printed despatches, 537–43, *Int.* vi–viii, x–xix.
....., his relations with the Imp. amb. (Eustace Chapuys), *Int.* xxi.
....., sets spies upon Chapuys, 595.
....., appointed bp. of Vannes (1550), *Int.* xxi.
....., ..., of Vienne, in France (1557), *ibid.*
....., Selve's colleague in the embassy at Rome (1556), *ibid.*
....., his cousin, *v. Formes.*
....., his sec., *v. Honz.*
....., lets. to k. Francis (1541), *179*, *185*, and pp. 537–9, 540–2, *Int.* vi, x, xi, xii–iii, xiv–xv, xvi–vii, xix–xx.
....., ..., to the High Constable of France, Montmorency (1542–3), pp. 539, 542, *Int.* vi–x, x–xi, xi–ii, xv–vi.
....., ..., to sec. Bayard (1542), *249*.
....., lets. from k. Francis to, (1540–2), *165*, *176*, *180*, *183*, *189*, *192*, *212*, *248*, and p. 539.
....., ..., from the Admiral of France (Brion-Chabot) to (1541), *184*.
....., abstract of his published correspondence with k. Francis and his ministers (1540–2), *Add.* and *Cor.* 537–43, *Int.* vi–ix, x–xix.
..... (Guillaume de), sieur de St. Genest, La Motte-Hermant and Bricon; comptroller to the du. of Bourbon; father of Charles the amb., *Int.* xx.
..... (Marie), married to Bochetel, one of k. Francis' secretaries (1537), *ibid.*
Mark (Guillaume de la), du. of Clèves and Juliers, 385.
....., ..., claims Gheldres as his inheritance, 18, 35, 62, 103.
..... (Meyer?), capt. of Lubeck, takes the castle of Warberg by storm (1537), 436.
Marradas, Knight Commander, Imp. agent in Rome, 124.
....., leaves for Spain, 164–5.
....., ..., taken prisoner at Avignon, 426.
Marriage alliances, royal, spoken of or effected:
....., of the do. du. of Milan (*Christina of Denmark*) to k. Henry VIII., 66.
Marriage alliances, royal—*cont.*
....., ..., negociations carried on at Brussels for the (1538–9), 31–3, 52, 63–9.
....., ..., memorandum respecting the proposed, *25*.
....., ..., Papal dispensation is required, without which the Emp. cannot possibly consent to the, 96.
....., ..., will k. Henry condescend to apply for it? asks the q. of Hungary, *ibid.*
....., of the *same* with the prince of Orange said to have been contracted at Breda, 40.
....., ..., amb. Mendoza interrogated by Cromwell about it (Sept. 1538), *ibid.*
....., one between the *same* and the young du. of Clèves said to be in contemplation (Nov. 1538), 69.
....., ..., a most disreputable transaction (said Cromwell to Chapuys) for the k. of England to be refused for a du., or accepted after him, *ibid.*
....., between the *same* and the marq. de Pont-à-Mousson (François de Lorraine), effected, 382.
....., k. Henry about to contract a, with Anne de *Clèves* (1539), 210.
....., ..., effected (Jan. 1540), *Int.* xii.
....., ..., dissolved (July 1540), *Int.* xiv.
....., one of *Elizabeth*, the dau. of Henry and Anne Boleyn, with the son of the du. of Savoy, proposed by Cromwell, 65–6.
....., ..., or with [Maximilian] the son of Ferdinand, k. of the Romans, *ibid.*
....., of the Pope's granddau., Vittoria *Farnese*, with the son of Ascanio Colonna, 59, 139, 156.
....., ..., with Cosmo de' Medici, du. of Florence, *ibid.*
....., ..., with the prince of Orange, 175.
....., ..., with co. de Benavente (D. Juan Alonso Pimentel), 288.
....., ..., with Mr. d'Angoulême (Charles de Valois), du. d'Orleans; solicited by the Pope, 298.
....., ..., ..., though he would much prefer that of the du. of Savoy's son (Emmanuele Philiberto), 169.
....., ..., the Emp.'s wish consulted about it, *ibid.*
....., of the *same* with the son of Mr. de Guise [co. of Aumale], 286–7.
....., ..., Latino Juvenale sent to France to promote it (Nov. 1540), 289.
....., ..., not effected owing to the du. of Lorraine not finding the lady's dower large enough, *ibid.*
....., of the *same* with the du. of Urbino, Guidobaldo della Rovere; effected (1548), 131, 169, 533.

Marriage alliances, royal—*cont.*

....., that of *Isabella*, dau. of the K. of the Romans [Ferdinand], with the du. of Orleans; proposed by Charles to Francis (Sept. 1538), 45.

....., ..., as a final settlement of the Milan question, *ibid.*

....., of *Isabella of Poland* to John the waywod of Transylvania; effected, 118, 515.

....., that of *Jeanne d'Albret* and Guillaume du. of Clèves talked of (Aug. 1538), 10.

....., ..., will not take place (said Montmorency to the Imp. amb. in France), as the K. is unwilling to help the du. in an affair of that sort, *ibid.*

....., ..., the Imp. amb. in France writing home about it, 247.

....., ..., secretly effected notwithstanding the High Constable's asseverations (July–Aug. 1540), 345, 544, 548.

....., ..., k. Henry sending an amb. to authorize it, 257.

....., ..., subsequently annulled by the Pope, 544, 548.

....., of the *same* with one of the sons of Ferdinand, k. of the Romans; proposed (Aug. 1538), 12, 239, 257.

....., ..., or with Philip, prince of Spain, 13, 241, 276.

....., ..., ultimately married to Antoine de Bourbon, du. of Vendôme, 345, 529.

....., of *Magdalen of France*, eldest dau. of Francis, to k. James V. of Scotland (d. July 1537), 10.

....., report of one being negociated between *Margaret of Austria*, the Emp's natural dau., and Pope Paul's grandson (Ottavio Farnese), 2.

....., ..., accomplished (19 Jan. 1539), 36, 56, 99.

....., ..., Henry said to have also applied for her hand, *Int.* xxiv.

....., ..., ..., according to Chapuys and Mendoza, on the authority of Cromwell (9 Feb. 1538), *Int.* xxiv.

....., one between *Margaret*, dau. of k. Francis, and prince Philip of Spain; proposed by q. Eleanor of France (Sept. 1538), 12, 45.

....., ..., declined by the Emp. on the ground of his son, Philip, being too young to marry, 45.

....., that of the *same* with the eldest son of the k. of the Romans, 110.

....., ..., the Imp. ambs. in France to insist upon it (May 1540), 238–9.

....., between the *same* and the Emp. proposed by the Pope, 159, 167, 184.

....., ..., as the means of settling the Milan question, 159.

....., ..., her hand said to have also been offered by the French amb. to k. Henry (?), 457.

Marriage alliances, royal—*cont.*

....., ..., ..., who answers that he must have his pensions paid first, *ibid.*

....., ..., again proposed to the Emp. for his son, Philip, as the means of securing peace between him and Francis, 240.

...., ..., the Spanish Council of State reporting against it (June 1540), 240–1.

....., ..., no good whatever can come out of such a, neither to the Emp. personally nor to Christendom, *ibid.*

....., ..., Francis' dau. being of an age little suited for the prince, *ibid.*

....., ..., the K., her father, having evidently proposed it in order to prevent the latter from marrying elsewhere, *ibid.*

....., that of *Maria*, the Infanta of Portugal, dau. of k. Dom Manoel, with the Dauphin (François de Valois) proposed, 148.

....., of the *same* with the du. of Orleans (Charles de Valois, Sept. 1538), 45, 93, 111–2.

....., ..., rejected altogether by the Emp., owing to her having been promised to Maximilian, 45, 110–2, 182, 238–9.

....., ..., k. Joaõ III. of Portugal not inclined to favor it, 182.

....., ..., ..., as he would much prefer to have his own dau. [Maria] married to prince Maximilian, *ibid.*

....., ..., ..., and is besides unwilling to disburse the Princess' dower, 211–2.

....., ..., ultimately married (Nov. 1543) to prince Philip, son of Charles, 241 *n.*

....., of *Maria*, Infanta of Spain, dau. of the Emp. and Isabella, with prince Edward, proposed by Cromwell, 65.

....., of the *same* with the du. of Orleans, proposed by q. Eleanor, 101.

....., ..., recommended by the Pope, 390.

....., ..., accepted by the Emp. on certain conditions, *ibid.*

...., ..., a most desirable one, said he to Granvelle, 390.

....., ..., does not take place, Maria being ultimately married to her cousin, Maximilian II., 549.

..... of, *Mary of England* and the Infante of Portugal, Dom Luis, 19–23, 63–70, 79, 95.

....., ..., negociations for the, commencing in 1538; continued in Brussels, 31–3, 45–72.

....., ..., to be effected conjointly with k. Henry's to the do. du. of Milan, 67.

....., ..., Memorandum of conditions to be stipulated, *62.*

....., rumour of one between the *same* and her cousin, the Emp. (Nov. 1440), 282, *Int.* xviii–xix.

Marriage alliances, royal—*cont.*

....., ..., if achieved (said the privy councillors to Chapuys), it would be a great source of displeasure to the French, 282.

....., ..., the report of it described by Marillac as one of the many inventions of the Imperialists, *Int.* xix.

....., ..., another report of the K., her father, trying to marry her to the young du. of Bavaria (Philip) (Dec. 1539), *Int.* x–xi.

....., that of the *same* and the du. of Orleans first proposed to k. Francis by the Emp. in 1536, 367.

...., ..., again solicited by Francis himself through his amb. (Aug. 1541), 354, 407, 409, 454.

....., ..., though at present (Oct. 1541) the English seem inclined to entertain the French offers of that marriage, I fancy (says Chapuys) that all is dissimulation on their part, 367.

....., ..., ..., and on that of k. Francis himself, who would not like his son (Charles) to succeed to the crown of England, *ibid.*

....., ..., the Privy Council of France not in favor of it, 374–5.

....., ..., amb. Marillac ordered to push on the negociations as briskly as he can, 409.

....., ..., ..., and to make offers on a large scale, *ibid.*

....., ..., ..., but ask for 500,000 crs. as a dower, besides the extinction of all debts to England, 504.

Marseilles; the Avignon prisoners taken to, 425.

....., the galleys of, causing an alarm and obliging that of Mr. de Granvelle to go back to Genoa (Feb. 1542), 482.

Martin Alonso, *v. Rios.*

..... (Henri), French historian; quoted, 548.

Martinez de Leyva (Sancho), Span. naval commander, 278.

..... de la Puente, historian; quoted, *Int.* xxviii *n.*

Martinusi, Martinuzzi, bp. of Peter Varadin (1534–51), 515.

....., life of, written by Bechet, 515 *n.*

Marvol, Mr. de (Philippe), amb. in France (1541), 368–70, 388, 460, 476, *Int.* xxii.

Mary of England (Mme. Marie, the Princess, &c.), dau. of Henry VIII., 150, 324, 385, 407.

....., ..., visited by Chapuys and Mendoza (Aug. 1538), 25.

....., ..., Cromwell writes to, a letter in Henry's name, warning her of the amb.'s visit, *ibid.*

Mary of England—*cont.*

....., ..., ..., and persuading her to complain of the Emp.'s coldness and indifference in the matter of her marriage, *ibid.*

....., ..., asked by the Imp. ambs. whether, in case of an opportunity presenting itself, she would be ready to quit England by stealth (Aug. 1538), 26.

....., ..., ..., answers discreetly that she cannot possibly say "yes" or "no," *ibid.*

....., ..., ..., things might arrive at such a pitch, and the opportunity be so favorable, that she would have no scruple at all in leaving England, *ibid.*

....., ..., ..., but should the K., her father, show greater consideration for her, she would much prefer to remain, 27–8.

....., ..., rather delicate, owing, as Mendoza presumes, to the close confinement in which she is kept, 43.

....., ..., her marriage to the Infante of Portugal (Dom Luiz) negociated, 31, 39, 48, 63–5, 69–74, 80–7, 95–7, 407.

....., ..., in case of her being married to the Infante of Portugal (Dom Luyz), is not to grant anything against Mother Church or the Apostolic See, 63.

....., ..., ..., nor be compelled to sign statutes or articles against Church or Pope, *ibid.*

....., ..., k. Henry refusing to declare her legitimacy, 64.

....., ..., ..., though he is willing to appoint her heiress to his throne should he die without children, sons or females, from q. Jane Seymour, *ibid.*

....., ..., Memorandum of conditions to be stipulated for the, of the Princess to Dom Luiz, *23.*

....., ..., great care should be taken that she be declared legitimate and lawful heiress to the crown of England, 66.

....., ..., ..., should Henry not agree to that, no mention of his refusal to be made in the marriage contract, *ibid.*

....., ..., vague rumours of her marriage to her cousin the Emp., 282.

....., ..., ..., if accomplished, said the privy councillors to Chapuys (23 Oct. 1540), it will be a sad blow to the French, *ibid.*

....., ..., an attempt made to take away from her two of her maid servants, 295.

....., ..., ..., which (according to Chapuys) proceeded entirely from q. Catharine Howard, *ibid.*

....., ..., ..., rather offended at her not being treated by, with the same respect as the two preceding queens, *ibid.*

Mary of England—*cont.*
....., ..., in good health, though much distressed at the death of one of her maids of honor, 309.
....., ..., ..., who has actually died of grief on her being removed from her service (Feb. 1541), *ibid.*
....., ..., visited by her father (May 1541), 324.
....., ..., ..., who grants her permission to reside at Court, *ibid.*
....., ..., sued in marriage by the Palatine du. Philip (May 1541), 324, *Int.* x–xi.
....., ..., her hand urgently solicited by k. Francis for his son, the du. of Orleans, 354, 407, 409, 434.
....., ..., after Catharine Howard's trial, sent back to her own residence in the country (Nov. 1541), 396.
....., ..., negociations for her marriage to the Infante Dom Luiz of Portugal suspended or entirely broken (Aug. 1541), 354, 385.
....., ..., fresh attempt made by k. Francis to promote the marriage of his son to, 354, 407–8.
....., ..., ..., Marillac instructed to limit himself to two points, the French pension and its arrears, and the Princess' dower, 354.
....., ..., ..., Marillac pretending that he has full powers from k. Francis to treat of the, *ibid.*
....., ..., her marriage not to Francis' taste (says Chapuys to Henry), 434.
....., ..., ..., though proposed by him, it can never be approved of by his subjects, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., the French would not like the du. of Orleans to become k. of England through such means, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., and, on the other hand, k. Henry would not consent to his son-in-law being frustrated of the duchy of Bretagne, which belongs to him by right, *ibid.*
....., ..., her legitimation urgently solicited by Marillac, 453.
....., ..., ..., it would offer no difficulty (said Norfolk to Marillac, Jan. 1542), though the prince of Wales, or any other child of Henry's, male or female, except Elizabeth, would be preferred, *ibid.*
....., ..., indisposed (March 1542), 484.
....., ..., suffering from palpitations of the heart (April 1542), 506.
....., ..., all hope of her marriage to the du. of Orleans completely abandoned, 509.
....., ..., said to be dangerously ill (April 1542), 508.
....., ..., slowly improving in health, though at one time she was in danger of life, 511.

Mary of England—*cont.*
....., ..., the K., her father, taking great care of her, 510.
..... (Marie), do. q. of Hungary, sister of Charles V. (b. 1505); regent of the Low Countries, 10, 14, 19, 22, 24, 31–4, 40, 43–4, 48 *n.*, 52, 70, 79–87, 97, 114, 142, 285, 296, 333, 402, 411, 414, 416, 419, 450–2, 480–5, 493, 496, *Int.* ii.
....., ..., proposed interview of k. Francis with, at Cambray, 12.
....., ..., ..., about to undertake a journey for that purpose (Sept. 1538), 44.
....., ..., her deputies at Brussels negociating with the Eng. ambs., 74–5, 79–87, 95–6, 553.
....., ..., applies to Spain for instructions on certain points of the treaty being negociated at Brussels, 95–7.
....., ..., said by Francis to have frequently solicited him to hold interviews with the Emp., 345.
....., ..., ..., which he has declined as leading to no good, *ibid.*
....., ..., her deputies to negociate with the English a new commercial treaty between the two countries, 353.
....., ..., communicating with Chapuys on the Emp.'s political relations with England, 46–8, 129–31, 410, 419, 475–7, 485–7.
....., ..., Instructions to Esq. Wynacourt (March 1539), *50.*
....., ..., her almoner, *v. Maioris.*
....., ..., lets. to Chapuys (1538), *16, 233, 241–2.*
....., ..., let. of k. Henry to, *91.*
....., ..., Maioris' lets. to (March 1539), *48–9, 51, 60–1.*
....., ..., Chapuys' lets. to, (1538) *21,* (1540) *134, 136, 143–4, 146–7,* (1541) *148–55, 157–9, 162–3, 166–8, 174, 177–8, 186, 196, 199, 201, 204, 210, 216, 220–1, 225, 231, 235, 240, 246–7, 250.*
..... Tudor, du. of Suffolk, *v.* under *Tudor.*
Mason (Master). Sir Thomas Whyatt's sec., recalled from Spain (Jan. 1541), 308.
Massa, marq. della, *v. Este* (Francesco d').
Matagriffo, Matagrifone (?), castle of, in Sicily, 231.
Mathias (Dr. —), vice-chancellor of the Empire, to be sent to Germany, 138.
....., said to have gone to the Emp. on a mission of the Separatists about the General Council, 142.
....., his negociation with the k. of the Romans, 184.
Maurice of Saxony; report of his election in Dec. 1541 as k. of Silesia and Moravia after a revolt of those provinces against the k of the Romans, 420.

Maximilian I., emp. of Germany (1493–519); alluded, 5, 348 *n.*

....., ..., tax imposed by, on Eng. woollen cloth introduced in Brabant, 285.

..... II., son of Ferdinand, k. of the Romans; his marriage with Elizabeth proposed by Cromwell to Chapuys, 65–6, 549.

....., ..., ..., with Margaret of France (May 1540), 239.

....., ..., ..., to be insisted upon, 239–40.

....., ..., should k. Francis refuse to, the hand of his dau., Margaret, let the Emp.'s nephew marry Maria of Portugal, 340.

....., ..., marries his cousin Maria, Infanta of Spain, the Emp.'s dau., 549.

Mecca, in Arabia, 339.

....., Sheikh of, *ibid.*

Medici, Florentine family of the; their property in Rome, 56, 152.

....., ..., ..., to be carefully investigated and secured for Margaret, the do. du. of Florence, widow of Alessandro, 156.

....., ..., in Florence, 155.

....., ..., Pope Paul displeased at the lawsuit against Cosmo being suspended by the Emp.'s orders, *ibid.*

..... (Alessandro de'), du of Florence, 1 *n.*, 56, 132, 355, 526, 530, 547, *Int.* xxiii.

....., ..., the rights of Margaret, the Emp.'s dau., to the succession of, 186.

....., ..., his agent in Spain, *v. Cherubino.*

..... (Caterina de'), niece of Clement VII.; her marriage to Henri de Valois mentioned, 287 *n.*

..... (Clemente), son of Julio, *v. Clement VII., Pope.*

..... (Cosmo de'), du. of Florence (1537–70), 1, 9, 46, 54, 131-2, 144, 227–8, 415, 459.

....., ..., marries the dau. of the marq. de Villafranca, viceroy of Naples, 9, 212, 288.

....., ..., Pope Paul complaining bitterly of, 98, 144, 211–2.

....., ..., suspected of helping the Perugians, 288–9.

....., ..., his wife, *v. Toledo* (Leanor de).

....., ..., let. to the marq. del Gasto, gov. of Milan (1540), *140.*

....., ..., his reconciliation with card. Cibo's friends (Nov. 1539), 211–2.

..... (Ippolito de'), card., natural son of Julio.

...., ..., death of, in 1541, 335.

....., ..., ..., of the plague, though (as reported) from poison administered to him by order of Pope Paul, 335.

..... (Laudemia), sister (?) of Lorenzino de' Medici, *Add.* and *Cor.* 547.

..... (Lorenço, Lorenzo), also called Lorenzino, 339, 547.

Medina del Campo, town of Castille; its annual fair; bills discounted and negociated at, 140.

..... Celi, du. of, *v. La Cerda.*

..... de Rioseco, town of Castille, 532.

....., ..., du. of, *v. Enriquez de Cabrera.*

..... Sidonia, du. de, *v. Guzman.*

Mediterranean sea, 447, 492.

Melaço, Melazzo, in Sicily, 231.

Melfi, *v. Amalfi.*

....., du. of, *v. Piccolomini.*

....., marq. of, 424.

....., prince of, *v. Doria* (Andrea).

Men-at-arms, *English*, from the Northern Counties; one hundred arrive in London accoutred and armed in the old fashion (April 1541), 319.

....., ..., a still larger number expected to cross over and reinforce the garrison of Guisnes, 320.

....., *French* (gendarmerie), *i.e.* body of, to follow Hannebault into Piedmont, 345.

....., *Neapolitan*, intended for the Algiers expedition (Oct. 1541); not in such condition and order as viceroy Toledo represented them to be, 373.

Mendez de Vasconcellos (D. Alvaro), Port. amb. to the Imp. Court, 294.

Mendoça, Mendoza, family, 1 *n.*

.. .. (D. Bernardino), Span. naval commander, 291.

....., ..., the squadron under his orders to go in pursuit of Barbarossa, 243.

....., ..., ..., to sail to Malaga (July 1540), *ibid*, 245.

....., ..., ..., arrival of, at Cartagena (Oct. 1541), 373.

..... (D. Diego Hurtado de), Imp. amb. in England, 3, 39, 63–5, 69 *n.*, 80–1, 547, *Int.* i *n.*

....., ..., his joint mission with Chapuys, 15–31.

....., ..., recalled; takes leave and departs for Flanders (Sept. 1538), 19, 40, 46–7.

....., ..., writes a report on his negociation in England, 42.

....., ..., Henry's present of £400 to, 24, 44.

....., ..., his journey to Breda, 43–4.

....., ..., is appointed to Venice instead of Soria (April 1539), 146.

....., ..., Instructions to, *56.*

....., ..., negociates with the Signory, 197, 200, 209.

....., ..., news from the Levant and the Turk sent by, 199, 293, 416, 422, 460.

....., ..., lets. to the Emp. from London (1538), 7.

....., ..., ..., from Breda, in Brabant, *12.*

....., ..., ..., his report from that town, *25.*

Mendoça, Mendoza (D. Diego)—*cont.*
....., ..., ..., from Venice, *164*, *171*, *193*.
....., ..., ..., to the q. of Hungary, *25*.
....., ..., ..., to High Commander Cobos (1538), *13*.
....., ..., *v.* also under *Hurtado de Mendoza* (Diego).
..... (D. Francisco de), bp. of Jaen, in Andalucia, 290 *n.*
..... (D. Iñigo), co. of Tendilla, *v. Lopez de Mendoza*.
..... (D. Juan de), 373.
..... (Da. Maria de), wife of Francisco de los Cobos, High Commander of Leon, 212.
..... (Da. Mencia de), marq. de Zenete; married to Henri de Nassau, prince of Orange, 42–3.
..... (D. Rodrigo), first marq. de Zenete (1491), 43 *n.*
Meneses (D. Alexo or Aleixo de), Port. amb. at the court of Charles (1538), 5.
....., ..., recalled (Feb. 1539), 109.
....., marq. de Villa Real (?), 5.
..... (D. Gerónimo de), *ibid.*
Menorca, island of, one of the Baleario; the Emp. lands at (26 Nov. 1541), 372, 407 *n.*
Merchants, foreign, in England, much oppressed, 282, 286.
....., ..., strong measures intended against the, *ibid.*
....., ..., subsidy levied on the, 283.
....., ..., to be expelled unless they apply for lets. of naturalisation, swear fealty to the K., and pay besides a heavy tax by way of subsidy (April 1541), 317, 353.
....., *Spanish* in England; the K.'s Privy Council rather inclined to treat the, more rudely than those of other nations, 313.
....., ..., ..., by asking from them excessive sums of money on account of the subsidy, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., which now-a-days all foreign, the French included, are bound to pay within three days' time under pain of confiscation of property (March 1541), *ibid.*
....., *English*, having ships in the Span. ports at the time that the Navigation edict was promulgated, seriously alarmed, 324.
....., ..., said to be much injured by the Emp.'s Navigation Act, 444.
Messengers, King's. One sent by Henry to the French and Imp. ambs. informing them of Cromwell's imprisonment (June 1540), 538.
Messina, in Sicily; Doria anchors at (Aug. 1538), 13, 173, 211, 215, 231, 233–4.
Messina, in Sicily—*cont.*
....., intended attack of, by Barbarossa, 231.
....., castle of San Salvador, in Messina, 235.
....., let. dated from, *5*.
Mesta, corporation of shepherds or owners of flocks in Extremadura (Spain), 276.
Meyer (Marcus, Mark), a capt. of Lubeck, 436.
Milan, duchy or State of, 4, 24, 31, 45, 53, 95, 102, 194, 387, 390–2, 417–8, 425, 428, 438, 441.
....., ..., the investiture of, said to have been offered by the Emp. to k. Henry on condition of his making a defensive and offensive league with him against all enemies, 65.
....., ..., Henry openly aspiring to the, 69.
....., ..., ..., which, he says, he will have in spite of any other Prince wishing for it, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., his only purpose being to engender jealousy between the Emp. and Francis (says Chapuys), *ibid.*
....., ..., the Emp., however, cannot dispose of it without the consent of the Italian powers (says Chapuys to him), 66.
....., ..., the investiture of, to be given to Dom Luiz of Portugal on his marriage with Mary, 66, 294, 338.
....., ..., Henry asking for it for his dau., the Princess, 26, 66.
....., ..., ..., and telling the French amb. [Castillon] that the Emp. offered it to him before the meeting at Aigues-Mortes, *ibid.*
....., ..., the defence of, against the French to be stipulated in case of Henry marrying the do. du. Christina, 68.
....., ..., ..., vaguely promised by the English ambs., *ibid.*
....., ..., the question of (writes q. Mary to Chapuys), open, in Aug. 1538, to many considerations, 68–9.
....., ..., cannot be disposed of as easily as Henry thinks, *ibid.*
....., ..., Francis begins to suspect that the Emp. will not give him the investiture of, 102, 105, 177.
....., ..., the negociations concerning, again resumed, 159, 239, 278.
....., ..., the Emp.'s answer to Francis' memorandum concerning, and instructions to Mons. de St. Vincent and Mons. de Peloux, his ambs. in France (15 May 1540), 235, 240.
....., ..., Francis persevering in his intention to get possession of, and incorporate it with the crown of France, 278.

Milan, duchy or State of—*cont.*
....., ..., Francis proposing to devolve his rights to, on his son, the du. of Orleans, if the marriage of the Princess to him takes place, 330.
....., ..., upon Pope Paul hinting to Granvelle, in Nov. 1541, that the declaration about the truce asked from Francis might be preceded by the promise of, 390.
....., ..., ..., if that is to be one of the conditions (answers Granvelle) peace cannot be made, for it would be impolitic, and at the same time dangerous to Italy and to the States of the Church, *ibid.*
....., ..., the incorporation of the, with the crown of France evidently and openly k. Francis' chief aim, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., Pope Paul seemingly in favor of it, as the only means of securing peace between France and the Empire, 391.
....., ..., ..., Francis' threats in Dec. 1541 having no other origin than his firm belief that the failure of the Algiers expedition would facilitate the conquest of, 428.
....., ..., ..., but when he hears that the Emp. is back safe in Spain, he is sure to change his tone, *ibid.*
....., ..., the inhabitants of, on good terms with the French of Piedmont (April 1542), 495.
....., ..., last du. of, of the Sforza family, *v. Sforza* (Francesco).
....., ..., do. du. of, *v. Christina.*
....., city, 197, 423–4.
....., ..., differences between Imperialists and Frenchmen at, put down by Praët (Jan. 1539), 105.
....., ..., Gasto returning to (Dec. 1541), 421.
....., ..., castle of, 423, 427.
....., ..., bankers of, 492.
....., ..., Chancellor of, *v. Caracciolo.*
....., ..., Capitano di Guistizia in, ordered to make inquiries concerning the murder of Fragoso and Rincon, 337, 424.
....., ..., Senate, 417.
....., ..., ..., president of, *ibid.*
....., ..., let. dated from, *169.*
Minerva (La), a university of Rome, 444.
Mirandola, La, the castle of, 339, 415.
....., co. of, *v. Pico.*
Modena, duchy of, differences about the, between Pope Paul and Hercole d'Este, du. of Ferrara, 99.
....., ..., settled (Jan. 1539), *ibid.*
....., city of, 57.
....., ..., a commodious place for the meeting of the Council, 461.
....., ..., bp. of, *v. Morone.*
Modenese, the country about Modena; Paolo da Ceri stirring in the (Dec. 1541), 415.
Modorra, the disease called (drowsiness), prevailing in Castille (Aug. 1540), 245.
Mohametana, in Eastern Africa, *v. La Mahometana.*
Mohedano (Dr.), auditor of the Rota at Rome (1538–9); the Emp.'s vassal; recommended to the Emp. for a bpc., 122, 164.
....., presented for that of Gaeta (July 1540), 244.
....., legal inquiry into Hurtado's conduct committed to, 163.
....., appointed auditor at the Rota, 164.
Moldavia, the Turk to overrun, 9, 11.
....., ..., said to be much weakened by his last losses in (Jan. 1549), 107.
Molembays, Molembaix, co. of, councillor in Flanders, 52.
Molfetta, du. de, *v. Gonzaga* (Ferrante).
Molina, sec., *v. Vazquez de Molina.*
Monaco, in Italy; the Emp. refusing the offer of, 441.
Monasterio, Monesterio (Monestir), in Africa, 275.
....., taking of, by the Turks, 291.
....., retaken by Doria and Gonzaga, 293.
Monbell, Montbell (Francesca di), princess of Sulmona, widow of Charles de Lannoy, 153.
..... (Isabella), wife of Ascanio Colonna, 153 *n.*
Monçon, in Aragon, 272.
....., the Cortes of, 417.
Mondejar, marq. de, *v. Lopez de Mendoza.*
Monego *v. Monaco.*
Monico, *v. Munich* or *Münch.*
Monferrato (Isabella di), do. du. of Mantua; wife of Frederic, marq. and afterwards du. of Mantua; death of, recorded (14 Feb. 1539), 116.
Mongiron (Monsr. de), Francis' lieutenant in the Dauphiné, 360.
....., arrests the bp. of Valencia (George of Austria), at his passage, *ibid.*
Monopoli, in Naples, 175.
....., bp. of, *v. Pio da Carpi.*
Monpeller, *v. Montpellier.*
Monstreul, in Picardy, *v. Montreuil.*
Montagu (Mr. de), *v. Pole.*
Monte, one of the divisions at Sienna, 417.
Montejean (René de), lieut.-gen. and governor of Piedmont, 12.
Montepulchano (Montepulciano, in Tuscany) (Giovan di), Papal Nuncio to Spain, 428.
....., ..., articles drawn by, in the Palavicino case, *130.*
....., *v. Riccio da Montepulciano* (?).
Monterron, a castle of Picardy, 465.

Montferrato, the abbey of; law-suit of, lost by Ferrante Gonzaga, 210.

Montmorency (Anne de), Grand Master and Grand Constable of France, 10–5, 30, 75–7, 102, 105, 151, 154 *n.*, 176–7, 201–3, 223, 239, 333, 532.

....., ..., his ruin worked by card. de Lorraine, 303, *Int.* iii.

....., ..., intended journey to Spain in company with card. de Lorraine (April 1540) put off, 228.

....., ..., enjoying more than ever Francis' favor (Aug. 1540), 250.

....., ..., one of his castles turned into a prison for the prisoners of Avignon, 426.

....., ..., his conferences with the Imp. amb. (Aug. 1539), 177–81.

....., ..., in correspondence with Marillac, *Int.* x–xii, xiii–v.

..... (François de), sieur de la Rochepot, brother of the Constable Anne, *Int.* iii, viii, xii.

..... (Philippe de), sieur de Courrières, Imp. amb. in England; to London with lets. of credence for k. Henry and his ministers (March 1542), 480–1, 483.

....., ..., Chapuys suspecting that his mission will do no good, 503.

Montoire? Moutière? *q. v.*

Montpelier, Montpellier, in the S. of France, 382.

....., bp. of, *v. Pellisier.*

Montreuil sur Mer (dep. Pas de Calais); let. dated from, *248.*

..... (Mr. de), his opinion of the French, 433.

..... (Mme. de), governess of the deceased q. of Scotland (Magdalen), 28, 30, 41.

Moors, *African*; 500 Turks and, slain in a naval battle in sight of Gibraltar (Sept. 1540), 279.

....., Tunisian, 231.

....., Spain to be guarded against an invasion of the, 495.

Moravia, the people of, said to have revolted against the k. of the Romans, 420.

....., ..., and to have elected a du. of their own, *ibid.*

More, the manor of, given by Henry to Anne de Clèves, *Int.* xv.

Morea, the coast of, to be defended against the Turks, 31, 230.

Moreri, "Grand Dictionnaire historique"; quoted, *Int.* xix.

Moro (Giovan), a Venetian; gov. of Candia; appointed captain-general of the sea in the room of Vincenzio Capelo, 116.

Moron, town of Andalucia, in the prov. of Seville, 271.

Morone (Giovan), bp. of Modena, Papal Nuncio to Germany, 157, 399, 401, 403, 515–7, 519–20.

Morone (Giovan)—*cont.*

....., proposed for the reform of the Clergy in Germany (1540), 280, 403, 405.

....., to go to the Diet of Spires, 519.

....., Instructions to (1540), *258.*

Moroni, "Dizionario d'erudizione"; quoted, 515 *n.*

Morveilliers, *v. Morvillier.*

Morvillier (Morbilliers, Jean de), French amb. to Scotland, 412–3, 435, 471.

Mosquera (lic^do^), proposed for the office of Keeper of the Archives at Simancas, 242.

Mota (Aleandro di), abp. of Brindisi and card.; appointed Papal Nuncio in Germany, 36, 287.

Moutiere, Moutiers, a castle of Picardy near Ardres, 465.

Munich (Münk), in Bavaria; a courier from, to Rome in six days sent by the du. to Paul III. (Jan. 1539), 106.

Muñoz de Salazar (Juan), Span. officer in the Roussillon (Oct. 1540), 278.

N

Naples, kingdom of, 139, 172, 193–4, 215, 217, 275, 286, 355, 396, 403, 406, 438, 515.

....., ..., no available means of paying the Pope 15,000 ducats on, 155.

....., ..., Collateral Council of, 417.

....., ..., viceroy of, *v. Toledo.*

....., ..., card. of, *v. Sanseverino.*

....., city of; Commander Giron sent by Doria to (May 1539), 153.

Napoleoni, Italian family, 536.

Napoles (Napoli), *v. Naples.*

Napoli, *v. Naples.*

..... di Romania. The castles and fortresses of, and Candia to be provisioned during the winter for fear of an attack from the Turk (1538), 88.

Nassau (Alexis de), lord of Courtney and Trasnes; natural son of Henri, prince of Orange, 42 *n.*

..... (Guillaume de), prince of Orange, *ibid.*

. ..... (Henri de, Mons. de), marq. de Zenete, 40, 43 *n.*, 44.

....., ..., death of, at Breda (Sept. 1538), 42 *n.*

..... (René de), prince of Orange (d. 1544), *ibid*, 44, 175, 223.

Navarra (Pedro de), marq. de Cortes, civil gov. (*asistente*) of Seville in 1540, 270–1.

Navarre (Navarra), kingdom of, 6, 104, 277–8.
....., viceroy of, *v. Cueva* (Beltran de la).
....., titular k. of, *v. Albret.*
....., princess of, *v. Albret* (Jeanne d').
Navarro (co. Pedro), Spanish commander on the coast of Africa, 456 *n.*
Naves (Dr.), councillor; writing from Germany (Dec. 1541), 422.
Navigation, the Emp.'s edict on, proclaimed in Flanders, 227, 343, 348, 350, 353, 410.
....., ..., and also in Spain, 344. 366.
....., ..., in retaliation for similar measures in England, 226–7.
....., its revocation made one of the conditions of the treaty of alliance against France, 227.
....., were the old laws on, to be revived in Spain, the English would no longer find employment for their merchant navy, 350–1.
....., k. Henry strongly protesting against it, 343.
....., long debates in the Privy Council respecting the (12 Aug. 1541), 342–53.
....., no change or alteration to be introduced in the Emp.'s edict on (writes Chapuys, Oct. 1541), 366.
....., ..., unless the measures he himself recommended once be adopted, *ibid.*
....., said to have been finally revoked (Jan. 1542), 458.
....., ..., its revocation being called forth, as Chapuys considers, by the ill success of the Algiers expedition, 458.
Negroponte (Negrepont), island of the Greek archipelago; Barbarossa sailing for (Nov. 1541), 404.
Neocastro, *v. Novocastro.*
Neocort, Neocourt, card. (?); goes to France on a mission of Pope Paul (Nov. 1549), 289.
Netherlands, *v.* under *Low Countries.*
Neuf-bourg (Le), in France (dep. Eure), 345.
Nevers, du. de, *v. Gonzaga* (Luigi).
....., house of, 6, 529.
....., bp. of, *v. Bourbon* (Charles).
..... (Louis de), co. of Flanders, 516.
Neufport, Newport, in Flanders, *v. Nieuport.*
....., in Monmouthshire (England), 270.
Nicastro, bp. of, *v. Cervini.*
Nieuport, port of Flanders; 14 English merchant ships seized in, 225.
Neville (Sir John), executed in the North of England (June 1541), 331, 335.
Niño (Martin), Span. naval officer, 276.
..... (Rodrigo), said to have been designated for the post of lord Chamberlain to Margaret (1541), 364.
Nivel, *v. Neville* (Sir John).
Nizza, 461.
....., interview of Charles and Francis at, alluded 1 *n.*, 15, 68, 112.
....., treaty or truce of, 68, 80, 513, *Int.* vi, ix.
....., the castle or citadel of, to be guarded against the danger of falling into the hands of the French, 524.
Noguerol, Noguerolles, co. Leonardo, Ferdinand's agent to Turkey; at Siena, on his way to Rome (Dec. 1541), 418.
....., ..., to report to the Pope his conversation with Solyman concerning Hungary, 423.
Nolita, Span. word meaning "freight," from the French "*noliser*," 357.
Normandy, duchy of, in France; k. Francis returning to (April 1540), 228.
....., claimed by k. Henry as his own, 441.
Nortamberland, *v. Northumberland.*
Northern Counties, rebellion in the (April 1541), 318, 320–1, 326.
....., ..., an abbot and two gentlemen hung and quartered, 331.
....., ..., k. Henry in the, 327, 435.
....., ..., ..., not trusting on the fidelity of his officers there, causes the Border towns to be fortified, 321.
....., ..., a gentlemen from the, once Eng. amb. to Scotland, a prisoner in the Tower, *Int.* xvii.
....., ... gov. of the, *v. Holgate.*
..... Seas and Germanic Ocean, 436, 488.
....., ..., Francis endeavouring to obtain the supremacy in the, 436.
....., ..., a passage to the, between Iceland and Groenland, to be found, if possible, 326.
....., ..., two English vessels to undertake the exploration of the, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., a Spaniard from Seville to command the expedition, 327.
....., ..., ..., for the sole and exclusive purpose of preventing the Easterlings and others from unlading their goods elsewhere than in France, 436.
....., ..., ..., ..., and taking back salt, woollen cloth, and other French commodities, of which they stand in need, *ibid.*
Northumberland, earl of, *v. Percy.*
Norway, kingdom of, 48, 59, 66.
Novelara, Novellara (co. Julio della), goes to Rome on business (July 1540), 244.
....., recommended by Cobos to the marq. de Aguilar, *ibid.*
....., law-suit pending at Venice between, and a Frenchman (Sept. 1541), 363.
Novocastro (Neocastro, Nicastro), bp. of, *v. Cervini* (Marcello).
Nuncio, Papal, to Austria. Card. Rosario sent to k. Ferdinand as (1534–5), 514.

Nuncio, Papal, to Austria—*cont.*
....., ..., ..., again in (1539), 157, 514.
....., ..., Instructions to (1539), *253.*
....., one residing at the court of Ferdinand, 525.
....., ..., declares that Pope Paul is ready to join the Catholic League, though he cannot approve of the recess of Ratisbonne, 526.
....., in France, 101, 151, 371; *v. Juvenale.*
....., ..., *v. Ardinghelli, Capo di Ferro.*
....., in Germany, *v. Morone, Roscrio.*
....., in Portugal; tells Sarmiento, the Imp. amb. in Lisbon, that when the dispensation brief for the marriage of k. Dom Manoel and q. Doña Maria was applied for at Rome, it could not be found, 148.
....., in Spain (1538), 198; *v. Poggio, Riccio da Montepulciano.*
....., in Venice; receives a let. with news of the Turk (Nov. 1541), 406.
....., in England, in 1530; alluded, *v. Borgho.*
Nyce, Nyze, *v. Nizza.*

O

Obregon, a servant of the marq. de Aguilar at Rome, 49–50.
Ocaña, in New Castille; commander of, *v. Quiñones* (Juan de).
Ocean, the Germanic, 486.
Odet de Selve (Jean), first president of the Parliament of Paris; French amb. in Rome (1538), 10.
Odyssey, Homer's, translated into Spanish verse by sec. Gonzalo Perez, 545.
Odoardo (Maestro), 58.
Olaso (—), Imperialist holding offices in Naples; death of (Sept. 1540), 267.
Olivares, co. of, *v. Guzman.*
Omedes (Juan de), Grand-master of Malta (1536–64), 309.
Oost (Western Germany), 62.
Oran, in Africa; not to be given up to Barbarossa on any account, 221.
Orange (L'Esleu d'), bp. elect of, in France; Montmorency's sec., 145, 154–5, 157, 179, 181.
... ., ..., at Rome, 147, 151, 160.
....., ..., object of his mission, 142.
....., prince of, *v. Nassau.*
....., ..., coadjutor of, *v. Pellisier.*
Orders (Military) in Spain; dispensation to the commanders of the, 143, 155 *n.*, 160, 169.
Ordnance, *French.* Some made of cast steel, so highly polished inside and out that it is a wonderful sight, 251.
Ordnance, *French—cont.*
....., ..., at Breteuil? *ibid.*
....., ..., k. Francis going to see the, intending to have several pieces of it, *ibid.*
....., *Spanish,* master of the, 220.
....., ..., his galley foundering in sight of Cartagena, on the return from the Algiers expedition (Dec. 1541), 431.
....., *Turkish,* taken at the siege of Castilnovo, no less than 16 heavy pieces of, 87.
....., ..., two of them appropriated by viceroy Gonzaga; the lighter pieces by the men under his orders, *ibid.*
Orkney, islands, bp. of the, *v. Reid.*
Orleans, town of France, 220.
....., du. of, *v. Valois* (Charles de).
....., bp. of, *v. Sanguin.*
....., let. from (Dec. 1539), *95.*
Orsini, the family and faction of the, at Rome, opposed to the Colonna, 322.
Orsino (Gian Giordano), 536.
..... (Girolamo), death of (Nov. 1540), 291.
..... (Hieronima), wife of Pier Luigi Farnese, du. of Castro, 55 *n.*, 58, 91, *Add.* and *Cor.* 533, 536.
..... (Napoleone), abbot of Farfa, not to be made a cardinal, although Costanza Farnese, the Pope's dau., is very much in his favor (1539) 208, 290, *Add.* and *Cor.* 536.
..... (Valerio), appointed by the Venetians to receive Castilnovo (July 1539), 175.
Ortiz (Hieronymo), Imp. officer; takes lets. from the Emp. to the viceroy of Sicily (1539), 211.
Orton, sieur d'Arbois, appointed to accompany D. Diego de Mendoza in his mission to England (1537), *Int.* i.
Osceter, *v. Exeter.*
Osma, town of Castille; the reception of tithes at, 453.
....., bp. of, *v. Acosta* and *Loaysa.*
..... (Alvaro), bp. of Astorga; death of, 140, 531.
Osorio, Ossorio (Beatriz), 212 *n.*
..... (Juana), *ibid.*
..... Pimentel (Da. Leonor), dau. of the viceroy of Naples, marq. de Villafranca [D. Pedro de Toledo], 131 *n.*
....., ..., married to Cosmo de' Medici, du. of Florence, 58, 98, 108, 288.
..... (D. Luis), marq. de Villafranca, 212 *n.*
..... (Da Maria), wife of D. Pedro de Toledo, marq. de Villafranca, viceroy of Naples, 131 *n.*
....., ..., her death (Dec. 1539), 212.
Ostia, in the Roman States, Pope Paul going to (April 1540), 227.
....., ..., returning from (Nov. 1541), 401.

Otranto, in Naples. The naval forces of the League to meet at Brindisi or at, 54.
....., Barbarossa preparing to attack, 230–1.
Ouessant, town of Picardy, between Calais and Boulogne; k. Francis designing to build a fortress and harbour at, 465.

P

Pacheco (Da. Beatriz), Spanish lady, to be married to Mr. de Hedam (?), 13.
..... (Pedro), bp. of Pamplona and card. (1539–45), 545.
....., ..., designated for a cardinal's hat, 290.
Paget (Sir William), clerk of the Privy Council (1541), in familiar communication with the Imp. amb. (Chapuys), 407–9, 429, 444, 462.
....., amb. to France (1542); detained at Rouen, *Int.* x, xxi.
Pagliano (Pallano), in the Roman States, Pope Paul at (Aug. 1541), 355, 526, *Add.* and *Cor.*, 548.
Palatine, co. and du., *v. Frederic* and *Philip.*
....., countess, *v. Dorothea of Denmark.*
Palavicino, Pallavicino (Frate, Fray Battista), of Bologna, 242, 245, 263, 273–4, 278.
....., denies, under torture, all the charges he brought against Lope Hurtado, Margaret's lord High Chamberlain (Nov. 1540), 292–3.
Palencia, in Castille, bp. of, *v. Sarmiento de Mendoza.*
Palermo, in Sicily, 414.
....., mutiny of Spanish infantry at (Feb. 1539), 108.
....., abp. of, *v. Carondelet* (Jean de).
Palestrina, du. of, *v. Colonna* (Stephano).
Pallavicino (Frate), *v. Palavicino.*
Palma, the capital of Mallorca, one of the Balearic Islands, *v. Mallorca.*
Palmer (Maistre, Sir Thomas), under-warder of Calais; treasurer of Guisnes; prisoner in the Tower of London, together with two provosts of Calais (March 1541), 315, *Int.* xviii.
Paludes Pontinas, said to belong to the Medici Family, 56.
Pamplona, in Navarre (Spain), the bpric. of, 114.
....., bp. of, *v. Pacheco.*
Papal authority. The K. (said Cromwell to Chapuys) will not insist on, provided no mention be made of it one way or another (Oct. 1538), 53.
Parco, abbey of Benedictines, in Sicily, 153, 161.
....., given to card. Farnese, 157.
Paravicino, the Friar, *v. Palavicino.*
Paris, 15, 46, 99, 214, 426.
....., Charles V. in (1–7 Jan. 1540), 210, 213, 222.
....., Chambre des Comptes (Chamber of Accounts) of, *Int.* xx.
....., abp. of, *v. Bellay.*
....., lets. from, *29*, *96.*
Parisani (Ascanio), bp. of Rimini, and card. (1529–49); Paul's treasurer, 207, *Add.* and *Cor.* 536.
Parisio (Paolo), card., bp. of Nicastro; a good man, and servant and vassal of the Emp. (Nov. 1541), 406, *Add.* and *Cor.* 550.
Park (?), Milord, introduces Chapuys at Hampton-Court (Dec. 1540), 296; *v. Parr of Kendal.*
Parker (Jane), dau. of lord Morley; do. viscountess of Rochefort; widow of George Boleyn, Anne's brother; implicated in Katharine's case, 395.
....., sentenced to death, 408.
....., executed (Feb. 1542), 472.
Parliament, *English.* Both houses of the, 251, 297, 408–9, 424, 451, 465, 469, 484, 504–6, 538.
....., ..., German doctors in London to attend, 140–1.
....., ..., to be prorogued (March 1542), 484.
....., ..., at Westminster (May 1539), 150.
....., *Irish*, 342.
....., *Scotch*, 302.
....., of Paris, *Int.* xx.
....., ..., president of, *v. Odet de Selve.*
Parmantier, convent of nuns at, *Add.* and *Cor.* 529.
Parr of Kendal (Sir Thomas) introduces amb. Chapuys to Henry at Hampton-Court, 296.
Passano, 355.
....., an error for Pallano or Pagliano, *Add.* and *Cor.* 543.
Pate (Richard), archdeacon of Lincoln; Eng. amb. to Spain (Dec. 1540), 307.
....., ..., recalled (Jan. 1541), *ibid.*
....., ..., his departure for the court of France to be kept secret, *ibid.*
Pau (dep. Basses Pyrenées, France); Henri II. d'Albret residing at, 544.
Paul III., Pope (Alessandro Farnese) (1334–50), 45, 49 *n.*, 56–9, 102, 122–4, 125, 131–4, 138–9, 170–5, 179, 181, 204–10, 226, 322, 520–2, 526.
....., dislikes (says Castillon to Chapuys) the idea of Charles and Francis making peace, 30.
....., ..., out of Rome (July–Aug. 1538), 34.
....., asked by the Emp. to deposit 400,000 crs. towards the African expedition, 36.

Paul III., Pope (Alessandro Farnese)—*cont.*
....., his reception of Margaret of Austria, the Emp.'s natural dau. (Nov. 1538), 55.
....., ..., entering Rome to be married to Ottavio Farnese his grandson, *ibid.*
....., sends card. Pole to the Emp. (Jan. 1539), 97.
....., his declaration respecting the du. of Urbino, Guidobaldo della Rovere, and the duchy of Camarino (Jan. 1539), 98.
....., insists on the necessity of an undertaking against the Turk, 102.
....., his conversation with Andrea Doria concerning the expedition to the Levant (Feb. 1539), 112.
..... proceeds against Eng., and decrees Henry's deprivation (Jan. 1539), 101, 105.
....., dissatisfied at the answer given by the Emp. to card. Pole's proposals, 141.
....., ..., and at his delaying to assist against England, 142.
....., hesitating about the suspension or closing of the General Council, *ibid.*
...., ..., deciding at last for the suspension, 143.
....., complains of Aguilar (April 1539), 144.
....., his projects against England occupying all his thoughts, *ibid.*
....., highly disappointed at the turn the English affair is taking, *ibid.*
....., absent from Rome (June 1539), 159.
....., holding conferences with Aguilar and the Venetian amb. about Castilnovo and the League against the Turk (June 1539), 161–4.
....., urged to send money towards the armaments of the League (July 1539), 168.
....., taking much to heart the English affair, *ibid.*
....., negociating through his grandson, card. Farnese, the marriage of Vittoria with the du. Cosmo de Medici, 169.
....., discontented (July 1539) at the Emp. not taking up the Eng. business as warmly as he expected, 174.
....., unless his own private affairs go on prosperously, no favor is to be expected from him in political or ecclesiastical matters (writes Aguilar, 20 July 1539), 173.
....., ..., tells the latter that the chief cause for his discontent is a private and personal one, and has nothing to do with England, *ibid.*
....., angry words of k. Francis against (Aug. 1539), 179.
....., ..., took very little care of the public weal, *ibid.*

Paul III., Pope (Alessandro Farnese)—*cont.*
....., ..., thought of nothing save the aggrandizement of his own family, *ibid.*
....., ..., ever since the marriage of his grand-dau., Vittoria, to Antoine de Bourbon was refused, made use of angry words expressive of his disappointment, *ibid.*
....., absent from Rome, at Civitta Vecchia (Nov. 1539), 204.
....., ..., returns and gives audience to D. Luis de Zuñiga, 209.
....., at Viterbo (Aug. 1540), 262.
....., ..., Aguilar joining him there (Sept.), *ibid.*
....., Instructions to card. Rosario going as Nuncio to Austria, *253.*
....., ..., to card. Brundusino, *254.*
....., ..., to the same going to Hungary, *256–7.*
....., ..., to the bp. of Modena, *258.*
....., promises to help the Catholic League with money, 280.
....., Should the Emp. make him an offer (said Pier Luigi, his son), he is sure to relinquish his negociations with Francis (Nov. 1540), 289.
....., suggests that the prince of Piedmont would be very acceptable, *ibid.*
....., ..., though the contract ought to be kept secret for fear of the French, *ibid.*
....., negociating the marriage of his grand-dau. (Vittoria Farnese) in France, *ibid.*
....., on the arrival of news at Rome that the English had landed at Calais, tells the French amb., "If the k. of England makes war upon your master, I will assist him with all my power" (May 1541), 322.
....., ..., asked by the amb. to put that declaration in writing, he declines, but fully authorizes him to write so to k. Francis, *ibid.*
....., holding frequent conferences with the Venetian amb. (May 1541), 322–3.
....., ..., caused, as Aguilar thinks, by the Emp.'s projected journey to Italy, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., and his dread of the Diet about to be held in Germany, *ibid.*
....., seriously thinking of renewing with the Swiss the old treaty of Julius II. (May 1541), 329.
....., ..., and about to send to Switzerland an Italian captain to recruit men therein, *ibid.*
....., should the result of the Diet be favorable to the Germans and to the Emp., is sure to go over to France (writes Chapuys to the Emp., 16 July 1541), 341.
....., absent from Rome (July 1541), 355.
....., ..., returns (25 Oct. 1541), 386.

Paul III., Pope (Alessandro Farnese)—*cont.*
....., appoints two cards., Farnese and Santa Croce, to debate with Aguilar and Granvelle on certain political matters, and especially on the truce with France, 386–90.
....., ..., result of the conferences, and Paul's decision thereupon, 398–403.
....., the Fragoso and Rincon affair referred to, as umpire, 387.
....., ..., to decide whether it may be considered an infraction of the truce on the part of the Emp., *ibid.*
....., nothing he likes so much as to see all the members of his family promoted (Dec. 1541), 427–8.
....., lets. to the Emp., (1539) *33*, *81*, *97*, (1540) *113*.
....., ..., from. the Emp. to (1539), *9*, *47*.
....., Instructions to card. Brundusino, *255–6*, *257*.
....., ..., to the bp. of Modena, *258*.
....., his referendary, *v. Cesis*.
....., ..., Datary and sec., *v. Ardinghelli* and *Capo di Ferro*.
....., ..., master of ceremonies, 288.
....., ..., treasurer, *v. Parisani*.
....., ..., Nuncios and Legates: cards. *Farnese*, *Juvenale*, *Poggio*, *Riccio*.
..... IV. (Gian Pietro Caraffa), 120 *n.*
Paulet (Sir William), comptroller of the Royal household; the Order of the Garter conferred on (May 1541), 325.
Paulin (capt. Antoine), baron de la Garde; French envoy to Turkey (1541), 406, 464.
Pavia, in Lombardy, 336, 382.
....., three Spanish soldiers from the garrison of, implicated in Fragoso's murder, 338, 360, 547.
....., ..., orders sent for their arrest (July 1541), *ibid.*
Pellicier, Pellisier (Guillaume de), bp. of Montpellier (1527–40); French amb. to Venice (1539), 105, 166, 489.
....., ..., very busy (April 1540) making a league between Francis and the Turk against the Emp., 234.
..... (Ludovico, Louis), co-adjutor of Orange in France (1527–42); Montmorency's sec.; sent to Rome in company with Latino Juvenale (May 1539), 151, 179.
....., ..., the object of his mission being to assure the Pope of Francis' perfect conformity of views with respect to England and k. Henry, 151.
....., ..., asks Aguilar whether the Emp. is, or not, prepared to stop the intercourse of trade with England, 152.
....., ..., ..., the Imp. amb.'s evasive answer to that question (May 1539), 152.
Peloux (Anne de), a Frenchman in the service of the Emp. (1532–40), 235, 239, 520.
....., on a mission to k. Francis (July 1538), 35.
....., again sent to France (May 1540), 235, 239, 516, 520.
....., Instructions to (1540), *108*.
Pelu, Pelux, *v. Peloux*.
Peña (——), sec. at Cartagena, 377.
Peninsula, the Spanish, ports in, 324.
Penna, duchy of, in Naples, 161, 169.
Pension, arrears of, owing to England, 434.
Percy (Henry), earl of Northumberland, 328.
Perez (Antonio), Philip II.'s sec., 545.
..... (Gonzalo), sec., 215, 267, 372, 545.
Peronne, in Picardy, 104.
Perosa, Perose, *v. Perugia*.
Perpiñan (Perpignan), in the Roussillon, 278, 377.
....., *alcayde* or gov. of, *v. Beamonte*.
Perreau (Louis de), sieur de Castillon; French amb. in England (1533–4); a second time (1537–8), 15–6, 25, 27–31, 37 *n.*, 101, *Add.* and *Cor.* 529, *Int.* iii.
....., quits London (March, 1539), 142, *Int.* iii, iv.
....., mistaken for Gaspard de Coligny, sieur de Châtillon, *Add.* and *Cor.* 529, *Int.* iv.
Perrenot (Antoine), 63 *n.*, *Int.* xxii *n.*
....., son of Nicholas and Philip II.'s prime-minister; bp. of Arras and card., 58.
..... (Charles), son of Nicolas, sieur de Granvelle, *Int.* xxii.
..... (Frederic), sieur de Champagney, brother of Jerôme, *ibid.*
..... (Jerôme), baron d'Autremont; sieur de Champagney; son of Nicolas, sieur de Granvelle, *Int.* xxii.
..... (Nicolas), sieur de Granvelle; Master of the Requests in Flanders; sec. of the Council; the Emp.'s Privy Seal, 277.
....., ..., conversation with amb. Castelnau on the league against the Turk, 180–1.
....., ..., sent to Italy on a special mission to Paul (Sept. 1541), 361, 364.
....., ..., ..., to remain there for some time negociating, and attending to other affairs of the Emp.'s, 364.
....., ..., ..., ..., those of Siena likely to give him much trouble, *ibid.*
....., ..., his conferences with cards. Farnese and Santa Croce (14–22 Nov. 1541), 386–93.
....., ..., ..., his report of them, 414, 425, 428.
....., ..., still negociating at Rome (22 Nov. 1541), 396–403.

Perrenot (Nicolas)—*cont.*

....., ..., efficiently helped in his negociations by the du. of Castro [Pier Luigi Farnese], 406.

....., ..., to Siena, together with Aguilar, to quiet the dissensions prevailing in that Republic (Dec. 1541), 414–19.

....., ..., ..., reports on the reforms introduced by him there, 423–25.

....., ..., to leave Siena for Milan, and thence to Genoa to embark for Spain (Dec. 1541), 418.

....., ..., ..., though he is watched by the enemy and considers his life in danger, *ibid*, 459.

....., ..., on his way back to Spain (Jan. 1542), 459–61.

....., ..., intending to go to Genoa by way of Nizza, at the request of the du. Carlo of Savoy, 461.

....., ..., sails for Spain, and is pursued by French cruizers, 476.

....., ..., obliged to return to Genoa, 476, 482–3.

....., ..., arrives and lands at Barcelona (begin. of April 1542), 490–1, 502–3, 506.

....., ..., his conferences with Gardiner at Regensburgh (1549); alluded, 490–2.

....., ..., writes his despatches in French, owing to his being scantily versed in the Span. language, 215.

....., ..., his wife, *v. Bonvalot* (Nicole).

....., ..., his sons and relations, *Int.* xxii.

....., ..., lets. to the Emp., (1538) *2*, (1540) *133*, (1541) *208*, *214*, *217*, *226*.

....., ..., ..., to sec. Cobos, *96*.

....., ..., ..., to amb. Sarmiento de Mendoza, *17*.

....., ..., ..., from sec. Cobos to, *127*.

....., ..., ..., from Chapuys to, *121*, *190*, *203*, *211*, *229*, *245*, *251*.

....., ..., Lope Hurtado's to, *71*.

..... (Thomas), sieur de Chantonnay; co. de Cante-Croix; Imp. amb. in England (1543); son of Nicolas, sieur de Granvelle, *Int.* xxii.

Persia, Shah of, *v. Thamasp*.

Peru (S. America), a grant of money from, to help the Emp. in the war against the Turk, 241.

Perugia, in the States of the Church, 227, 290, 415.

....., the people of, considered the most warlike in all Italy, 227.

....., ..., revolt against the Pope on account of the Salt tax (April 1540), *ibid*.

....., ..., shelter the "fuorusciti" of Florence and Siena, *ibid*.

Perugia—*cont.*

....., ..., issue proclamations calling themselves the obedient servants of the Apostolic See, but the enemies of the Farnese, *ibid*.

....., ..., the Pope so determined to punish them, that no persuasions of the Imp. amb. will avail to make him desist from his plans, *ibid*.

....., the XXV. of, meditating an attack on, 288.

....., Ridolpho Baglione at the head of the "fuorusciti" from (Nov. 1540), 288–9.

....., the Pope sends thither Gio. Battista Sabello with a body of light cavalry, 290.

....., ..., to be followed by Alessandro Vitelli with a considerable force, if he will accept its command, *ibid*.

....., war against, carried on by Pope Paul, 403.

Pescara (marq. de), *v. Davalos d'Aquino* (Fernando).

....., marchioness de, 59; *v. Colonna* (Vittoria).

Peste (Pest), in Hungary, *v. Buda-Pest*.

Peter Varadin (Wardein), in Hungary, bp. of, *v. Martinuzzi*.

Petillano, co., *v. Pitigliano*.

Philip I., du. of Burgundy, co. of Flanders, and archdu. of Austria; k. of Spain by his marriage with Juana, q. of Castille, 445, 531.

....., ..., visits England (1506), 59.

....., ..., his treaties of commerce with Henry VII. (1506), 59, 532–3.

....., ..., ..., with Henry VIII. (1520), *ibid*.

..... (Philippe, Felipe), prince of Spain, eldest son of Charles V. (b. May 1527), 13 *n.*, 241, 245, 276, 292, 440, 513.

....., ..., various marriage alliances proposed for, 13, 45, 240, 276.

....., ..., k. Henry's advice respecting, and his government of Spain during his father's absence, 447.

....., ..., sporting at Aranjuez (Nov. 1541), 377.

....., ..., visiting his sister, Da. Maria, *ibid*.

....., landgraf of Hesse, 106, 533.

....., ..., sends ambassadors to k. Francis, 7.

....., ..., ..., enters into a league with him and with the dus. of Saxony and Clèves, for the defence of Ghelders, 277.

....., ..., sends a mission to England, 31.

....., ..., his quarrel with the du. of Saxony (July 1540), 245.

....., ..., divorces (Aug. 1540), 254.

....., ..., asks for the hand of Vittoria Farnese, 265.

Philip, landgraf of Hesse—*cont.*

....., ..., writes to q. Mary of Hungary, the Regent of the Low Countries (13 Jan. 1539), 106.

....., ..., his amb. in England arrives (Jan. 1540), *Int.* xii.

....., the Palatine; co. and du. of the Rhine, sends an embassy to England to ask for the hand of princess Mary (May 1541), 324.

....., ..., comes in person, *Int.* x.

....., ..., agent of, in London, *v. Goderfinger.*

Philpot (Clement), execution of (Aug. 1540), *Int.* x.

Physicians, royal. An Italian, of k. Henry visits Chapuys (Oct. 1540), 285.

....., ..., who suspects him to be a spy of the K.'s, *ibid.*

....., suggests the princess' marriage to her cousin the Emp., *ibid.*

....., one of the, sent by k. Henry to visit Lady Rochefort daily, as he desires her recovery that he may have her executed afterwards (Dec. 1541), 408.

Piacenza, in Lombardy, 336.

Picardy (Picardie), prov. of France; the fortified towns of, to be inspected by order of k. Francis (Aug. 1540), 259.

Piçarro (Hernando), *v. Pizarro.*

Piccolomini [d'Aragon] (Alfonso), du. of Amalfi; commanding at Sienna in the Emp.'s name, 217.

....., his son, the marq., 424.

....., deprived of his command (Dec. 1541), 154, 418.

Pico della Mirandola (Galeotto), co. della Concordia; levying troops for the French, 339–40.

....., the Order of St. Michael conferred by Francis on (Aug. 1540), 359.

Piedmont, 46, 104, 140, 421, 495.

....., a rising against the French in, apprehended (Aug. 1538), 12.

....., marshal Hannebault to be sent to, 345.

....., quiet in Dec. 1540, as the French are not stirring therein, 422.

....., the French garrison in, to be reinforced (Aug. 1541), 523–4.

....., French forces in, increasing every day (Sept. 1541), 345, 361.

....., no sign of matters improving in, *ibid.*

....., prince of, *v. Savoy* (Emmanuele Philiberto).

Piença, in Tuscany; the du. of Amalfi ill at, 424.

Pietra Sancta, let. dated from, *226.*

Pimentel (Da. Ana), dau. of the marq. de Aguilar, married to the co. de Salinas, 244 *n.*

Pimentel—*cont.*

..... (Juan Alonso), co. de Benavente, 288.

....., ..., aspires to the hand of Vittoria Farnese, *ibid.*

..... Ossorio (Da. Maria), marq. de Villafranca, 212 *n.*

Pio da Carpi (Rudolfo), bp. of Faenza and card., 427.

..... (Theodoro), bp. of Monopoli in Naples (1513–44); of Faenza (1544–61), and card., Papal Nuncio to France, 175 *n.*, 179.

....., ..., intelligence communicated by, 421, 426–7.

....., ..., sincerely attached to the Emp., 423.

Piombino, in Tuscany, 415.

....., not to be sold or disposed of without the Emp.'s previous knowledge, 525.

....., lord of, *v. Appiani.*

Pirates, English. A caravel from Seville, carrying a sum of gold and a quantity of amber and other merchandize to the value of upwards of 5,000 duc., captured near Cape Alguer by a large ship manned by (Sept. 1540), 269–70.

....., ..., ..., her owners applying for lets. of "marque" and reprisal, *ibid.*

....., ..., a Portuguese ship captured by, in the Channel, 304.

....., ..., ..., also a Span. vessel (Jan. 1541), *ibid.*

....., ..., shortly to be tried and executed, though no money or property has been found in their hands, *ibid.*

....., *French*, in the Channel, 270.

....., ..., in the West Indies, 100, 279, 294.

...., *Turkish.* All, and robbers flocking under the standard of Barbarossa, 231–2.

Pisseleu (Anne de), duchess d'Etampes, 113, 251, 255, 259.

....., promotes the fall of Montmorency, 333.

....., quarrels with Diane de Poitiers, 362.

Pitigliano, co., 55, 415, 422–6.

..... (Luigi), *Add.* and *Cor.* 533.

Pizarro (Hernando), returns from Peru, 241–2.

....., has a conference with Cobos, 241.

....., gives his opinion about a grant of money to the Emp., 241–2.

Plague, the, or sweating disease prevalent in England, 349.

....., ten of Chapuys' men ill with it, *ibid.*

....., ..., a sec. of the du. of Norfolk, dying from its effects, 379.

....., much illness, almost amounting to a, prevailing in Spain, owing to the bad harvest of 1539, and the consequent privations of the poor people, 270.

Plague, the—*cont.*
....., ..., unless proper lodgings and wholesome food be provided for the hungry beggars flocking to Madrid, there is great danger of an infection, *ibid.*
....., ..., hospitals founded in Spain (Sept. 1540), *ibid.*
....., fever and "modorra" prevailing in Castille (Aug. 1540), 245.
....., in 1540; depopulating several towns and villages, and making it impossible to store provisions for the Algiers expedition, 494–5.
....., raging in Constantinople and the adjacent provinces (Sept. 1541), 362.
Plantagenet (Arthur), viscount Lisle; nat. son of Edward, deputy [governor] of Calais, 468, 552.
....., ..., arrested and sent to the Tower, *Int.* xii–xiii, xviii.
....., ..., hopes, however, are entertained of his being spared, 541.
....., ..., ..., as k. Henry has been heard to say that he cannot be persuaded that he acted maliciously, *ibid.*
....., ..., his wife, *v. Grey.*
..... (Margaret), co. of Salisbury, dau. of the du. of Clarence; wife of Reginald de la Pole, executed (May 27, 1541), 331; *v.* under *Salisbury.*
Plasencia, in Italy, *v. Piacenza.*
....., in Extremadura (Spain), 489.
....., ..., bp. of, *v. Vargas de Carvajal* (Gutierre de).
Plombières (dep. Vosges), the du. of Wüstenberg at, 78.
Po, r., of Italy, 333–37, 382, 521.
Poggio (Giovan), bp. of Tropea (1540), card. (1551), d. 1556; Papal Nuncio to the Emp. (1538–40), 36, 45–6, 137, 141, 143–5, 159, 186, 281, 286–8, 322–3, 391.
....., ..., again (Sept. 1541), 364, 391, 520.
....., recommended by the Emp. for a cardinal's hat (Nov. 1539), 208.
....., ..., a man of great merit and who has done good service, *ibid.*
....., ..., other distinguished ecclesiastics have made the same application, and would be offended (answers Paul) were, to be made a cardinal, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., should Paul, however, live long enough to make another creation, will not be forgotten, *ibid.*
....., lets. of, read in Consistory (May 1541), 322–3.
Poitiers (Diane de), the Dauphin's mistress, quarrels with Mme. d'Etampes (Sept. 1541), 362.
....., ..., much time and money spent in making them friends, *ibid; v. Valois* (Henri de).
Pol, *v. Powel.*
Poland, kingdom of, 515.
....., k. of, *v. Sigismond.*
....., q. of, *v. Isabella.*
Pole (Geoffrey), sent to the Tower, 31.
..... (Henry), lord Montagu; in close confinement (June 1541), 332.
....., ..., sentenced to death, *ibid.*
..... (card. Reginald); the English business to be entrusted by the Pope to, 31, 134, 168, 184–6, 331, 535.
....., goes to the Emp. in Spain, with a let. of Paul III. (Jan. 1538), 99, 141, 145, 168.
....., ..., ..., to treat of the affairs of England, 99.
....., ..., ..., and to k. Francis for the same purpose, 99, 168.
....., ..., afraid of assassins paid by k. Henry, 99, 141.
....., ..., arrives at Toledo (March 1539), 132.
....., ..., ..., has audience from the Emp., and explains his case, 134.
....., ..., ..., the Emp.'s answer to, not to the Pope's liking, 141, 166, 174, 535.
....., ..., writes a let. to k. Francis, 141.
....., ..., ..., which is taken by a French abbot (St. Salut) of his acquaintance, 145.
....., ..., mother of, *v. Salisbury.*
....., ..., brother of, *v. Montagu*, lord.
Polici, Policy, sieur de, *v. Dinteville.*
Polidoro (Vergilio), leaves Rome on a message to the Emp. (Nov. 1540), 289.
Polin (Pollino ?), cap., on a mission of Francis' to the Turk, *v. Paulin.*
Polish, a, gentleman, followed by eight or ten servants, arrives in London (July 1541), 335.
Pomblin, *v. Piombino.*
Pomegas (Las), Pomègues, island near Marseilles, 3.
Ponce de Leon (Ana de la Cruz), dau. of the du. of Arcos (D. Rodrigo), 271.
..... (D. Francisco), *ibid.*
..... (D. Luis Christoval), II. du. of Arcos, 271 *n.*
..... (D. Rodrigo), I. du. of Arcos, 271.
Ponfret (Pontefract); the fair of, to be the rendezvous of the Welsh rebels, 321; *v. Pontefract.*
Pont, marq. de, 332, 349; *v. Lorraine* (François de), and *Pont à Mousson.*
..... à Mousson, in the Lorraine; marq. de, *v. Lorraine* (François de).
Pontefract, in Yorkshire; the rising and conspiracy at (May 1541), 321.
Porto-Ercole, in Tuscany; the "Rocca" or castle of, 423–4.
....., a gov. appointed to, 424.

Portugal, kingdom of, 346.
....., k. of, *Joaõ III.* and *Manoel.*
....., princess of, *v. Maria.*
....., fleet of, in the Red Sea (1540), 293.
..... (Dom Alfonso, or Alphonso of), son of D. Manoel, k. of, made Cardinal, 5, 290.
..... (Dom Duarte de), son of k. Joaõ III., death of (Nov. 1540), 291–2.
..... (Dom Enrique), son of D. Manoel; a cardinal's hat for, 5.
..... (Dom Joaõ III., k. of), 5, 15, 48, 346.
....., ..., prince of Brazil, son of the preceding, marries (1552) Juana, the Emp.'s daughter, 549.
..... (Dom Luys, Infante of), 5, 20, 43.
....., ..., at Barcelona with the Emp., 109.
....., ..., his marriage with princess Mary negociated, 63, 67, 79, 81, 91.
....., ..., once so warm and expansive respecting the Emp.'s affairs, becoming all of a sudden cold and dissembling (Nov. 1540), 294.
....., ..., no cause can be assigned for his disappointment, except that the promise of investing him with the duchy of Milan has never been fulfilled, *ibid.*
....., ..., thinks, however, of nothing else but marrying his own niece (Maria), and succeeding to the throne, as his brother k. Joaõ has only one sickly child left, who cannot live long, *ibid.*
..... (Doña Maria, Infanta of), dau of k. Dom Manoel and Eleanor, the Emp.'s sister (b. 1527), 112.
....., ... (another) dau. of k. Joaõ III. and Catharina, the Emp.'s sister, 12, 110–1, 239, 280, 433, 550; *v.* also under *Maria of Portugal.*
Portuguese. Said to be slow in their deliberations, 279.
....., the fleet of the, in the Red Sea, 293, 339.
Possonia (Posen), in Poland, a diet to be held at (1539), 112.
Post. Regular communication by, between France and Spain, to be established (Aug. 1538), 11.
Postmasters. The Emp.'s, in Flanders, 104.
....., ..., in Italy, *ibid.*
....., ..., in Spain, *ibid.*
Post Office, in London. All private lets. in the, to be opened by the command of the Council (Jan. 1541), 307.
....., ..., for fear they should contain any intelligence concerning Wallop's withdrawal from the Court of France, *ibid.*
Poulain, cap., French agent in Turkey, 406; *v. Paulin?*
Powel, Dr., hung, *Add.* and *Cor.* 542.
Praët, sieur de, *v. Flandre.*
Prat (Antoine du), bp. of Sens; Chancellor of France, 381.
..... Cardinal's hat given to (1541), 427, 551.
Prato, ducal palace in Florence; the do. du. Margaret at the (Oct. 1538), 49.
....., let. from Rome, addressed to, *18.*
Presents, gifts, &c.:
....., from Pope Paul to Margaret, the Emp.'s natural dau., a jewel and a ring (Nov. 1540), 56, 291.
....., ..., from the same to the same, a jewel and 3,000 ducats, 90, 99.
....., from the French amb. to k. Henry three wild-boar pies (Jan. 1541), 307.
....., from the k. of the Romans, Ferdinand, to the waywode of Transylvania on his marriage (March 1539), 118.
....., from k. Henry to amb. Mendoza on his departure from England (1538), 34, 44.
....., ..., from the same to the ladies-in-waiting of the q. of Scotland, 41.
...., ..., from the same to co. Claudio Rangone of a gold cup and 400 ducats inside of it (April 1542), 505.
....., from Anne de Clèves to k. Henry, as a New Year's gift, a pair of horses (Jan. 1541), 305.
....., ..., from the same to the same on New Year's Day (1542), a piece of cramoisy cloth, 466.
....., ..., from the King to Catharine Howard, of a ring and two small dogs (Jan. 1541), 306.
....., ..., ..., which Catharine passed over to Anne de Clèves, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., and k. Henry recovered afterwards from the latter, 471.
....., from the Princess (Mary) to q. Catharine Howard on New Year's day, *ibid.*
....., from D. Diego de Mendoza to High Commander Cobos two [silver gilt?] salt-cellars (Sept. 1538), 44.
....., from k. Henry to the Scotch ambs. returning home (Feb. 1542), 1,500 duc. in silver plate, 469.
....., ..., from the same to Mr. de Thayx, 300 crs., at his departure from London (March 1541), 312.
Prevessa (La), in Albania; expedition to; alluded, 133.
....., 18 Turkish sails leaving (Sept. 1541), 361.
....., Barbarossa intending to sail to, for winter quarters (Nov. 1541), 404.
Prisoners, all the Imp., in France to be released by order of k. Francis, with the only exception of the abp. of Valencia (Nov. 1541), 377.

Privateers, *French*, in the West Indies, 100, 279, 294.
....., ..., a combined Span. and Port. fleet to be armed against the (Oct. 1540), 279.
....., ..., in the Channel, 270.
....., *Turkish*, in the Mediterranean, 527.
Privy Seal. The charge of, after Cromwell's execution, given to Fitz William, 541.
....., Lord, to Henry VIII., *v. Fitz William.*
....., ..., to the Emp., *v. Granvelle.*
Protestantism in Germany; much prevailing and increasing, 403.
Provence, 267.
....., a gentleman from, comes to England on a mission from the Grand-master of Rhodes, 309.
....., Imp. courier arrested in, 382.
Provenzia? *v. Provence.*
Prussia, duchy of, 61.
Puçol, in Naples, *v. Puzzuolo.*
....., bp. of, *v. Barba* (Bernardino).
Puglia, a province of Naples: 18 Turkish "fustees" infesting the coast of, 230 –1 *n.*, 355, 527.
Pulla, *v. Puglia.*
Pulleo (Antonius de), baron del Borgho; a Sicilian in Pope Clement's service sent to England as Nuncio (1530–3), *Int.* xxxi–ii.
Puzzuolo, in Naples, *v.* under *Puçol.*
Pyrenées, the, dividing Spain from France, 277, 364.
...., Basses, dep. of, in France, 544.

Q

Quenebet, Quennebet, *v. Knybet.*
Quiñones (D. Bernardino), co. of Luna, 309 *n.*
..... (Fr. Francisco de), general of the Franciscans at Rome, card. Santa Croce, 543.
....., ..., sent to Vicenza on the business of the General Council, and to announce its suspension (April 1539), 143.
....., ..., recommended by the Emp. for a cardinal's hat, 144.
....., ..., death of, at Veroli (Oct 1540), 289.
....., ..., succeeded by Fr. Francisco Lunel, 435; *v. Lunel* (Fr. Francisco).
..... (D. Gaspar de), knight commander of Ocaña, in the Order of Santiago; arrives in London for the purpose of applying for a neutral ground to fight the marq. del Gasto, 309 *n.*
....., ..., goes to France for the same object, *ibid.*
Quiñones (D. Gaspar de)—*cont.*
....., ..., his application refused here and there (Feb. 1541), *ibid.*
..... (Juan de), *ibid.*
Quirinal (Quirinale), the Pope's palace at Rome, 50, 55.

R

Rabago, Imp. messenger sent to Rome with despatches (Oct. 1539), *v. Ravago.*
Radcliffe (Robert), earl of Sussex, 306.
Ragusa, in Dalmatia, 31, 58, 114, 167, 170, 172.
....., news from, 340, 404.
....., abp. of, *v. Tribulzio.*
Rangone (co. Claude or Clodio), comes to England (March 1542), 484, 505, 552.
....., ..., his wife, 505.
..... (Luigi ?), an error for Claude or Clodio, 505, *Add.* and *Cor.* 552.
....., ..., on bad terms with the Pope, owing to certain castles which his wife possessed in the Parmigiano having been taken from him, *ibid.*
Ratisbone, *v. Regensburg.*
Ravago (—), treasurer and Imp. agent in Rome (1540) 191, 198, 224.
Ravenna, abp. of, *v. Farnese* (Ranuccio).
Ravestein, Mr. de, 18.
Raynaldus; his "Annales Ecclesiastici," quoted, 545.
Rayschak (?), German colonel, 44; *v. Heychron.*
Reading, abbot of, *v. Cook* (Hughes).
Real de Manzanares, co. de, *v. Lopez de Mendoza* (Iñigo I.).
Rectavil (?) in Normandy; an error of the scribe for *Breteuil, q. v.*
....., foundry of cannon at, 251.
Red Sea. Places on the, taken by the Portuguese (Nov. 1540), 293.
Redding, *v. Reading.*
Reform of the Clergy in Germany, proposed, 389, 397.
Regensburg, in Bavaria; diet of, 279, 304, 345, 437, 490.
....., ..., Pope Paul cannot possibly approve of the recess of the, 526.
....., French advocate at the diet of (July 1541), 345; *v. Remon.*
....., ..., the chief object of its meeting was to ask for assistance against the Turk, 476.
Reggio, in Sicily, 231.
Reid (Robert), abbot of Kinloss, prior of Beaulieu, bp. of Orkney (1540–2), 458.

Remon (Claude), 345.
Rethel (dep. Ardennes), in France, du. de, *v. Gonzaga* (Luigi).
Revel, sea port of Esthonia (Russia), 61, 531.
Retz, baron de, *v. Hannebault* (Claude d').
Reynsburg, *v. Regensburg.*
Richemont (Richmond), the court at, 324, *Int.* xiv–v.
Ridolfi, Ridulphi (card. Niccolo), nephew of Leo XI. (1517–50), 216.
....., *v. Baglione* (Ridolfo).
....., a fuoruscito from Perugia, joins the rebellion against Pope Paul (Nov. 1540), 288.
Rierevel (?) an error for *Kiel* and *Revel, q. v.*
Ril, *v. Eril.*
Rhine, 440.
....., cos. afterwards dus. Palatines of the, *v. Frederic* and *Philip.*
Rhodes, knights of, apply for a safe-conduct to come to England and treat of matters relating to their Order (Jan. 1541), 309.
....., Grand Master of, *v. Omedes* and *Malta.*
Rhodéz, Mr. de, French amb. at Rome (till Jan. 1539), 105; *v. Rodéz* and *Armagnac.*
Ribadeo, in Galicia, co. of, *v. Sarmiento de Villandrando.*
Ribagorza, countess of, at Rome on business (Sept. 1540), 267.
Ribera, commander; death of (June–July 1539), 172.
Riccio da Montepulciano (Giovan, Johan, Juan), Paul's Chamberlain (*camarlengo*), sent to Spain as Nuncio (1539), 242–3.
....., arrives at Aranjuez (Sept. 1539), 185–6, 191.
....., returns to Rome (Sept. 1540), 263, 291.
..... acting as a lawyer in the Palavicino case at Rome, 273–4.
....., his opinion, *130.*
....., sent again to the Emp. (Dec. 1541), 428.
Richer (Christophe), French amb. to Denmark; returns from his embassy to the du. of Holstein, 463.
....., k. Francis delighted to hear of his negociations there (1541–2), *ibid.*
Richmond, Anne de Clèves staying at, 305–6, 408, *Int.* xiii.
....., nunnery close to; report of Catharine Howard being shut up for life at a, 396.
Rijoles, *v. Reggio.*
Rimini, in the States of the Church; bp. of, *v. Parisani.*
Rincon (Antonio), a deserter from Spain, in the service of France, 37, 199, 247.
....., sent by k. Francis to Constantinople with Cantelmo, the Neapolitan, 114, 166, 176, 335–8, 340, 345, 370, 379, 387–9, 392, 547, 552.
Rincon (Antonio)—*cont.*
....., ..., where he is said to have worked more against the proposed truce than in favor of it, 176.
....., again on a mission to the Grand Turk with Cesare Fragoso, a Genoese "*fuoruscito,*" 247, 335, 359.
....., on his return to Venice waylaid and murdered, 336–8, 345, 359, 370, 387–9, 392.
....., ..., by soldiers, as it is thought, from the garrison of Pavia, 338, 360.
....., a report current at Venice that k. Francis was advised by the Pope not to send, to Constantinople until the arrival of his own Nuncio in France (July 1541), 340.
....., k. Francis wanting to know what k. Henry thinks about his case, 360, 454–5.
....., Gasto having received orders only to seize his papers and those of Fragoso his colleague, 338.
....., Francis willing to place the affair in the Pope's hands, 370.
....., ..., for him to be the arbiter, and decide whether the truce between him and the Emp. could be considered as broken, *ibid.*
....., a meeting at Rome of Granvelle and Aguilar on the Emp.'s side and the French ambs. on the other to discuss the point (Nov. 1541), 386–7.
....., ..., it is alleged that both, and his colleague were wicked and disreputable men, *ibid.*
....., ..., crossing at the time the duchy of Milan accompanied by rebels and outcasts (*fuorusciti*) of the same, *ibid.*
....., ..., and that if they had been slain, they richly deserved their fate, *ibid.*
....., also called *Il Rincone, Rangone,* and *Ringone,* 505, 551.
Rios (Martin Alonso de los), Span. courier, takes despatches to Rome, 119, 131, 134, 355.
....., arrives (19 June 1541), 355, 526.
Rio Seco, du. de, *v. Medina de Rio Seco* and *Enriquez.*
Riviera (La) of Genoa, co. della, *v. Sfondrato.*
Rizzo y Ramirez (D. Juan), his prize-essay on D. Alvaro de Luna, 212 *n.*
Roana, *v. Rouen.*
Rocca Guglielma, Guillerma, an estate in Naples, to be bought as part of Margaret's dower, 161, 169, 186, 286, 291, 406.
....., ..., belonging to Alessandro de' Medici, du. of Florence, and mortgaged to Philippe de Croy, 132.
Rocche (Sir William), lord Mayor of London (1540), present at Lady Salisbury's execution in May (?), 336.

Rochafort, castle of, near Calais; Eng. gov. of, said to have been beheaded by k. Henry's orders (March 1539), 135.

Rocheford (Madame de), *v. Parker.*

Rochepot (Mons. de la), *v. Montmorency* (François de).

....., merchant ship belonging to, seized by the Eng. in the Channel, 458, *Int.* viii, xii.

Rodéz (dep. L'Aveyron, France), bp. of, *v. Armagnac.*

Rogendorf, Rogenndorf, Roguendorf (Mr. de, and Wilhelm von), German captain; lord High Steward to Ferdinand; informs Chapuys of the miserable state of affairs in Hungary (July 1541), 344.

Rojas (D. Diego de), treasurer, 224.

..... (Da. Margarida, Margarita), wife of Lope Hurtado, 165, 209, 217–9, 224–5, 262, 293.

Roman Court, 290.

....., affairs, 293.

Romans, k. of the, *v. Ferdinand.*

Rome, 1, 197, 410.

....., Rota, or Ecclesiastical Court at, 55.

....., news from, 354.

....., consul and Senate of, 55.

....., state of affairs at (Dec. 1541), 428.

....., gov. of, 263.

....., prefect of, 138; *v. Farnese* (card. Alessandro).

....., vicar of, *v. Roscrio.*

....., vice chancellor of, *v. Farnese.*

....., let. from, *52.*

Romero (Dr.), Span. physician to Barbarossa, 229, 235, 274.

....., ..., and his agent (March 1540), 233.

Rosano (Rossano), in Naples; principality of, to be bought for Margaret, the Emp.'s dau., 160.

....., abp. of, *v. Colonna.*

Rosario (Virgilio), card. and vicar of Rome (d. 1559); Papal Nuncio to Austria, 514, 553.

Rosso (Pietro Maria), co. de San Secondo, 197.

Rostán Pashá, Solymán's vizier; how he treated Laschi, Ferdinand's amb., 359.

Rota, Ecclesiastical Court in Rome, 46, 55, 164.

Rotellan, co. of, *v. Rutland* and *Manners.*

Rotolf (Sir Gregory), *v. Botolf.*

Rouen, in Normandy, 251, *Int.* ix.

....., the fair of Antwerp to be transferred to, 6.

Roussillon, again threatened by Francis, 278, 377, *Int.* ix.

....., Span. commander in the (Oct. 1540), *v. Alaba y Beamont.*

Rovere (Francesco Maria della), *fourth* du. of Urbino (d. 21 Oct. 1538), 37 *n.*

Rovere—*cont.*

..... (Guidobaldo della), du. of Urbino (1538–74), 37 *n.*, 98, 102, 138, 532.

....., ..., recommended by the Signory of Venice for the command-in-chief of the army of the League, 38.

....., ..., sued by the Pope for his undue retention of the duchy of Camerino, 98.

....., ..., the Imp. and Venetian ambs. at Rome trying to stop the proceedings against, on account of Camarino, 98, 138.

....., ..., his agent at Rome, 98.

....., ..., accepts Paul's offers respecting that duchy, 146.

....., ..., the French intriguing with (Jan. 1542), 461.

....., ..., his first wife, *v. Varana* (Giulia).

....., ..., ..., his second, Farnese (Vittoria), dau. of Pier Luigi, du. of Castro, 533.

Russel (Sir John), lord High Admiral (1540–2), 285, 297, 299, 304, 406, 432, 505, 541, *Int.* x.

....., to Guisnes to inspect the fortifications (May 1541), 323.

....., in frequent communication with Chapuys, 304, 395, 444, 497.

Rutland, earl of, *v. Manners.*

Rybera, *v. Ribera.*

Ryche (Sir Richard), solicitor-general, 541.

Rye (Gerard de), sieur de Valançon, 14–5.

S

Sabelli, Sabello (Giovan Battista), Roman general, 207, 535.

....., ..., to accompany Ottavio Farnese to Flanders (Jan 1540), 209, 218.

....., ..., sent by Pope Paul against Perugia (3 Nov. 1540), 290.

....., ..., to advise Ottavio in case the Emp. should give the latter the command of an army (Dec. 1541), 429.

..... (Jacopo), son of the preceding; bp. of Nicastro and Teramo, to be made cardinal (1539), 207, *Add.* and *Cor.* 535.

Sabiote, a town of Spain (prov. of Jaen), lord of, *v. Cobos.*

Sacraments, done away with in England, 106.

Saddler (Sir Ralph), Henry's secretary (1542), 497.

....., Wriothesley's colleague, *ibid.*

Sadeler, *v. Saddler.*

Saillans, baron de, *v. Bourg.*

Saint Amand (dep. Pas de Calais); the Emp. to waive his claims on, and other places which Francis retains in Picardy, 238.

Saint Amand—*cont.*
..... Brancard, baron de, commander of French galleys in the Levant, 91.
..... Leger (Sir Anthony), of Henry's private Chamber; sent to Brussels with lets. to q. Mary of Hungary (Oct. 1539), 200, 535.
....., ..., applying for a passport for Anne de Clèves to pass through Flanders, *ibid.*
....., ... (Robert), his brother, *Add.* and *Cor.* 535.
..... Maurice (Mr. de, Jean de), Imp. amb. in France, 247–51.
....., ..., let. to the Emp., *117.*
..... Pierre, nunnery at Rheims, 529.
..... Trivier, let. dated from, 361.
St. George, the badge of, torn off from Cromwell's neck by the du. of Norfolk (June 1540), 540.
St. Michael (Saint Michel), French Order of Chivalry conferred by Francis I. on co. Pico della Mirandola, 359.
St. Michel, the abbey of, belonging to the du. Carlo of Savoy, 281.
....., still retained by the French (Oct. 1540), *ibid.*
St. Pol, town of France (dep. Pas de Calais), 238.
....., ..., retaken by the Imperialists, 434.
..... (Mr. de), *v. Bourbon* (François II. de).
St. Quentin, 222.
....., battle of, alluded, 13 *n.*
St. Rivier, *v. Saint Trivier.*
St. Salut, French abbot, takes a let. of card. Pole to k. Francis, 145.
St. Vincent, abbot of, 46, 201 *n.*, 203; *v. Bonvalot* (Francois).
Sala, a servant of D. Diego de Mendoza, 44.
Salazar de Mendoza; life of card. Tavera, abp. of Toledo (Toledo: 1640, 4to), 226 *n.*
Salerno, coast of, 88 *n.*
Salinas, co. de, *v. Sarmiento de Villandrando.*
..... (Martin de), Austrian amb. in Spain, *Add.* and *Cor.* 544.
Salisbury (Mme. de, do. countess of), dau. of the du. of Clarence, sentenced to death, 174.
....., executed (May 27, 1541), 331.
Salm, co., Austrian amb. to the waywode of Transylvania, 118.
....., sent to Buda with presents from Ferdinand k. of the Romans, on the waywode's marriage with Isabella of Poland (Feb. 1539), *v.* under *Marriage.*
Salona, in Dalmatia, belonging to the Venetians; the Turks laying siege to (March or April 1539), 145.
Salses, in the Roussillon, 278.
Salt; the tax on, imposed by the Pope on the Perugians, 227.
....., ..., is the cause of their revolt (April 1540), 227.
Salt-cellars presented by amb. Mendoza to High Commander Cobos (1538), 44.
Saltzburg (Salzburg), in Austria, abp. of, *v. Gurk* (Mathew).
Salves, Salvis (*Salviati*), 416–9.
Salviati, Salviatis, a Florentine family; one branch of the, in Siena, 416–7.
....., faction or party of the, 418.
....., ..., hoping to get masters of the place, *ibid.*
..... (Giovan), Papal Legate at Avignon, 199.
..... (Julio) and his four brothers, 423.
Salvis, the, of Siena, *v. Salviatis* (?).
Sambaut (?), a cardinal's hat for the nephew of, 427, 551.
Sampson (Richard), dean of the Chapel; bp. of Chichester; arrested, *Add.* and *Cor.* 539.
Sanchez (Alonso), Royal treasurer at Naples; amb. of the k. of the Romans in Venice, 269, 362.
..... (Antonio Gabriel), treasurer of Aragon, 267.
....., ..., death of, recorded (Sept. 1540), *ibid.*
....., ..., his dau., *ibid.*
..... (Francisco), abbot of Parco in Sicily; death of (May 1539), 153.
....., ..., card. Farnese to be appointed in his room, 157.
..... (sec. Gabriel), Ferdinand's amb. at Rome, 144, 153.
Sanctius (Berardus, Bernardus ?), bp. of Aquila (1538–53), 165.
Sandoval y Rojas (D. Bernardo de), marq. de Denia, 246 *n.*
Sandys (lord William), Chamberlain of the Royal Household; gov. of Guisnes; lands at Calais, 135.
....., buys horses for the K., which are confiscated, 308.
San Francisco, convent at Messina, 231.
..... Geronimo, convent of, near Madrid, 372.
Sangiac, Turkish word, meaning "colonel," 293.
Sangiaquia, the district under a sangiac, 234.
Sanguin (Anton), abp. of Orleans (1535–50), a relative of Mme. d'Etampes, recommended for a cardinal's hat, 113, 138.
Sanquexan (Sanquirico, in Tuscany), let. dated from, *19.*
San Salvador, castle of, in Messina, gov. of, *v. Gallego.*
....., lieut.-gov. of, *v. Vergara.*
Sanseverino (Antonio), abp. of Naples and card., 58.
Sansovino (Francesco), Ital. genealogist; quoted, *Add.* and *Cor.* 536.
Santa Catarina di Sena, nunnery; law-suit with the High Commander of Castille, 193.

Santa Croce, card., *v. Quiñones* (Fr. Francisco).

....., another, *v. Cervini* (Marcello), deputed by Pope Paul, together with card. Farnese, to discuss certain political matters with Granvelle and Aguilar at Rome (Nov. 1541), 396, 406.

Santa Cruz, card., *v. Santa Croce, Marcello,* and *Quiñones.*

Santaella; his petition, 363.

Santafiore, co. de, *v. Sforza* and *Orsini.*

....., Roman family; cardinals of the, sure to vote for a Pope of the French party, 266.

....., card. of, 140 *n.*, 287; *v. Sforza* (Guido Antonio).

Santa Flor, Sancta Flor, *v. Santafiore.*

Santangelo, the castle of, at Rome, the property of the Medici; Margaret takes possession of (May 1539), 122.

Santiago de Compostela, in Galicia (Spain), Order of, High Commander of the, *v. Zuñiga* (Juan de).

....., abp. of, *v. Sarmiento de Mendoza.*

Santillana, marq. de, *v. Lopez de Mendoza.* (Iñigo I.).

Santisteban, Santistevan, co. of, *v. Luna* (D. Alvaro de).

Sant Segundo, co., *v. Rosso* (Pietro Maria), 197.

San Thoma (St. Thomas), of Arras; the provostship of, 58.

Saragossa, *v. Zaragoza.*

Sardinia, 122, 372.

....., Spanish infantry to winter in (1541), 414.

Sarmiento (Francisco), Spanish capt.; commander at Castilnovo, 88.

..... de Mendoza (D. Luis), Imp. amb. in Portugal, 1 *n.*, 5, 110–2, 279.

....., ..., lets. to the Emp., *3, 38, 58.*

....., ..., ..., to Cobos, *142.*

....., ..., ..., from Cobos and Granvelle to, *17.*

....., ..., (D. Pedro), bp. of Tuy (1525), of Badajoz (1524), of Palencia (1525); abp. of Santiago and card. (1534–51), 1 *n.*, 55 *n.*, 124.

....., ..., ..., at Rome (June 1539), 162.

....., ..., ..., Lope Hurtado's intimate friend, 263.

....., ..., ..., servant of, takes a let. of Aguilar to Cobos, *ibid.*

..... y Villandrando (Diego Gomez de), third co. de Salinas and Ribadeo, 241 *n.*

Saumur on the Loire, in Burgundy; the abp. of Valencia under strict vigilance at, 370, 380.

....., ..., in good health and well treated, *ibid.*

....., ..., said to be a prisoner in one of Montmorency's castles, 426.

Sauveuse, Saveuse (Imbert de), Master of Requests in France; one of the commissioners for the delimitation of Ardres and Guisnes (March 1541), *Int.* xix.

Savoie, *v. Savoy.*

..... (Mons. de), *v. Savoy* (Carlo III., du. of).

Savoy; movements in, against the French (July 1538), 12, 195.

....., the Emp. insisting upon du. Carlo being reinstated in the possession of, 239.

....., the fortresses and towns of, to be protected against the French, 524.

....., an usurpation of Francis, 441, 496.

..... (Carlo III.), du. of, the truce of Nizza not yet ratified by (Aug. 1538), 11, 46, 435.

....., ..., ..., though k. Francis has conditionally promised to make some sort of settlement with him, 514.

....., ..., negociating with France through the Imp. amb. in that country, 100–1.

....., ..., not listening to Paul's proposals of a marriage between Vittoria Farnese and his son Emmanuele Philiberto, 168.

....., ..., asks Doria for some galleys to escort him to Genoa (Nov. 1539), 211.

....., ..., declines the offer of a marriage between his son Emmanuele Philiberto and the Pope's grand-daughter, 287, 289.

....., ..., applying to the Diet of Regensburg for redress (July 1541), 345.

....., ..., French reports of his having parted in anger from the Emp., 359.

..... (Claude de), co. of Tenda or Tende; gov. of Marseilles, 100 *n.*

..... (Emmanuele Philiberto), prince of Piedmont, son of Carlo III., du. of Savoy, 65, 359, 428.

....., ..., the hand of Vittoria Farnese, Pope Paul's granddaughter, offered to (1538), 65, 169, 287, 289.

....., ..., ..., also that of Elizabeth, dau. of Anne Boleyn (1538), 65.

....., ..., fears of his falling into the hands of the French, 524.

..... (Madeleine of), wife of the High Constable of France (Anne de Montmorency), 100 *n.*

..... (Philippe, "Sans Terre") du. of (d. 1525), *ibid.*

..... (René de), *ibid.*

Saxony; Henry, du. elector of, 420.

....., John Frederik, du. of (1538), 62.

....., ..., his quarrel with the landgraf of Hesse, 245.

....., ..., his league with France and Clèves for the defence of Ghelders, 276–7, *Int.* xi.

....., ..., said to be on very good terms with k. Francis (Dec. 1541), 248, 413.

Saxony, John Frederik, du. of—*cont.*
....., ..., ..., and to have sent to the titular q. of Navarre [Margaret d'Albret] the portraits of his wife and daughter, *ibid.*
....., ..., his amb. in France, 7.
....., ..., sends a deputation to England, 150–1, *Int.* xi.
....., ..., his Chancellor in London, about to attend the meetings of Parliament, 150, *Int.* xii.
....., Maurice of, son of du. Hans (Henry ?), appointed k. of Silesia and Moravia by the revolted inhabitants of those provinces (Nov. 1541), 420.
Scepper, Scepperus (Cornelius, Cornelis Duplicius), councillor in Flanders; Imp. amb. in France, 513, *Int.* xxi–ii.
....., his conferences with k. Francis and the Grand Master of France (July–Aug. 1538), 6–13.
....., reports, 75–9, 99–105.
....., to be replaced by Bonvalot, 46.
....., leaves (May or June 1539 ?), 176.
....., lets. to the Emp., *4, 35.*
Schore (Dr. Lewis), chancellor of Brabant and president of the Council of State in the Low Countries, 63 *n.*, 506.
Scio (Chios), the island of, in the Ægean Sea, 211, 217, 228.
Sclavonia; to be included in the League against the Turk, 188.
....., Span. infantry back from, quartered in Lombardy (Jan. 1540), 216.
Scorcazo, Scoriazo, *v. Escoriaza.*
Scotland, kingdom of, 15–6, 308.
....., the old confederacies between, and Spain to be preserved, 64, 346, 435.
....., cardinal of, *v. Betoun.*
....., the fortifications on the Borders of, to be inspected, 315, 459, *Int.* xvii.
....., French intrigues in, 435.
....., k. of, *v. James.*
....., q. of, *v. Magdalen.*
....., do. q. of, mother of James, *v. Margaret.*
....., treas. of, *Kirkaldy of Grange.*
....., ambs. of, *v. Campbell, Reid, Stewart.*
Scotch, the, *Int.* xvii.
....., humble and supple; afraid of k. Henry, 434.
....., their raids in England, 321.
....., should k. Henry consent to treat with k. Francis, the, will be ready to side with him, 469.
....., ..., Marillac to say so to the K., *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., and at the same time enquire what may be the object of the mission they are sending to k. Henry (Feb. 1542), 469.
Sebastiaõ, prince, afterwards k. of Portugal; grandson of Joaõ III., 5 *n.*
....., a sickly youth, 294.
See, Apostolic; its authority disregarded, 65, 105, 468.
....., Pope Paul trusts that in treating of a peace between the Emp. and Francis the authority of the, will not be forgotten (Nov. 1539), 205, 227.
....., Henry's reconciliation with the, almost impossible, as he will not hear of it, 463.
....., neither the Emp. nor his brother will consent to anything likely to impair, 526.
Segorbe, town of Valencia (Spain); du of, *v. Aragon* (Enrique de), 207.
Segura (Hernando de), his report about Barbarossa (1540), 274.
Selva, *v. Selve.*
Selve (George de), bp. of Lavaur, in France (1529–43), 180 *n.*, 534, 553.
..... (Jean de), first president of the Parliament of Paris (d. 1529), *Add.* and *Cor.* 534.
..... (Odet de), French amb. in England (b. 1504), *Add.* and *Cor.* 534.
Semur, in Burgundy, *v. Saumur.*
Sena, in Tuscany, *v. Siena.*
Senesi, the people of Siena, *v. Sienese.*
Senlis, town of France (dep. Oise); the Grand Master of France at Chantilly, near, 176.
Sens, espicopal town of France; bp. of, *v. Prat* (Antoine du), High Chancellor of France.
Separatists of Germany, 93.
....., having the majority in the diets, may one of these days outvote the Catholics, 78.
....., one of them and Dr. Mathias going to visit the Emp. (April 1539), 142.
....., good beginning and demonstrations said to have been made by the, 157.
....., cards. Tournon and Soissons sent to the, to persuade them to return to the Roman Catholic Faith (Jan. 1539), 102.
....., k. Francis' ministers doing little or nothing with the (June 1539), 159.
....., ..., or in any way persuading them to take up arms against the Turk, *ibid.*
....., ..., the amb. sent to them being, in the opinion of the Pope, the most wicked and worst-minded man that ever lived, 160.
....., will not attend a General Council out of their own country, 102, 142, 243, 246, 397, 402.
....., should they refuse, no one will miss them, 398.
....., should they take into their heads to stir whilst the Emp. is absent, the most secure route to Flanders is certainly through France, 195.
Servites, general of the, at Rome, *v. Dyonisius Beneventanus.*

Sessa, du. of, *v. Fernandez de Cordoba.*
....., the estate of, in Naples, manager of, *v. Albertino.*
Seville (Sevilla), "Casa de Contratacion" in; bills drawn on the, 140.
....., gold from New Spain in (Feb. 1539), 110.
....., Cortes to be held in (1541), 372.
....., a pilot from, well versed in the affairs of the Northern Seas, 327.
....., gov. of, in 1540, *v. Navarra.*
....., abp. of, *v. Loaysa.*
....., "corregidor" of, 220.
Seymour (Sir Edward), viscount Beauchamp (1536); earl of Hertford (1537); du. of Somerset (1547); 296.
....., ..., sent to Guisnes for the delimitation of the frontier between that town and Ardres, 308.
....., ..., made knight of the Garter (May 1541), 324–5.
....., ..., his wife, 305.
..... (Jane), q. of England, third wife of k. Henry VIII.; alluded, *Int.* xviii.
..... (Robert), brother of the preceding, accompanies the earl of Hertford to Calais and Guisnes (May 1541), 323.
....., ..., pushes on as far as Ardres, disguised as a civilian, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., but is not allowed by the French gov. to go beyond, *ibid.*
Sfondrato (card. Francesco), co. de La Riviera (b. 1494); working efficiently for the pacification of Siena (Dec. 1541), 416.
....., co. Gian (Battista), Milanese senator (d. 1497), 281, 550.
....., co. Francesco? (1541), 424.
....., ..., to command at Siena instead of the du. of Amalfi, *ibid.*
....., ..., the same as the cardinal? 551.
....., ..., his wife, Anna Visconti, *q. v.*
..... (Nicolao) (b. 1535, d. 1591), bp. of Cremona (1560), card. (1583); Pope under the appellation of Gregory XIV. (1590–1), 550–1.
..... (co. Nicolao), Milanese senator, 281, 424.
Sforza (Alessandro), 140 *n.*
.... (Ascanio), co. de Santafiore (d. 1575), 140 *n.*, 427.
..... (Bosio II.), co. de Santafiore, 55 *n.*, 140 *n.*, *Add.* and *Cor.* 533.
..... (Carlo), prior of Lombardy, 140 *n.*
..... (Francesco II.), du. of Milan (1521–35); death of, recorded, 294, 530.
..... (Guido or Guy Ascanio), card. (1534–65), 140 *n.*
..... (Mario), co. of Valmontone, *ibid.*
Ships moved by oars, or oared, to be built in England according to a model invented by k. Henry (July 1541), 343.
Ships—*cont.*
....., big (*navios gruesos*), or transports, for the Algiers expedition, to be procured in Spain or Naples, 220–1.
....., ..., if not, wherever they can be had, 221.
....., merchant, *Danish.* Not to be allowed to carry merchandize from Germany and the Easterlings to England, to the prejudice of the shipping trade of the Low Countries, 62.
....., *Dutch.* One embargoed at Southampton in March 1541 for contravening the trade regulations in England, 313.
....., ..., the owners of, in Flanders and the Low Countries, especially those of Antwerp, much injured by the Eng. Navigation laws, 284.
....., ..., *v.* under *Transport.*
....., *English*, 350, 383.
....., ..., proclamation issued both in Flanders and in Spain forbidding, to load goods or merchandize in the ports of Flanders and the Peninsula (March 1541), 313.
....., ..., ..., a similar prohibition in England amplified and made more extensive in consequence, *ibid.*
....., ..., all English, to return from Flanders to England empty and without freight, 227.
....., ..., ..., in retaliation for the Statute on Navigation, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., the same Imp. ordinance to be promulgated in the ports of Spain, *ibid.*
....., *Flemish.* Were the English to offer to carry merchandize one half cheaper than the, what would the Emp. do? Chapuys was asked by the King's deputies (Dec. 1548), 451.
....., *French.* One (Mr. de la Rochepot's) seized, 458.
....., *Portuguese*, wrecked on the coast of England and robbed (Feb. 1539). 108, 304.
....., ..., forty or fifty caravels. Report of the Emp.'s Council on (Dec. 1538), 89.
....., *Spanish.* The crews of some, in Lisbon joining the French in an attack against the English (Feb. 1539), 109.
....., ..., one captured by pirates in the Channel (Jan. 1541), 304.
....., ..., ..., redress applied for and obtained from the English Admiralty-Court, *ibid.*
Shipwrights. Three experienced, from Italy, sent for by k. Henry, 342.
....., ..., to superintend the building of galleys in England, 342–3.
Sicily, island of, 31, 119, 134, 172–3, 186, 275–6, 414, 438, 513.
....., permission to the Pope to export wheat from, delayed under various pretences (Nov. 1539), 210.

Sicily, island of—*cont.*
....., ..., Pope Paul complaining bitterly of it (Nov. 1539), *ibid.*
....., ..., a great source of revenue for the Emp., *ibid.*
....., wheat from, much wanted in Spain, 245.
....., president (*regent*) of the Audit Court in, 276 *n.*
....., viceroy of, *v. Gonzaga* (Ferrante).
Siena (Sena), Republic of, 50, 119, 139, 415–6, 418, 422, 424, 426, 525.
....., Pope Paul discontented at the turn of affairs in, 144, 167, 175.
....., ..., as his designs there cannot be realized, 175.
....., abp. of, *v. Bandini.*
....., the people of, *v. Sienese.*
....., Granvelle going to (Sept. 1541), 364.
....., ..., succeeds in putting down the differences and feuds of the Sienese, 414–9, 421–5.
....., du. of Amalfi at, 154, 217, 418; *v.* also *Piccolomini d' Aragon.*
....., lets. dated from (1541), *214, 217.*
Sienese; the, afraid of the Pope and of the Farnese, 144.
....., ..., and especially of Pier Luigi, 162.
....., the majority of them sincerely attached to the Emp., 418, 424.
....., ..., but much divided, 417.
....., pacified owing to Granvelle's exertions, 423–5.
Sifriden (Sigfrieden), Lowenburg (Dr. George ?), amb. of the landgraf of Hesse-Cassel to the Low Countries, 106.
Sigismond I., *the Great*, k. of Poland (1506–48), 514–6.
....., ..., agent of, in England, 335.
....., ..., dau. of, married to John waywode of Transylvania, 118.
....., II. (Augustus), prince of Poland, son of the above (1548–72), 208 *n.*, 514 *n.*, 516.
Siguença, town of Castille; bp. of, *v. Loaysa.*
Silesia. The inhabitants of, said to have revolted against the k. of the Romans, 420.
Silks and taffeties, manufactured in the Emp.'s dominions, 10.
....., ..., allowed to come to France, *ibid.*
Silva (Alfonso de), Port. amb. at Rome, 551.
..... (D. Fernando de), co. de Cifuentes; Imp. amb. in Rome (d. 1546), 245 *n.*, *Add.* and *Cor.* 543.
..... (Miguel de), bp. of Viseu in Portugal 1527–47); Portuguese amb. at Rome 545.
....., ... to return to Portugal with a commission of the Pope for the Emp., 292.
Silva (Miguel de)—*cont.*
....., ..., no amount of money (said the Pope) will make him a cardinal, *ibid.*
....., ..., obtains a cardinal's hat (2 Dec. 1541), 427, *Add.* and *Cor.* 545–6, 551.
....., ..., the French amb. complaining of his nomination (Jan. 1541), 546.
Silver plate; Doria's, pawned to Genoese bankers at the time of the invasion of Piedmont by the French, 140, 209.
Simancas, in Castille; Archives at, 48 *n.*, 242, 337 *n.*, 416, 532, 534.
....., ..., spoliation of the, by the French, 534.
Simonetta, Symoneta (card. Jacopo), auditor at the Rota; worked admirably at Rome in the Eng. business; recommended (April 1539), 144, 156, 536.
Sinán-Agá, Turkish Commander; rumours of his being about to send a confidential servant of his to the Emp. (Oct. 1541), 272.
....., ..., for the purpose of surrendering Algiers to him, *ibid.*
Sion House, q. Catharine Howard at, 408.
Soissons, bp. of, *v. Longuejoue.*
....., nunnery of, *Add.* and *Cor.* 529.
Solyman "the Magnificent," *le Grand Seigneur*, the Grand Turk; Imp. of Turkey (1520–66), 8, 9, 11 *n.*, 48, 77, 91, 105, 145, 159–60, 176, 178–9, 192, 231, 295, 339, 391, 395, 406, 419, 447–8, 528, *Int.* xx.
....., reported death of, (Aug. 1538), 31.
....., attacked by the Port. in the Red Sea, 293.
....., what he said to the Venetian amb. when he took leave (Oct. 1539), 200.
....., called by the French "le Grand Seigneur," 295.
....., his grand vizier, 176; *v. Ibráhim Pasha.*
....., said to have declared that there ought to be only two powers in Europe, an Emp. and a k., 440.
....., ..., he himself to be the Emp., and Francis the K., *ibid.*
....., his armies, though very numerous, not at all efficient, 233.
....., ..., a mere bug-bear to frighten people, *ibid.*
....., ..., without Barbarossa's help, he could accomplish nothing, *ibid.*
....., often defeated by the Sophi of Persia, Thamasp II., 234, 293.
....., in league with the French, 440.
....., his Asiatic dominions, 448.
....., likely to invade Germany in person in the spring (Dec. 1541), 448.
Somma, in Naples (Scipione di), naval commander, 355, 527.
Sophia (Sofia), in Bulgaria, 167.

Soria (Lope de), Imp. amb. to Venice, 34, 56, 90-1, 98, 113, 120, 131, 133, 137, 139–40, 163-4, 170, 211, 267.
....., recalled and succeeded by D. Diego de Mendoza (1539), 146.
....., let. to the Emp., *41*.
....., ..., to High Commander Cobos, *72*.
Soto (Diego de), scribener or attorney to the Council of State in Spain, 272.
....., son of, *ibid.*
Southampton. Dutch ship confiscated at (March 1541), for contravening the custom regulations, 313.
....., earl of, *v. Fitz William.*
Spa, in Belgium; the du. of Holstein's deputies negociating at (April 1542), 487.
Spain, 81, 85, 105, 283, 285, 350, 382, 400, 432, 495.
....., ordinances promulgated in, on the trade with foreigners, 350–1.
....., Henry's advice concerning the government of, in the Emp.'s absence, 446.
....., grandees of, 447.
....., New. Arrival at Lisbon of a ship with gold from (Feb. 1539), 110.
Spezzia (La), island of, 371.
....., Porto della; the Emp. sailing from the, for his Algiers expedition (Sept. 1541), 374, 407 *n.*
Spires, in Bavaria; diet of, convoked for the 14th Jan. 1542, 399.
....., ..., the chief cause for its convocation said to have been the threatened invasion of Germany by the Turk, 400.
....., French ambs. to the diet of, 476.
....., ..., four, and among them the Chancellor of the duchy of Alençon, who addresses the assembly, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., and tries to persuade the members not to help the k. of the Romans with money, *ibid.*
Squire, Grand, to Henry VIII., *v. Brown.*
Stanley (Edward), earl of Derby's privy councillor, 19.
States, of the Church, 227.
....., General, *v. Parliament* and *Cortes.*
....., ..., of Flanders, assembled at Brussels (1539), 195–6.
....., ..., ..., or at Bruges; the Emp. trying to get money from the, towards the expedition to Algiers (July 1540), 243.
Statilius (John II.), bp. of Alba Julia (1538–53), 113, 119, 144, 419, 515.
Statute, on navigation and trade with the Low Countries, 350.
....., summary of, remitted by Chapuys to the Emp. (March 1541), 312.
....., pronounced to be contrary to the commercial treaties between the two nations, 378.
Stenay, in Lorraine; cession of, to France (1541), 436.
Stewart (William), bp. of Aberdeen; treas. of Scotland; amb. to England (Jan. 1541), 458.
Strozzi, the; bankers at Rome, 338.
..... (Philippo), prior of Capua; conspiracy of, at Florence (1537), 14.
....., ..., son of, tries to assassinate Vitello, 228.
..... (Pietro), prior of Capua, considered a good sailor with great experience of naval affairs, applies for the command of French galley (July 1541), 339.
....., the brothers, follow Francis' party in Italy, *ibid.*
....., ..., hold a meeting at La Mirandola, *ibid.*
Suarez (D. Geronimo), bp. of Badajoz (d. 1545), 140.
....., bp. of Astorga, 170.
....., de Figueroa (D. Gomez), Imp. amb. to Genoa, 1, 93, 137, 192, 197, 211–2, 246, 355, 376, 414, 417, 423, 461.
..... de Mendoza (D. Alonso), co. of Coruña, 48 *n.*
Suez, isthmus of, 339.
Suffolk, du. of, *v. Brandon.*
....., duchess of, *v. Tudor.*
Sulmona, prince of, *v. Lannoy* and *Colonna.*
....., do. princess of, *v. Monbell.*
Suma, *v. Somma.*
Sund-Belt, the Strait between Denmark and Sweden, 61.
Surenne (Christophe de), 151 *n.*
Surrey, earl of, *v. Howard.*
Susa, in Africa, taken by the Turks, 275, 291.
....., recovered, 293.
Sussex, earl of, *v. Radcliffe.*
Sweden, k. of, *v. Gustav Vasa.*
Swiss Cantons (Catholic), to be enlisted for the combined expedition to the Levant (Oct.–Nov. 1538), 54.
....., Pope Paul trying to renew with the, the old treaty made by Pope Julius, 329, 345.
....., 10,000 of them enlisted by k. Francis, (Aug. 1541), 345.
....., the old league with the, to be renewed by France, 427.
....., ..., and the du. of Clèves to be included in it, *ibid.*
Switzerland, 195, 329, 359.
....., the Cantons of (Catholic or Lutheran), Francis making levies in, 427.
....., French amb. in, *v. Bois-Rigault.*
....., Imp. agent in, once a servant of card. Carpi (?), 427.
Sylva, *v. Silva.*
Symoneta, *v. Simonetta.*
Syon, *v. Sion.*
Syracosa, Syracusa, Siragosa, in Sicily; bishopric of, vacant, 244.

T

Tabarca, island of, in E. Africa, 274.

Tagliacozzo, du. de, *v. Colonna* (Ascanio).

....., duchess of, *v. Aragon* (Maria de).

Taix, *v. Tes* and *Thays*.

Tamerlan (Timur Lenk, or Timur the Lame), Khan of Tatary, 537.

Tampas, Tampes, *v. Estampes d'*.

Tarbes, in Gascony; bp. of, *v. Castelnau*.

Tariff, innovations in the Eng., made (Oct. 1540), 281–5.

....., ..., Chapuys, the Imp. amb., protesting against them, 286.

....., ..., ..., as being highly injurious to the merchants of the Low Countries, *ibid.*

....., ..., ..., and contrary to the commercial treaties between the two countries, *ibid.*

Tartars, *v. Tatars*.

Tassis, *v. Taxis de la Tour*.

Tatars of the green caps, take the field against the Turk, 9, 234.

....., Khan or prince of the, 234.

Tauris (Tebriz) taken by the Persians, 9.

Tavera (D. Juan), abp. of Toledo (1534–45), president of the Council of State and Regency, in Spain, during the Emp.'s absences (1539–40); Grand Inquisitor (1539–44), 100, 131, 171, 200, 214 *n.*, 222–3, 226–7, 383, 453 *n.*

....., lets. to the Emp. *100*, *131*, *200*.

....., ..., to Ferrante Gonzaga, *101*.

....., ..., ..., from the Emp. to, *95*, *102*, *105*.

....., ..., from sec. Idiaquez to, *263*.

....., his death recorded (1 Aug. 1545), 226.

....., his life, by *Salazar de Mendoza* (Toledo: 1603, 4to), 226 *n.*

Taxis de la Tour (Anthoine de), postmaster in Flanders, 322.

Temporas (Las), the Ember-days, 207, 515.

Tende, co. of, *v. Savoy* (Claude de).

....., Villeneuve de, town of Savoy, 100 *n.*

Tendilla, the counts of, of the family of Mendoza, 1 *n.*

....., co. of, *v. Lopez de Mendoza*.

Teramo, in Naples, 160.

Terceiras, islands, 294.

Termes (Mr. de), French captain, 337.

Terranova, marq. de; left in command of Sicily (1539), 211.

Tes, sieur de, of k. Francis' Chamber, *v. Thayx*.

Tessino, r., *v. Ticino*.

Thames, the river, 314.

Thamasp II., sophi of Persia, 9 *n.*, 234.

....., makes war on the Turk (Nov. 1540), 293.

....., makes an alliance with the Khan of the Tatars or Green Caps, and gives him the hand of his sister, 9, 234, 537.

Thays, Thayx (Mr. [Jean] de), of k. Francis' Chamber; master of the Artillery; on a mission to England to visit k. Henry after his illness (March 1541), 312, 314.

....., receives from the K. a present of 300 ducs., 312.

....., returns to France after visiting the K. at Dover (26 March), 314.

Thirlby (Thomas), bp. of Westminster (1540–50); appointed deputy to treat with Chapuys, 497.

....., vice-regent in ecclesiastical causes, 541.

Tibuli (Tivoli), in the Rom. States, 263.

Ticino, r., of Italy, 521.

Timúr, *v. Tamerlan*.

Tinteville, *v. Dinteville*.

Tirol; the Emp. in the, ready to enter Italy, 350.

Tobar (D. Francisco de), gov. of La Goleta, in Tunis, 171, 275.

Tody (Todi), in the Perugino (Italy); Granvelle and Aguilar at (Oct. 1541), 386.

Toledo, in New Castille (Spain), 453, 462 *n.*

....., the Cathedral church of, protesting against the tax of the half-fruits of the Clergy, 228.

....., Cortes held at (1538), 35, 48–9.

....., the Emp. at (March 1538), 133–4.

....., card. abp. of, *v. Tavera*.

....., lets. dated from, *45–7*, *52*, *56*.

..... (Da. Leonor de), dau. of the marq. de Villafranca (D. Pedro); married to Cosmo de' Medici, du. of Florence, 131.

..... (D. Pedro de), marq. de Villafranca, viceroy of Naples, 58, 87–8, 90, 98 *n.*, 131 *n.*, 139, 144, 155, 170, 172, 212, 217, 251, 267, 278, 288, 291, 351, 355, 406, 422, 428, 527.

....., ..., his daughter, *v. Toledo* (Da. Leonor).

....., ..., his wife, the marchioness, *v. Osorio Pimentel* (Maria).

Tonlieu, a duty on the tonnage of ships; the register-book for the same, 351, 429, 447.

Toncourt, *v. Hampton-Court*.

Torbern-Bilde, abp. of Lunden, in Sweden (1532–6), 58.

....., on a mission of the k. of the Romans (Ferdinand) to the Diet (1538), 3 *n.*, 58, 93, 102.

....., ..., returns therefrom (June 1539), 168.

Torbern-Bilde—*cont.*
....., accused by the Pope of not having done his duty at the Diet of Francfort, 186.
....., ..., and to have yielded to Protestant influences, 187.
Tordesillas, town of Castille; convent at, the usual residence of Joanna, the mother of Charles V., 245 *n.*
.. .., the Emp. at (Jan. 1543), 462 *n.*
....., let. dated at, *227*.
Tornay, *v. Tournay.*
Tornesis, *v. Tournesis.*
Tornon, card., *v. Tournon.*
Torquemada (Garcia de), "corregidor" of Burgos; death of (Aug.-Sept. 1350), 262.
Torres (sec. Luis de), at Rome, 241.
Tortona, in Sardinia (Italy), bp. of, *v. Gambara.*
. ....., castle of, gov., *v. Luna.*
Tortosa, in Aragon (Spain); separation of its See from that of Saragossa, 364.
....., ..., the rents thereof applied to the college of newly converted Moors at Valencia, *ibid.*
Tovar, *v. Tobar* (Francisco).
Toulouse, president of, 14.
Tour de Sillas (Torre de Sillas), *v. Tordesillas.*
Tournay, in Hainault, 238.
....., recovered by the Imperialists, 438.
Tournesis, prov. of Flanders, 238.
Tournon (card. François II. de), 14, 91, 102, 333.
Tower, the, "la grosse tour de Londres," 537–8, *Int.* xvii.
....., place of execution in front of, 542.
....., capt. or gov. of, *v. Kingston.*
Trade, intercourse of, between England and the Low Countries discussed, 59–63.
....., Pope Paul exhorting the Emp. to stop it, 174.
....., Chapuys' conferences with the privy councillors respecting the (Dec. 1541), 350–1, 357, 429, 442, 444–6.
Traietto, du. of, *v. Colonna* (Isabel, Isabella).
Transport ships (*navies grueses*), to be procured everywhere in the ports of Spain and Portugal for the conveying of troops for the African expedition (1541), 372.
....., abounding in Flanders and the Low Countries, 36.
....., the Emp.'s Master of the Horse (Bossu) ordered to engage and freight as many as he can (Sept. 1538), *ibid.*
Transylvania (Alba Julia); the Turk intending to invade, and Hungary (Feb. 1539), 119.
... ., bp. of, *v. Statilius.*
....., waywod of, *v. Zapoli.*
Treasures hidden in Peru. Pizarro's proposal that licences to search for, be granted to the colonists as the means of raising money (June 1540), 241.
....., ..., for the Emp.'s wants and his intended expedition to Algiers, *ibid.*
Treasury, Imp., in Spain, 44.
....., in Flanders, 66.
Treaties:
....., between England and the Emp. One of closer friendship and alliance first spoken of, 95–7.
....., ..., the advice of an Imp. anonymous councillor respecting a, *24.*
....., ..., points of the, consulted by the q. of Hungary, *32.*
....., ..., negociations for, carried on in London and Brussels, 332–4, 341.
....., ..., more or less urgently solicited by Henry at various times (writes Chapuys to the Emp., 20 Jan. 1542), 463.
....., ..., ..., the chief cause for the K.'s urgent solicitations being no other than his jealousy of k. Francis, *ibid.*
....., *English*; commercial, with Flanders, 52, 350, 352, 388, 449.
....., ..., that of 1506 between Philip I. and Henry VII., 59–60, 445.
....., ..., that of 1520, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., both highly detrimental to the Low Countries, 59.
....., ..., the English will not consent to new ones being made, 357.
....., ..., ..., nor will the K. reform or revoke his statutes and ordinances on the subject of trade, *ibid.*
....., ..., the old ones between England and Spain to be revised, 358.
....., the old, and conventions between England and Scotland alluded, 321.
....., ..., their infraction concerning prisoners of war made the cause for a Scotch raid (May 1541), *ibid.*
....., between the k. of the Romans and Zapolski (1539), 113.
....., *French* one about to be made with Spain. The truce of Nizza between the Emp. and k. Francis (1538); alluded, 15, 68.
....., ..., proclamation of, in London (Aug. 1538), 15.
....., ..., the French amb., Castillon, excusing himself from attending it, 15–6.
....., ..., prorogation of the, urgently solicited by the Pope, 368.
....., ..., likely to be soon broken, 106, 119.
....., a new, of alliance between France and England, solicited by k. Francis (Dec. 1541), 410.
....., ..., no appearance yet of k. Henry agreeing to it, *ibid.*
Tremoille, Tremouille (Mr. de la), *v. Trumel* (?)

Trenes, bad reading for *Frenes*, *q. v.*
Trent (Trento), 290 *n.*
....., not considered by Pope Paul a fit place for the General Council, 397–8.
....., a narrow, unsalubrious and scantily-provided city, quite unfit for holding a Council in, 397.
....., card. of, *v. Clesi.*
Trestein, co. of, *v. Diestrickstein.*
Triant, in France, 345.
....., Park les Moulins near, let. dated from, *475.*
Tribulcio, Triulzo, Trivulcio (card. Agostino), bp. of Reggio, 114, 206, 281, 386, 391.
..... (Philippo), abp. of Ragusa, 114.
Tripoli, in Africa; the defence of, entrusted by the Emp. to the Order of Malta, 221.
Tropea, in Calabria Ulteriore (Naples), bp. of, *v. Poggio.*
Troyes, bailli of, *v. D'Inteville.*
Truce:
....., between k. Francis and the Emp., negociated at Nizza, 68, 80, 513.
....., ..., concluded at Aigues-Mortes, in the Roussillon, 85, 101, 142.
....., ..., proclaimed in London (July 1538), 15–6.
....., ..., fears of its being broken, 106.
....., ..., confirmation of, urgently solicited by Pope Paul, 388.
....., ..., the question of the, and whether it must be considered as broken by the Emp., to be submitted to Pope Paul for arbitration, 391.
...., ..., ..., the latter's evasive answer, 391.
....., with the Turk; a general one being apparently negociated at Constantinople by Francis' ambs., 179.
....., ..., the Venetians endeavouring to make a separate one of their own (1539), 167.
Trumel (Mr. de), one of Francis' chamberlains; sent to inspect the frontiers of Picardy (Aug. 1540), 259.
....., *v. Tremoille?*
Tube (?), port of the, in Lombardy, on the confluence of the rivers Po and the Ticino, 336.
....., the murder of Fragoso and Rincon taking place at, 336, 547.
Tudor (Mary), sister of k. Henry, widow of Louis XII.; married to the du. of Suffolk (1515), 305, 547.
Tunstall (Cuthbert), bp. of Durham; appointed vice-gerent in ecclesiastical causes, 541.
Tunis, in Africa, 167, 173, 222, 274–5, 293.
....., k. of, *v. Hassán.*
....., the Emp.'s expedition to, in 1535; alluded, 403.
....., the Turkish fleet about to attack (July 1539), 171.
Tunis, in Africa—*cont.*
....., negociations concerning, and Barbarossa, 231.
....., report of the Arabs having retaken Tunis (Aug. 1540), 231, 251.
Tunisian Moors, 231.
Turbans or Caps, the prince of the Green, a descendant of Timur or Tamerlank, 293, 537.
Turin (Torino), in Piedmont, 214, 336–7, 370, 379.
Turk; Turks, the, 53–4, 105, 210, 387, 391, 456, 515, 517, 520.
....., the Emp.'s military preparations against the, 34, 48 *n.*
....., proposed league of the Emp., the Pope and the Venetians to attack the, 53.
...., account of land and sea forces to be enlisted for the expedition to the Levant, *22.*
....., assistance against the, promised by k. Francis, 57.
....., ..., not, however, before the expiration of the truce, which would last a few months more, *ibid.*
....., at Constantinople, preparing to invade Transylvania and Hungary in the summer (Feb. 1539), 119.
....., the enterprise against the, to be suspended owing to the season being so far advanced (April 1539), 139.
....., ..., the Venetians to be informed of it, *ibid.*
....., the enterprize against the, and the peace of the Venetians seriously discussed at Rome (June 1539), 141, 160–1.
....., ..., the Venetians all the time endeavouring to make a separate truce of their own with the, 141, 159, 167.
....., no help against the, to be expected from the Pope or the Venetians (April 1539), 137.
....., peace between Venice and the, as good as made, since the trade between their frontier towns in Dalmatia still continues, 159.
....., Francis' promised assistance against the, 195.
....., ..., without it the Emp.'s undertaking cannot succeed, *ibid.*
....., the expedition against the, must be postponed, or it will fail altogether, 196.
....., the, in Africa, 274–5.
....., in Egypt, attacked by the Portuguese (May–June 1541), 339.
....., in Hungary, intending to pass the winter there, and to retain Buda (Nov. 1541), 382.
....., again threatening Germany (Nov. 1541), 400.
....., sure to return in the spring of 1542, *ibid.*

Turk; Turks, the—*cont.*
....., in full retreat on Constantinople (Dec. 1541), 420.
....., in close relations with k. Francis, 528.
....., their armies, 231–2.
....., their mode of warfare, *ibid.*
....., the Grand, *v. Solyman*, "the Magnificent."
Turkey, affairs of, 180, 339.
....., coast of, 558.
Tuscany, 102, 108, 162, 290, 415, 422.
Tuy, in Galicia, bp. of, *v. Sarmiento de Mendoza.*
Tweed, the river; the Scotch cross the, and penetrate far into England (April 1541), 321.
Tylney (Agnes), do. du. of Norfolk, sent to the Tower (Dec. 1541), 412, 452.

U

Ubyssant, *v. Ouessant.*
Ull, *v. Hull.*
Ulloa (Da. Maria de), 244.
Urbino, duchy of, 93, 532, 536.
....., du. of, *v. Rovere* (Francesco Maria, and Guidobaldo della).
Ureña, in Castille (Spain), co. of, *v. Giron.*
Uriste, Uristly, *v. Wriothesley.*
Urries, sec. (Jan. 1540), 222.
Ursino, *v. Orsino.*
Utrecht, in Holland, *Add.* and *Cor.* 543.
Uvignefild, *v. Wingfield.*

V

Vagan, *v. Vaughan.*
Valançon, sieur de, *v. Rye.*
Valence, Mr. de, *v. Austria* and *Valencia.*
Valencia, in Spain, 372, 376.
....., the coast of, and Catalonia threatened by the Turk (Oct. 1539), 193.
....., Inquisition of, 241.
....., church of, 58.
....., college for the newly-converted Moors at, 364.
....., abp. of, *v. Austria* (George of).
....., the nun of; law-suit between the, and the prince of Sulmona (Lannoy), 209.
Valenciennes, in Flanders; the Emp. at (Jan. 1540), 223, 545.
....., ..., his sister, q. Mary of Hungary, meeting him at, *ibid.*
Valenciennes—*cont.*
....., bp. Gardiner going to (Dec. 1540), 304 *n.*, 307.
....., lets. dated from, *100*, *402.*
Valençuela, Valenzuela (Commander Francisco de), Imp. agent in Rome (June 1539 to Jan. 1542), 158–9, 165, 172, 363–4, 422.
....., appointed high Chamberlain to Margaret, the Emp.'s natural dau., in the room of Commander Gilberti, deceased (Nov. 1541), 385.
....., ..., declines at first, owing to the many risks and dangers of such an office, *ibid.*
....., ..., ..., not one of his predecessors in it having escaped prison or death, *ibid.*
....., ..., accepts provisionally until the arrival of one from Spain, 385, 406, 427.
....., remains in charge of the Imp. embassy at Rome during Aguilar's absence (Sept. 1541), 364.
....., in correspondence with sec. Vazquez, 363.
....., lets. to Cobos, *194*, *205.*
Valentini, Valentino, sec. of the Scotch embassy in London, 459.
Valesians, the inhabitants of the Valais or pays de Vaud, in Switzerland, *v. Waldenses.*
Valia, *v. Balia.*
Valladolid, in Castille (Spain), the Emp.'s Court at, 1, 33 *n.*, 34, 48, 462 *n.*, 483 *n.*, 489, *Int.* i *n.*
....., lets. dated from, *9*, *10–1*, *15*, *223*, *237*, *243.*
Valmontone, co. of, *v. Sforza* (Mario).
Valois (Charles de), du. d'Orleans, 192.
....., ..., his projected marriage to princess Mary, 354, 356, 407, 409, 433, 447–8, 454.
....., ..., ..., to Maria, the Emp.'s dau., 45.
....., ..., ..., ..., with the investiture of Flanders, as a dowry, 159, 390, 425, 514.
....., ..., ..., to the Infante of Portugal, 433.
....., ..., sometimes called "Mons. le duc d'Angoulême," 531.
..... (Francis), "the Dauphin," eldest son of Francis I., k. of France; alluded, 550.
..... (Henri de), second son of k. Francis; Dauphin of France after the death of his elder brother, Francis, 15, 192, 223, 545.
....., ..., his marriage with Caterina de' Medici mentioned, 287 *n.*
....., ..., accompanying the Emp. to Valenciennes (Jan. 1540), 223.
....., ..., not in favor of his brother Charles marrying princess Mary of England, 375.

Valois—*cont.*
..... (Marguerite de), sister of Francis, and wife of Henri II. d'Albret, 345; *v.* under *Margaret of Navarre.*
....., ..., dau. of Francis (b. 5 June 1523), 513.
....., ..., ..., the K., her father, promising to take no engagement for her during prince Philip's minority, *ibid.*
Valona (La), port of Albania, 172–3.
....., the Turks at, 361.
....., to be relieved by the League, 403.
Valop, Valoupt, *v. Wallop.*
Val Siciliana (marq. de la), *v. Alarcon.*
Vandenesse. "Itinerary of Charles V."; quoted, 44 *n.*
Vander (?) (Marie), *Int.* xxiv *n.*
Vangest (Jean), *ibid.*
..... (Margaret), *ibid.*
Varana (Giovan Maria), du. de Camarino, 158 *n.*
....., ..., his widow, *v. Cibo.*
..... (Giulia or Julia), his dau.; married to Guidobaldo della Rovere, du. de Urbino, 58 *n.*, 98 *n.*, 146, 532.
..... (Hercole), du. de Camarino (d. 1546), 98 *n.*, 158, 160.
....., ..., accompanies the expedition to Algiers, 429.
....., ..., relinquishes his right to Camarino on condition of receiving 160,000 crs. as indemnity, 123.
..... (Rodolpho), 168 *n.*
Vargas (Juan de), field-marshal, gov. of Castilnovo, 88, 415.
..... de Carvajal (Gutierre), bp. of Plasencia, 489.
....., ..., sent out of Valladolid to receive the bp. of London, Henry's amb. (April 1542), 489.
Vasa (Gustav), k. of Sweden (1523–60), 434.
Vasto d'Ammone, a village of Abruzzo Citeriore (Naples), *Int.* xxvii.
....., corrupted into *Guasto* and *Gasto*, *ibid n.*
....., marq. del, *v. Gasto* and *Davalos.*
Vatican (Vaticano), library and Archives in the; Berzosa's Collection of Papers from, 526.
Vatteville, in France; the du. of Orleans at (Aug. 1540), 254.
Vaughan (Master, Dr. Stephen), amb. to the Low Countries (1538), 32, 52.
....., ..., sent again, in 1541, to Brussels with Dr. Carne, 333.
....., ..., ..., to adjust certain differences in commercial matters (June 1541), *ibid.*
....., ..., to the Emp., *ibid.*
Vazquez de Molina (Juan), the Emp.'s sec., 220, 227, 246, 268, 382, 537.
....., lets. to card. Tavera, *105.*
....., ..., to Cobos, *116*, (1541) *198.*
Vazquez de Molina (Juan)—*cont.*
....., ..., to Luys Sarmiento de Mendoza, *119.*
....., ..., from Cobos to, *111–2*, *115.*
Vecha (Dionisio della), Turkey merchant; in correspondence with the Imp. ambs. in Venice (1538), 38.
Velasco (?), servant or sec. of the High Constable of Castille; bearer of lets. to Cobos (Jan. 1540), 223.
Velly (Claude Dodieu, sieur de), French amb. to the Emp., *v Dodieu* (Claude).
....., his nephew, or cousin, *v. Dodieu* (Guillaume).
Vendosme, Vendôme, house of, 6.
....., du. of, *v. Bourbon.*
Venetians, 11, 31, 34, 56, 101, 145, 192, 387, 389, 399, 403.
....., hard pressed by the Turk (Aug. 1538), 30.
....., ..., and yet reported in London to be anything but pleased at the conclusion of the truce of Aigues-Mortes, *ibid.*
....., the defence of Castilnovo ought to be entrusted to the (March 1539), 133.
....., refuse to give up Vicenza for the meeting of the General Council thereat, 157.
....., negociating with the Turk, and about to make a separate truce with him, 138, 141, 160, 170, 295.
....., ..., and yet collecting the greatest maritime force they ever had (June 1539), 160.
....., ..., ..., for the defence of their Gulf, 166.
....., traditional politics of the, 177.
....., sure to look out for their own private interests rather than for the public weal, 178, 181.
....., requested to enter the League against the Turk, 206.
....., immoderate desire of the, to keep aloof from the rest of the Christian community whenever their own interest is concerned, 181.
....., Gasto to go to the, to announce the Emp.'s determination to pass through France on his way to Flanders (Oct. 1539), 192.
....., ..., and assure them that in his negociations with k. Francis, care will be taken of their interests, *ibid.*
....., opposed to a general truce with the Turk, 159, 171.
....., ..., but endeavouring to procure a particular one for themselves, 167.
....., to be again invited to join the new league against the Turk (Nov. 1539), 205, 209.
....., to be exhorted to keep firm and not to make a separate peace with the Turk (Jan. 1540), 216.

Venetians—*cont.*
....., ..., the Pope to use all his influence with them to that effect, *ibid.*
....., suspected of being in combination with the Pope and k. Francis against the Emp., 282.
....., reported to have made a separate peace with Solyman (Dec. 1540), 295.
....., one frequenting the Imp. embassy in England, informing Chapuys of Paulin's mission to Constantinople and message to q. Mary of Hungary, 362.
....., their ambs. in Rome (June 1539), *v. Cornaro.*
....., ..., in England (1538–42), *v. Zuccato.*
....., ..., with the Emp. *v. Contareni.*
Venice, Signory of, 31, 34, 37–8, 56, 131, 145, 328–9, 332, 338.
....., ..., the peace between the, and the Turk as good as made, since the trade of their frontier towns is carried on by common consent (April 1539), 159.
....., ..., trying to make a private and separate truce with the Turk, 159, 167.
....., ..., ..., which is sure to be concluded sooner or later, 167.
....., ..., ..., if so, the Emp. cannot be expected to bear all the burden and cost of the League, 186.
....., ..., to be invited to join the new league against the Turk, notwithstanding their relations with that Infidel, 191, 205–6, 209.
....., ..., officially informed of the Emp.'s military preparations against the Turk, 216.
....., ..., the case of Fragoso and Rincon, and the alleged infraction of the truce by the Emp. submitted to, by Mendoza (July 1541), 338.
....., ..., ..., answers that Rincon being an arch traitor and deserter from Spain, his arrest and that of his colleague were perfectly justifiable, *ibid.*
....., ..., still firm in its purpose not to assist any power making war upon the Emp. (May 1541), 328.
....., ..., reforming its administration, 329.
....., ..., ambs. to Rome, *v. Contareno*, and *Cornaro.*
....., ..., ..., to the Turk, *v. Zeno.*
....., ..., the Decimas (Tithe) granted by the Pope to, 427.
....., ..., the fleet, 171.
....., ..., senators, 338.
....., ..., proveditors, *v. Capelo* and *Moro.*
....., ..., doges, *v. Gritti* (Andrea), *Moro* and *Lando.*
....., ..., Council of the Ten, 117.
....., ..., ..., of Pregay or Pregadi, 229.

Venice—*cont.*
....., Gulf of; a fleet to be provided for the defence of the, 166.
....., ..., fears of the Turkish fleet entering the, said to be the chief cause of the Venetians delaying the ratification of the League, 192.
....., city, 38, 406–7.
....., ..., defamatory lampoons in (Nov. 1540), 210.
....., ..., news from, and the Levant, 416.
....., ..., Andalot's mission to, 139.
....., ..., the marq. del Gasto, gov. of Milan, and Hannebault, lieut.-general in Piedmont, sent to, to negociate the Signory's entrance into the new league against the Turk, 139.
Vergara (capt. Joan de), 228–35.
....., ..., let. to Francisco Duarte, giving an account of his visit to Barbarossa (April 1540), *107.*
....., the accountant? a prisoner in France (Nov. 1541), 377.
Veroli del Frosinone, in the States of the Church, *Int.* xxv *n.*
Verona, bp. of, *v. Giberti.*
Verulengo, in Italy, 336.
Vervins (dep. Aisne, France), sieur de, *v. Coucy* (Jacques de).
Verzosa, *v. Berzosa.*
Vessalius (Joannes a Vessa), bp. of Lunden, 186 *n.*
Vessels, merchant; *Danish, v. Ships.*
....., *English, v. Ships.*
....., *Genoese, v. Galleys.*
Vessombrun, *v. Fossombrone.*
Vicenza, in Lombardy; card. Santacroce on a mission to, 143.
....., refusal of the Venetians to give up, for the General Council to be held there, 147, 156–7.
Vich, in Catalonia, 222.
Vienna, in Austria, 349, 483 *n.*, 495.
....., abp. of, *v. Faber.*
....., threatened by the Turk, 371.
....., Archives of, 548, *Int.* xxix.
Villafranca, marq. de, *v. Toledo.*
....., di Nizza, 4, 5, 140.
Villanova (D. Juan de), Spanish renegade attached to Barbarossa's household, 229.
Villanueva (Pedro de), solicitor (1540), 272.
Villahermosa (du Don Hernando de), *v. Aragon* (D. Hernando).
Villa Real, marq. de, a Portuguese nobleman, 5 *n.*
Virhaven (Cassel); let. dated from, *36.*
Visconti (Anna), 550.
Viseu, in Portugal; bp. of, *v. Silva* (Miguel).

Vitelli, Vitello (Alessandro), a Florentine; the Pope wishing to employ him against the Perugians, 92, 200.

....., ..., and to accompany the young du. of Camarino (Ottavio), should the latter obtain a command in the Imp. army, 429.

....., a report of his having been appointed governor of the Venetian armada (fleet), 89, 92.

Viterbo, in the Roman States; Pope Paul at (Nov. 1540), 262, 266, 293, 545.

....., let. dated from, *125.*

Voiseley, Voyseley, ambassador, *v. Wriothesley.*

Vullien, lord, *v. Howard.*

....., lady, *v. Gamage.*

W

Waist, sec., 493; *v. Wriothesley.*

Waldenses, Valdenses, Walenses, Vaudois; the sect of the, 525.

Wales (Gales, Galles), prince of, *v. Edward.*

Wallop (Sir John), Eng. amb. to France (1538–41); recalled, 307.

....., gov. of Guisnes (1541), 342.

....., in the Privy Council, 19.

....., sent by Henry to apprize Marillac of Cromwell's arrest, 539.

....., himself detained at the house of the Privy Seal for having said something in favor of the Pope, 314, *Int.* xvii–iii.

....., ..., released and pardoned (March 1541), 314.

....., at Guisnes (Dec. 1541), 407.

Wamestre, *v. Westminster.*

Warberg, castle in Scania, on the frontiers of Norway; taken by Mark Meyer, 436.

Warwick, *Int.* xviii; *v. Berwick.*

Welzers (Velzers, Belzers), bankers at Augsburg, 170.

... ., factor or agent of the, at Rome (July 1539), *ibid.*

Westminster, 497; *Int.* x, xii.

....., the Council Hall at, 540.

....., Parliament holding its sessions at (May 1539), 150.

... ., bp. of, *v. Thirlby.*

....., let. dated from, *91.*

Wheat from Sicily; the faculty granted to the Popes to export annually, 186.

....., the Venetians cannot without, help against the Turk, 119.

Whiting (Richard), abbot of Glastonbury; executed (Nov. 1538), *Int.* x *n.*

Whyatt, Wyat (Sir Thomas), Knight; gentleman of the K.'s Chamber; amb. to the Emp. in Spain (1538–40), 15–6, 32, 68–9, 85 *n.*, 437.

....., a servant or sec. of Master, and another man sent by k. Henry to Flanders (Aug. 1538) on his hearing of the truce concluded at Aigues-Mortes, 16, 25.

....., his conferences with Granvelle at Barcelona (July 1538), 2–4.

....., ..., summary of the same drawn up by Granvelle and communicated to Chapuys by way of instruction, 68–9.

....., attainted and sent to the Tower (March 1541), 308, 314, *Int.* xv–xvii.

....., pardoned on very hard conditions at the intercession of q. Catharine Howard, 314.

....., other references, 200.

..... considered one of the wealthiest men in England, *Int.* xvi.

....., his wife, a daughter of Manners, earl of Rutland, 314, *Int.* xvi.

....., his sec, *v. Mason.*

Wied (Hermann V. von), abp. of Kolhn or Cologne (1518–47), 216.

Wiltshire, earl of, *v. Boleyn* (Thomas).

Winchester, co. Southampton; bp. of, *v. Gardiner* (Stephen).

Windsor Chapel, dean of the, *v. Sampson.*

Wingfield (Sir Robert), the vice-chamberlain; capt. of Henry's body-guard, 307.

....., invested with the Garter (May 1541), 325.

Wirhaven (Hesse-Cassel, Germany); let. dated from (1539), *36.*

Wissenowisky, in Croatia, 515.

Wolsey (card. Thomas); alluded to by Henry in terms of regret, as the ablest and wisest man he had ever known, 443.

Wool. Prohibition to export, from England (March 1541), 313.

....., a Dutch merchant vessel seized at Southampton for having some on board, *ibid.*

....., ..., no redress to be obtained (writes Chapuys), as it is alleged that the Emp.'s proclamation in Flanders is the cause of the seizure, *ibid.*

Woollen cloth, English; the trade of, chiefly in Antwerp, 327.

....., the weavers and merchants of, ask for the revocation of the Statute forbidding the exportation thereof to the Low Countries (May 1541), 327.

Worms, in Hesse-Darmstadt; the conferences (*colloquio*) of, 246.

....., Diet of, 304.

....., Granvelle going to, 264, 293.

Wotton (Dr. Nicholas), arch-deacon of Gloucester (1541–53); dean of Canterbury (1542–66), of York (1544–66); amb. to Clèves (1540), *Int.* xiii.

Wriothesley (Thomas), Cromwell's sec.; Eng. amb. to the Low Countries, 51, 137, 333, *Int.* ii.
....., Procès verbal of what passed at Brussels between, and q. Mary's deputies (March 1539), 125–9.
....., recalled (March 1539), 125, 130–1, *Int.* ii.
....., arrives in Calais (22 March 1539), 137.
....., ..., meets there Maioris and Chapuys, *ibid.*
....., sent to the Tower (Jan. 1541), 308, *Int.* xvii.
....., in frequent communication with Chapuys, 493.
....., professes great attachment for the Emp., *ibid.*
....., and the lord Privy Seal, the two courtiers enjoying most credit with the King (April 1542), *ibid.*
Wristle, Wristley, *v. Wriothesley.*
Wurtenberg (Christopher), the young du. of (1534), 78.
..... (Ulric), du. of, *ibid.*
Wyatt (Sir Thomas), *v. Whyat.*
Wynacourt, Esquire, provost of Mons, 135–7, *Int.* ii *n.*
....., Instructions of q. Mary of Hungary to (22 March 1539), *50.*

X

Xalon, *v. Chalons.*
Xatillon, *v. Chastillon.*
Xio (Chio, Scio), island of, 211, 213.
Xiroco, Turkish corsair, 291.
....., the Papal galleys take one of the (Oct. 1540), *ibid.*

Y

York. Interview between Henry and James at, proposed, 367.
....., k. Henry at, waiting for k. James (Oct. 1541), 367.
....., ..., returning from, 375.
....., Marillac's journey to, *ibid.*
....., ..., unsatisfactory enough, as the du. of Norfolk no longer shows him the same affection as before, *ibid.*

Z

Zalamea, in Extremadura; commandery of, in the Order of Alcantara, given to Granvelle, 383 *n.*
Zante, island of, in the Mediterranean; the Turkish fleet at (1539), 173, 361.
Zapoli, Zapolski (John), waywod of Transylvania; titular k. of Hungary, 13 *n.*, 103, 113, 141, 159, 163, 295 *n.*, 514–6, 520, 553.
....., ..., a wise and well advised prince in his affairs, and fairly powerful (said Montmorency to the Imp. amb. in Jan. 1539), 103.
....., ..., able to raise 40,000 horse, the best troops in the World against the Turk, *ibid.*
....., ..., his marriage at Buda-Pest, and k. Ferdinand's presents to, on the occasion (March 1539), 118 *n.*, 553.
....., ..., willing, as his amb. at Rome declares, not only to keep the truce with k. Ferdinand, but to help also against the Turk (Feb. 1533), 113.
....., ..., a gentleman of k. Francis' Chamber going to Hungary as amb. to (1539), 13 *n.*
....., ..., accused by the Imp. amb. in France of having worked there against k. Ferdinand's interests, 113.
....., ..., peace with Ferdinand effected (April–Sept. 1539), 141, 514–5, 519.
....., ..., the Grand Turk objecting to, being included in his truce with Venice, 159.
....., ..., his amb. at Rome, *v. Statilius.*
....., ..., his death (21 July 1540), 118, 419 *n.*, 553.
....., ..., ..., could not have happened at a worse moment, 279.
....., ..., his widow, *v. Isabella of Poland.*
..... (John Sigismond), prince of Transylvania, son of the preceding (1540–8), 295, 419 *n.*, 553.
....., ..., frequently mistaken for k. John, 113.
....., ..., an infant when his father died, 279.
....., ..., a message said to have been sent by Francis to the Grand Turk, advising him to take, under his protection, *ibid.*
....., ..., under the guardianship of the k. of Poland, 419.
Zaragoza, capital of the kingdom of Aragon, in Spain; bpric. of, 364.

Zaragoza—*cont.*
....., *acequia* or canal of Aragon, taking its water from the r. Ebro at, 161.
Zeeland, 130, 243.
....., the ships fitted out in (said Chapuys to Henry), were never intended for an invasion of England, 436, 438.
Zel (?), in the Levant; let written at, *187*.
Zenete, marq. de, *v. Mendoza* and *Nassau*.
....., marchioness of, *v. Mendoza*.
Zeno (Pietro), Venetian amb. to Turkey; detained by illness on the road to Constantinople (June 1539), 162–3, 166–7.
....., death of, 179.
Zenocarus (Guillaume, Wilhelm), of Bruges; recommended by Chapuys for the post of sec. in Flanders, as well versed in languages, especially Latin and German (Feb. 1541), 312.
Zuccato (Hironimo), Venetian secretary amb. in England, 27.
....., invited to be present at Colpeper's execution (Dec. 1541), 408.
Zuñiga (D. Juan de), High Commander of Santiago, in Castille; councillor of State (d. 1546), 383 *n*.
..... (D. Luis de), of the Emp.'s Chamber, *v. Avila y Zuñiga*.
..... y Sandoval (D. Pedro de), 272.

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